

**AN HISTORICAL SURVEY OF EDUCATION IN ANGUS TO
THE YEAR 1872 FROM ORIGINAL AND CONTEMPORARY
SOURCES, EMBRACING EARLY EDUCATION AND THE
BEGINNINGS OF SYSTEMATIC EDUCATION; THE PARISH
SCHOOL SYSTEM; BURGH SCHOOLS; SCHOOLS OF
INDUSTRY; AND THE ORIGIN AND ESTABLISHMENT OF
INFANT SCHOOLS**

Joseph Chasser Jessop

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
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"An Historical Survey of Education in Angus to the Year 1872 from Original and Contemporary Sources, embracing Early Education and the Beginnings of Systematic Education; the Parish School System; Burgh Schools; Schools of Industry; and the Origin and Establishment of Infant Schools" - being a Thesis presented by Joseph Chasser Jessop, M.A., to the University of St. Andrews in application for the Degree of Ph. D., April, 1930.

DECLARATION.

I hereby declare that the following
Thesis is a record of research work carried out
by me, that the Thesis is my own composition
and that it has not previously been presented
for any other Degree.

The research was carried out in Brechin
under the direction of Professor J. H. Baxter,
St. Andrews.

(Signed)

University and Research Training.

First Matriculation - October, 1911. St.
Andrews. Graduated M.A., with Honours in
English including British History - October
1915. St. Andrews. Admitted as
a Research Student - 1 October, 1927.
Supervisor - Professor J. H. Baxter, St.
Andrews.

Certificate.

I hereby certify that Mr. Joseph Chasser Jessop has spent nine terms (1927-1930) as a Research Student under my direction, that he has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance No. 61, and Ordinance No. 16. of the University Court of St. Andrews, so that he is qualified to submit the accompanying Thesis in application for the Degree of Ph. D.,

Hist. Eccl. Prof.

INTRODUCTION.

Angus¹ or Forfarshire is emphatically a microcosm of Scotland. Its various and distinct features whether geographical, historical, ecclesiastical, or archaeological, mark the county as peculiarly Scottish. Angus presents valley, rock, and hill. Through the heart of the county runs that fine expanse of fertile land, known as Strathmore, the big valley. The Sidlaw Hills separate Strathmore from Strathbeg, the little valley, through which flows the Lunan. The county is bounded on the north by the "Braes of Angus", consisting of the spurs of the Grampians, and the valleys that are formed by them: Glenisla, Glenprosen, Clova, Lethnot, and Glenesk. Nearly every glen has its loch. The most notable in Angus is that of Loch Lee, a typically Highland loch, guarded on three sides by high, heather or bare, rocky mountains. Other mountain lochs are: Drumore, Esk, Brandy, Wharral, and Stony. In the midst of charming scenery lie smaller lochs as, for instance, the circular Pitlyel/

¹ The old name of Angus was re-adopted by Forfar County Council in May 1928. "That it was known as Angus and not Forfarshire, up to 1654," says Lady Helena M. Carnegie "is indisputable." Scottish Historical Review vol. xxv. No. 99. April 1928, p. 158. In 1856 the Ordnance Survey adopted Forfarshire as the sole name. (ibid.)

Pitllyel Loch at the head of Strathmartine, and Lintrath-
:en, a picturesque loch which provides Dundee with its
water supply. Close to the town of Forfar is to be found
Forfar Loch, and to the east of the town there stretches
a chain of small lochs drained by the river Lunan. In
Angus there is a fourth and maritime region which boasts
of its sands, caves, and links, all of which attract many
visitors in summer. As the geographical features of a
country largely determine the life of its people, it is
natural that the chief occupations in Angus should be:
pastoral in mountain and glen; agriculture in the valleys;
fishing and shipbuilding on the seaboard; industries and
manufactures in the towns. Though Angus has neither coal
nor iron, it was, and is still, noted for its quarries.
Writing of Angus c.1682, Ochterlony says: "The country
aboundeth in quarries of freestone, excellent for hewing
and cutting, especially one at the Castle of Glamme far
exceeding all others in the shyre, of a blewish colour;
excellent in milne-stones; great abundance of sklait and
lymestone in divers places; ane excellent lead myne in
Glenesk, belonging to the Laird of Edzell".

/ Spottiswoode Miscellany: a collection of original papers
and tracts illustrative of the civil and ecclesiastical
history of Scotland, vol.1. p.320. Jervise thinks that
Ochterlony's pamphlet was not written until the end of
1864, or the beginning of 1865. Memorials of Angus and
Mearns, vol.1. p.67. For the history of the mines in
Glenesk see Jervise's Land of the Lindsays. pp.98-99.

Angus is rich in its historical associations. The social, religious, and industrial life of any country is so closely connected and concerned with its Education that no historical survey of Education can be complete without reference to those events and movements that vitally affected the progress of its people. In dealing with Angus, then, we must briefly consider some of the important events that took place in the early history of the county. History records that Angus was the scene of "old unhappy far off things and battles long ago!" In the year 685 A.D., Brude, King of the Picts, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Angles at Nectan's Mere, identified with Dunnichen, near Forfar. The defeat was disastrous for Northumbria, then supreme of all the kingdoms: its leader was slain; its hopes and strength abated; the Picts recovered their territory; and Strathclyde and Dalriada regained their independence. For many a day Angus was to suffer from its close proximity to mountain fastnesses, and its seaboard and rivers afforded an easy means of access to the Danes. Hector Boece, the Scottish historian, and a native of Angus, tells us that about the/

the beginning of the eleventh century the Danes inflicted a severe blow upon Brechin, "vetus olim Pictorum oppidum". Their leader "in oppidum et sanctissimum templum ruit; quae coede, ruinis ac incendiis ita diruit, ut oppidum exinde pristinum decus nunquam rec^uperarit". The Danes, however, were not always victorious. They met with defeat at Barry, and their leader, Camus, was pursued and slain, whereupon a high stone cross, Camust²on, now in the grounds of Panmure House, was erected to commemorate his defeat. Ochterlony in his "Account of the Shire of Forfar, c.1682", says that on the Links of Barrie there is "to be seen at this day great heaps of stones casten together in great heapes in diverse places of that Links, which is said to be the buriall of the dead there slain"³. The vitrified forts in Angus belong to this period and were built as defences against the Northmen. Fire was applied to certain rocks as a means of fusing them into a solid mass for purposes of defence.

Angus was also the theatre of many important acts during the War of Independence. On 7 July, 1296, "in cimiterio/

¹ Scotorum Historiae, Lib.XI, Fcolli. Boece, on the invitation of Bishop Elphinstone, became the first Principal of Aberdeen University. He was succeeded by William Hay, also a native of Angus.

² The cross is described in Simpson's Historical Saint Columba, p.98. See also Fig.63 *ibid.*³ p.348.

cimiterio de Stroukatherache" (Stracathro), Balliol and his party renounced their treaty with France.¹ Three days later, "in castro Brechinensi", Balliol surrendered all claims to the kingdom of Scotland "in manus venerabilis patris domini Antonii, Dei gratia Dunelmensis episcopi vice et nomine dicti domini regis Angliae".² Immediately after the assassination of Comyn at Dumfries (1306), Bruce was absolved from guilt at Glasgow, and crowned King of Scotland at Scone. This action was practically endorsed by all the bishops, and when in 1310, a Council³ held at Dundee formally recognised Bruce as king, there was no dissentient voice. Arbroath has not received the prominence to which it is entitled as a place of more than/

¹ Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland 1286-1306, vol.11. Edin. 1870, p.60.

² Ibid.p.61. Hume Brown in his History of Scotland, vol.1. p.143, has confused the dates of the renunciation of the treaty at Stracathro with Balliol's abdication at Brechin. Even if no dates were given it could be assumed that the renunciation would surely precede the abdication.

³ The deed of this Council runs in the name of eleven bishops. Hume Brown (History of Scotland, 1.156) speaks of it as a 'Provincial Council' of the clergy. Robertson (Statuta lxxii) regards it as a General Council of the Estates: Macewen, A History of the Church in Scotland, vol. 1. p.254 footnote 2. "Certain studies lately engaged in have produced evidence which would seem to render admissible the view that such a council never met": On a Supposed Provincial Council of the Scottish Church at Dundee in February 1310. By D.W.Hunter Marshall. Scottish Historical Review, vol.xxiii, July 1926, p.280.

than ordinary interest and importance in our national history. It was within the Regality Chamber of Arbroath Abbey that, on 6 April, 1320, the famous Declaration of Scottish Independence and the remonstrance against the excommunication of King Robert by Pope John XXI were drawn up.¹ Edward I. is said to have abstracted or destroyed the records and writs of Scotland. "He burnt all the chronicles of the Scottish nation, with all manner of bookes as well, those containing divine service, as anie other treatises of profane (civil) matters, to the end that the memorie of the Scots should perish, and thereto appointed grievous punishments for those that should disobie his commandments herein, in keeping any of the said books undefaced. He at the same time took with him from Scone the chair of marble, and causing it to be conveyed to London, did place it at Westminster, where/

¹ The sexcentenary was celebrated within the precincts of the Abbey, September, 1920.

* Some patriotic Scottish historians allege that valuable chronicles came into the possession of Edward I. in 1292 and were destroyed in England. There is no evidence that earlier documents existed. Macewen. A History of the Church in Scotland, p.175, footnote 1.

where it remaineth yet unto this day". It is noteworthy, if Blind Harry can be trusted, which is doubtful, that when Wallace was living with his mother at Kilsplindie in the house of an aged uncle in good circumstances,

"In till Dundê Wallace to scule thai send,

Quhill he of witt full worthely was kend".

It is also recorded that the Treasurer of King Robert the Bruce entered 20 s. as having been paid in 1329, the year of Bruce's death, to David of Montrose "in auxilium ad scolas"². The tradition arose and still exists that the school of Montrose was endowed by King Robert, but though this would be of interest we cannot justify the claim on such slender evidence.

Angus was early favoured by the Church. Long before Columba's time the Picts north of the Forth and Clyde had received the gospel message from St. Ninian, who, between the years 397 and 432, had conducted his great/

¹ Hollingshed, Translation of Hector Boyce, p. 428. It was called Lia Fail, Gaelic for "the Stone of Destiny", because it was thought that no one could reign unless he had sat on it when crowned. The stone is not marble but red sandstone, and now lies beneath the seat of the Coronation Chair in Westminster Abbey.

² Chamberlain Rolls, l. p. 95. See Grant, History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland, pp. 13-14.

great mission up the east coast of Scotland. From his monastic base at Candida Casa he led his mission through the Clyde basin, then traversed the central plain via Stirling, and continued up Strathmore by Arbirlot, near Arbroath, and on to Dunnottar.¹ But the real founder of the Scottish Church and Scottish nationality was St. Columba. Within two years of his landing at Iona in 563 he made it clear that he had more than a local and tribal mission to discharge. In 565 he crossed "the backbone of Britain", the mountain range that separates Pictland from the west. "If a Gaelic legend preserved in the Book of Deer is authentic", says Dr. Macewen,² "Columba travelled as far east as Brechin." We have searched the Book of Deer in vain for this reference and are of opinion that Brechin is a misprint for Buchan. Among the church sites east of Drumalban^{*} which have been ascribed to St. Columba but which in most cases can be shown to be unconnected with him, are those of Cortachy and Tannadice. St./

¹ For Ninianic foundations see Simpson's Historical Saint Columba, p. 107. Arbroath and Coupar (Angus) are included. The early symbol or cross-marked stones at Arbirlot mark the presence of a Ninianic church site.

² A History of the Church in Scotland, p. 60.

*The central watershed of Alba running north from Ben Lomond to Ben Hope.

St. Colm's Fair was held at Cortachy.¹ At Tannadice there was a chapel of unknown dedication, near which was St. Colm's Well, but the parish church is named after St. Fernan, "Archbishop of the Picts". St. Fergus, forsaking Buchan for the county of Angus, settled at Glamis. Here he died, and, according to the legendary account, many miracles were wrought by his relics. At Glamis his memory is associated with a holy well situated in the glen where the hermitage of the saint is said to have been. Kirriemuir was evidently an important centre of Pictish Christianity, as appears from the five splendid sculptured slabs which have been discovered in the old churchyard.² Unlike Augustine, who landed in Kent in 597, Columba was independent of Rome. In process of time the apostolic zeal of Columba and his missionaries established the Celtic form of Christianity throughout the land and even into Northumbria. But when Oswi^u, at the/

¹ St. Colm or Colman, one of the "three" of St. Drostan who worked in Aberdeenshire c. 520. Another St. Drostan appeared in Angus in the 8th Century and settled in Glenesk (Droustie).

² Simpson's Historical Saint Columba, pp. 68-70. In the legend of St. Drostan, in the Breviary of Aberdeen, it is related that St. Drostan, being desirous of a retreat where he might lead a hermit life, found a suitable spot in the wilds of Glenesk.

the Synod of Whitby, 664 A.D., decided to adopt the Roman rather than the Celtic form of Christianity, the Columban clergy left Northumbria never to return. The defeat of Northumbria, however, at Dunnichen in Angus, dealt such a blow to the Church of Rome that it did not recover until the days of Queen Margaret and her sons. About the end of the seventh century St. Boniface landed with his disciples at Invergowrie, near Dundee, where his church was built on a spot on the north bank of the Tay, almost insulated by the river. He then pushed forward along the well-worn route to establish his monastic base at Restenneth, near Forfar. Upon the site of this early foundation there was built in 1120 the Priory of Restenneth. The Priory was dedicated to St. Peter and occupied by monks of the order of St. Augustine. "Between 1159 and 1163", says McPherson, "King Malcolm IV. by a charter signed at Roxburgh, made the Priory of Rostinoth, along with the Chapel of Forfar, a cell of the Abbey of St. Mary of Jedburgh."

An/

'Strathmore: Past and Present, pp. 245-6.

An ancient chronicle¹ referring to Kenneth II. (971-95) says - "Hic est qui tribuit magnam civitatem^{*} Brechne Domino." This statement implies that during the reign of Kenneth II a "great monastery" was established in Brechin, an ancient Pictish centre. The object of the King in this foundation may have been to bring a Pictish population under the direct influence of the Scots. There is evidence in stone and document that the Culdees established themselves at Brechin, where there is to be found a Round Tower - one of the most interesting and ancient monuments of Scotland. The Round Tower of Brechin stands like a Pharos shedding light in a very dark period of our history. It is unique in that it is the most impressive of the round towers of Scotland, despite the fact that its impressiveness is impaired by its close proximity to the square tower of the Cathedral. There is only one other round tower on the mainland of Scotland: it is to be found at Abernethy, some eight miles from/

¹Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, ed. W.F.Skene, p.10
^{*}'Civitas' is regularly used of a monastic community. Simpson, The Historical Saint Columba, sec. ed., p.32. footnote 5. Kenneth II and not Kenneth III as Black states in his History of Brechin, 1867, p.3. was sovereign in 990 A.D. On the same page Black is in error when he writes "Malcolm II (1001-1031)". Malcolm's reign covered the years 1005-1035. 'Civitas' is generally translated 'city' or 'town'. We have followed Dr. Simpson's translation.

from Perth. Another is to be found at Egilsay in the Orkneys but its structure is of a poorer quality. It is significant that these ecclesiastical institutions of Irish origin are found in Scotland, and only in those parts north of the Forth. Round towers in fine condition or in ruin are numerous in Ireland. About eighty of these structures are known to exist there, and all of them are ascribed to the period of the Scandinavian invasions. It is not without significance that the Round Tower of Brechin is the facsimile of several of the finest specimens to be found in Ireland. The Abernethy tower is assigned by the best authorities to the middle of the ninth century, while the Brechin tower was built about the end of the tenth century. Historians have asserted that these round towers were built in imitation of the campaniles of Italy, of which the Leaning Tower of Pisa and the campanile of Venice are well known examples. "Their ancient name in the Irish Gaelic", says G.M. Fraser, "was Cloigtheach", the component parts of which are 'clog', a bell, and 'tigh', old Irish 'teach', a house. 'Cloigtheach' would then literally mean the bell-house or belfry/

Glasgow Herald, 6 April, 1929, Week-end page, The Round Towers of Scotland.

belfry. Macewen, on the other hand, states that "There is no ground for the idea that they were bell-towers, corresponding to Italian campaniles"¹. He maintains that they have "only an external and incidental relation" to Church history, as showing the perils to which churchmen were exposed. They stood by themselves, detached from the religious buildings.² Round and near the top of the Round Tower of Brechin there are four distinct apertures which would provide a commanding view of the surrounding district, and, in addition to providing means of ventilation and light, would also allow the emission of sound in all directions. These towers had other uses: they were the receptacles of the sacred vessels, manuscripts, and relics of the Church; and from the thickness of the walls and the position of the door above the ground, we can assume that, if the need arose, these towers would form ideal places of refuge and defence.

The oldest document of the Burgh of Brechin refers to the bishops and Culdees. To them David I. (1124-53) granted the privilege of holding a market on Sundays as freely as the bishop of St. Andrews held a market/

¹ A History of the Church in Scotland, p.144. ² Ibid.

market. Witness: "Willelmus Rex Scotie omnibus probis hominibus totius Scotie salutem sciatis me concessisse et carte mea confirmasse episcopis et kyldeis de ecclesia de Brechine donationem illam quam dedit eis Rex David avus meus per cartam suam de foro imperpetuum habituro in villa per dies Dominicos adeo libere sicut episcopus Sanctiandree forum habet Testibus Andrea episcopo de Catenes Nicholaio cancellario apud Brechine".

The Culdees were a mysterious body who were connected with the Church of Alba, but little is known of their origin and character. ² "That they were an offshoot from the Columban Church", says Hume Brown, "seems probable from the general facts of their history". ³ This theory is flatly contradicted by ~~Dr.~~ Macewen, who says that "the theory itself is so much at variance with the historical facts that it must be ranked as a counterpart to the endeavour of controversial Protestants to demonstrate that the Culdees were presbyterians". ⁴ The accounts/

The original of this charter does not now exist but it is copied into a Notarial Transumpt (No. 54 Brechin Chartularies) made before Robert, Bishop of Dunkeld, on 16th. May, 1433. It is also copied into chartulary No. 106; both are printed in the Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis, vol.1. pp.56-7,139. The above is a copy of that on p.139 which differs slightly in textual detail from that on pp.56-7.

¹An epitome of the Culdee controversy down to 1860 is given by Reeves. The Culdees. pp.67-77.³History of Scotland, 1, p. 48.⁴A History of the Church in Scotland, p. 130.

accounts of the Culdees as a separate or dissenting Order rest upon the idea that, because the Culdees were "dissenters" in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they were so originally. Macewen maintains that when in the eleventh century the Romanized English clergy came face to face with Ecclesia Scotiana, they recognized no two types of its monastic life; the only monks they encountered were those of the "Culdee" settlements. He goes so far as to say that "Culdee" was a popular name for the monastic clergy, who were the only ministers of the Ecclesia Scotiana.

In Arbroath stand the ruins of a famous Benedictine Abbey founded in 1178 by William the Lion for Tironensian monks,^{*} brought from the monastery of Kelso. The King, its founder, was the great benefactor of the Abbey, but many estates, churches, and tithes were dedicated to the new foundation by the nobles of Angus.² An ancient and valuable part of the Abbey privileges, granted by King William, was the custody of the Breccennach/

* French Abbey of Tiron, near Chartres. / Ibid. p. 128. See Chap. viii, The Period of the Culdees (870-1068). The word "Culdee" or "Keledei" means "friend of God" or "servant of God" and is applied to monks elsewhere than in Scotland.

² Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc (Bannatyne Club) 1848, pp. xv-xvi.

Brecbennach or consecrated banner of St. Columba. The Registers of the Abbey are not so rich as some others in subjects of general interest. The Registrum Vetus deals largely with the great families of Angus, the numerous endowments made in the time of William the Lion, and the transmission and settlement of lands. The documents cover the period 1178 to 1329. The Registrum Nigrum, on the other hand, tells us chiefly of the administration of the lands, churches, and tithes of the monastery, and continues the record from 1329 to 1536. It is in this volume that we find the only recorded instance of purely educational interest. "Universis pateat per presentes nos David permissione - - - " have appointed a discreet clerk, Archibald Lame, for a term of three years to have charge of the instruction "noviciorum et iuuenum confratrum nostrorum." Archibald was to receive annually "decem marcas vsualis monete regni Scocie una cum cotidiana porcione sicut conuentus cotidie recipit."² The document, dated 1486, unfortunately is silent as to the nature of the instruction and the subjects/

¹Ibid. p. xxiii. Now preserved at Monymusk House.

²p. 245.

subjects to be taught.

Cøpar-Angus¹ also had its abbey. Cøpar received the royal charter for its foundation in 1164, hence the abbey of Cøpar-Angus is of greater antiquity than the more famous abbey of Arbroath. Wyntoun in his Cronykil of Scotland accurately writes:

"A thousand a hundyre and sixty yhere
 And fowre till thai till rekyne clere,
 MalcolmeKyng of Scotland
 And pesybly in it rignand,
 The ellevynd yhere off his crowne
 Mad the fundatyowne
 Off the Abbay of Culpyre in Angws,
 And dowyt it wyth hys almws."²

Dedicated to the Virgin, the abbey was planted with Bernardines, or monks of the Cistercian order. The abbey was richly endowed by its founder Malcolm IV., surnamed the Maiden, and his successor William the Lion/

¹ Cøpar-Angus belies its name; it is in Perthshire, but the precinct of the abbey "and some rent belonging thereto is only in the shyre of Forfar." Ochterlony's Account of the Shire of Forfar, c. 1682, p. 332. In the oldest maps of Angus the abbey is in Angus while the boundary line runs through the town.

² Andrew of Wyntoun's Orygynale Cronykil of Sootland, bk. vii., ch.vii., fol.170, 1465-1474. Edin. 1872.

Lion. During the Wars of Independence Edward I. gave orders that the furniture and silver of the abbey should be confiscated and sold. The Rental Book of the Abbey contains much interesting information concerning Scottish husbandry and rural life in the century prior to the Reformation. The total rental, as set forth in the "Book of Assumptions", to enable the comptroller of teinds to secure a third part of the revenues for the use of the Crown and support of the Reformed clergy, was in money - £1238 - 14s - 9d; in victuals - wheat, 7 chalders 12 bolls 1 peck; bear, 75 chalders 10 bolls 3 pecks; meal, 73 chalders 4 bolls 3 pecks $3\frac{1}{2}$ lippies; oats, 25 chalders, 4 bolls 2 pecks 2 lippies.² Among the possessions of Cupar-Angus Abbey were the churches of Airlie, Glenisla, and Mathie, all in Angus. In 1606 the lands and baronies which remained to the Abbey were, by Act of the Estates, converted into a temporal lordship, and conferred on James Elphinstone, second son of the first Lord Balmerino. And on/

¹ An inventory of jewels found in the abbey by Edward I. in 1296 is contained in the Rental Book of Cupar-Angus vol.1. Appendix II, pp.364-5, London. 1879.

²"Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar-Angus", vol. 1. p. xlvi. For more particular details see Appendix I. pp. 353-63.

on 20 December, 1607, James VI, desiring to "suppress and extinguish the memorie of the abbacie", granted him a charter of the lands of the abbey, with the title of Baron Coupar.¹

Dundee was the headquarters of the Franciscans, and their friary was frequently used for public and even for State assemblages. Their numbers were small, yet wherever they went they discharged duties which parish priests neglected. About 1375 the Dundee friary came under the direction of a Father Rossey who had been a successful lecturer in theology at Paris and became prominent in statecraft. But the Franciscan friaries established in the fourteenth century "pined and dwindled,² partly through adversity, partly through moral delinquency". In 1481 the Dundee friars to save themselves from starvation had to pawn their books. Trinitarian or Red Friars are associated with Brechin; and a Dominican friary was established at Montrose before 1286.³

As/

¹ Ibid., p. lii.

² Macewen, A History of the Church in Scotland, p. 364. The Howff or old burying ground, is said to be the site of the oldest religious house in Dundee. ³ Ibid. pp.196-7. Blackfriars St., Montrose, probably commemorates this foundation.

As the Church was the mother of Education it can be inferred that with the establishment of these ecclesiastical institutions, Education was not neglected in Angus. But the influence of the Church was not entirely absolute in moulding the ideals of the people. The monks provided the spiritual and aesthetic elements, but it was the Bards and Minstrels who gave expression to the national sentiments and aspirations of the community. Scott tells us in "Waverley" (Chap. xxii) that family bards were retained by powerful nobles "as the poets and historians of their tribes". The first traditional records of all nations were usually cast in the form of verse. The Minstrels bore a strong resemblance to the Bards. In fact, the old monkish writers made no distinction; and Du Cange in his Glossary, quotes a writer who positively asserts that the Minstrels of the Middle Ages were the same as the ancient Bards. Kings, lords, and ladies loved to hear the harper, and

"High placed in hall, a welcome guest,
 He pour'd, to lord and lady gay
 The unpremeditated lay".

The/

/ Percy's Reliques, Everyman edition, vol. 1., p.30.

The romances sung to the harp were also a source of delight and diversion to the crude and simple intellects of our early ancestors. Thus the Bards and Minstrels, to some extent, share with the monks the honour of being the first teachers of the Scottish people; their influence was complementary to that of the Church.

The most impartial historians of every creed have paid tribute to the conspicuous part played by the monks of the middle ages in their endeavour to develop the civilization of the country. The monks, when not discharging their sacred offices, were mainly employed in agriculture and trade. They introduced the science of agriculture into a country whose poverty of soil and ungenial climate rendered farming both an arduous and unprofitable task. "It was the monks who led the way in an adventurous foreign trade, and in every art and manufacture known to the time; who first, as at Newbattle and Dunfermline discovered and utilized the mineral wealth which was to be the chief source of Scotland's future prosperity".¹

Directly/

¹. Scottish Historical Review, vol. xxv. April 1928: The Contributions of the Monasteries to Scottish History. By the Right Rev. Sir, David Hunter Blair, Abbot of Dunfermline, p. 198.

Directly influenced by the Early Church and her missionaries, ravaged by the Danes, and harassed by Edward I., Angus thus far represents all the salient features of the early history of Scotland. Indeed, it may be asserted with a considerable degree of truth, that the history of Angus is to a large extent the history of Scotland.

CHAPTER II.

1. Early Education.

Joseph Robertson, in dealing with the scholastic offices in the Scottish Church in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,¹ shows by the "incidental light of contemporary charter and chronicle," that three offices or grades of a scholastic kind were to be found in the ancient Scottish Church. These were the Scoloc or Scolog, Ferleiginn or Ferleyn, and the Master or Rector of the School.

'Rector' is so familiar a title that we shall deal with it first. The earliest recorded instance of the title is found in a document dated c.1100, "before the death, it would seem, of King Alexander I. in the year 1124"². Macowen asserts that the date of the document is "not later than 1107"³. The document is witnessed at Abernethy by two 'priests of Abernethy', a 'priest of the/

¹ Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v. Appendix to Preface (No.2.) pp. 56-77. ² Ibid p. 68. ³ History of the Church in Scotland, vol.1., p. 186. footnote 5.

the Keledei', and 'rector scholarum de Abyrnethyn.' In Brechin, which, like Abernethy, was a Culdean centre, the title is not found in record until 28 March, 1485, when, in an "Instrumentum possessionis tenementi Roberti Willelmi resignati per Willelmum Fordoun," we read, "Alexandro Hog rectore scole Brechinensis".² That the office was, and continued for long to be, one of considerable dignity has been often illustrated. In ancient times the Rector was classed with some of the highest in the land, including, says Grant, three sons of Malcolm Canmore, as well as dignified churchmen and great lords.³

The Ferleyn seems to have been in the Irish and Scoto-Irish churches what the Chancellor became in the English and Scoto-English churches.⁴ In the century after Columba's death we meet an official called in Irish the 'Scribhnidh', or scribe. He was a monk whose duty it was to transcribe and preserve the ancient records of the monastery; and, because of his learning, he also acted as a teacher or lecturer. In the course of a century the scribe/

¹ Registrum Prioratus S. Andree, p. 116. See Grant, History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland, p. 3.

² Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis. vol.ii, p. 119.

³ History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland, 1876, p. 9.

⁴ Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol.v. Appendix to Preface, p. 72.

scribe was superseded by the Ferleyn or lector. These officials were to be found at such places as Iona, Deer, Turriff, and St. Andrews. At St. Andrews the functions of the Ferleignin and Archdeacon were, in one instance at least, discharged by the same person. "He had the right of election of the Master of the Schools^{*} of the metropolitan city; he was Conservator of the privileges of the University; and to him belonged the office of investiture of all persons presented to benefices within the diocese of St. Andrews. This office, then, must have been one of dignity and importance.

The third and lowest of the three grades of scholastic offices in the ancient Scottish Church was that of the Scoloc.² The term 'scoloc' seems to be a peculiar and corrupt form of 'scholar'. Scholars were frequently called 'clerici'; and we find an instance in which the Scolocs were similarly denominated: "Clerici illi, qui in/

* Many historians have failed to note that 'Schools' in ancient and in comparatively modern times was often used instead of 'School'. ² Ibidem p. 77. The three grades of the Scoloc, Master of the Schools, and the Ferleignin are to be found in their proper order and relation in a case between Simon, Prior of St. Andrews, and his convent on the one side, and Master Patrick, Master of the Schools of the City of St. Andrews, and the poor scholars of the same city on the other. Ibid. pp. 75-77.

qui in ecclesia illa commorantur, qui Pictorum lingua Scollofthes cognominantur"¹. There seems to be little doubt, then, that the Scollofthes and Scolocs were identical in function if not in form. Scolocs are known to have existed at Ellon, the old capital of the earldom of Buchan, and at Kirkcudbright.² There is documentary evidence that many of them were to be found at Arbuthnott, a few miles beyond the north eastern boundary of Angus. In the Decreet³ of the Synod of Perth, 1206, A.D., in the case between William, Bishop of St. Andrews, and Duncan de Aberbuthenoth, one of the witnesses, Johannes de Hastinkes, says he saw "multitudinem Scoloccorum in terra de qua est contentio scilicet Aberbuthenoth"⁴. The lands which they occupied were held of the see of St. Andrews. The Scolocs disappeared from Arbuthnott in the first years of the thirteenth century when Duncan of Aberbuthenoth and Hugo de Benne⁵ "nativos et scoloccos a terra illa amovisse". The Scolocs were scholars or 'clerks', churchmen of inferior degree. But it is doubtful if the scolocs or scologs mentioned⁷

¹ Ibid. p. 56 footnote. ² Ibid. p. 62. ³ This Decreet is printed in the Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v. pp. 209-13, from a copy at Panmure, made from the original at Arbuthnott House. Ibid. p. 209. ⁴ Ibid. p. 210.

⁵ Ibid. p. 212.

mentioned in early charters were in every case students. "Sometimes", says Macewen, "they appear to have been adherents of the settlements, who rendered industrial service and occupied the position of vassals". The lands which were originally set apart for the maintenance of the Scolocs seem to have been subjected to the same fate as the possessions of many of the greater religious foundations in Scotland. Take, for example, the ancient abbeys of Abernethy and Brechin as we see them in the charters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Their endowments, along with the title of Abbot, were frequently usurped by laymen who transmitted the benefice and title to their children. In some cases the superior threw off all church ties and took up residence as a temporal baron, leaving the territory of his monastery to his family as hereditary property. Thus did the McNabs and some families of Abbe connected with the Culdees of Brechin.

"What sholde he studie and make hymselfen wood,
 Upon a book in cloystre alwey to poure,
 Or swynken with his handes and laboure,
 As Austyn bit?"

They/

¹ History of the Church in Scotland, pp. 140-1. He also says there are traces of a higher grade of scholar - the macleiginn, or 'sons of reading'. Ibid. footnote p. p.141.

They, like Chaucer's monk, were "nat pale, as a forpyned goost", but lived as lords "ful fat and in good poynt".

"Neither every parson, nor every abbot, was a priest. Nay, every abbot was not even a monk". Nor did every abbot take or receive the name of abbot. Leod, the lay Abbot of Brechin, appears in record as 'Leod of Brechin' more often than as 'Leod, Abbot of Brechin', or 'Leod the Abbot'. So also with the lay abbots of Abernethy. They appear as 'orm of Abirnythy', 'Laurence de Abernythy', 'Hugon de abirnythy', 'William de abernythy'. "Elsewhere we see", says Robertson, "the the 'abbot' of the middle of the thirteenth century, gliding into the lord of the abbacy of the beginning of the fourteenth century".³ Thus Nicholas the son of Brice, the priest of Kirriemuir, having received a hereditary grant of the lay abbey/

¹ Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v. Appendix to Preface, p. 63.

² Regist. Vet. de Aberbrothoc, No. 35, p. 26, No. 81. p.54. No. 138, p. 97. No. 215, p.148. Their monastic style seems to appear only when it is necessary that the king or bishop should distinguish the peculiar tenure of their inheritance.

³ Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. v. Appendix to Preface, p.64.

abbey of Monifieth, takes the title of "Nicholas the abbot"¹ and "Nicholas the abbot of Monifod"; while his successor half a century afterwards, designates himself 'Michael of Monifuth, lord of the Abbacy of that Ilk'."

It was the fate of the ancient foundations of Columba to disappear under the reforming influence of Queen Margaret and her son, David I. (1124-53). The Rev. Dr. Coats, present minister of Brechin Cathedral, states that the Church of Brechin became a cathedral between the years 1132 and 1158.² But this ancient stronghold became a bishopric before 1153, as Samson, its bishop, appears among the signatories to a charter granted to the Keledái of Deer by David I.³ Towards the end of reign of William the Lion" (1165-1214), says Cosmo Innes, "we find an infusion of other clerks in the chapter (Brechin), the prior of the convent of Culdees, however, being still the president. In 1248, the last year of the reign of Alexander II,^{*} the Culdees have disappeared altogether, and the affairs of/

¹ Ibid., pp. 330; 34, 82, 278. ² Short History of Brechin Cathedral, p. 9. ³ The Book of Deer, p.95. In a charter in the eighth year of David's reign Leot Abbot of Brechin is a witness. Ibid. p.93.

*Alexander II. died in the year 1249.

of the cathedral are managed in the ordinary modern form by the dean and chapter".¹ Prior to this, Pope Honorius III. had arranged the Episcopal sees of the Scottish Church in 1218 as follows: St. Andrews, Dunblane, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Brechin, Aberdeen, Murray, Ross, and Caithness.²

¹ Sketches of Early Scottish History, p.156. See Black History of Brechin, 1867, p.5. ² Literae Papales, Reg. Ep. Brechin, vol. ii, p. 387.

11. The Beginnings of Systematic Education.

"So far as the evidence of history extends, an organized caste of priests and scholars, combining the necessary leisure with the equally necessary continuity of tradition, was at all times necessary to the beginnings of scientific research". The same might with even greater truth be said of the beginnings of systematic education. In this connection we must remember that when western Europe was Christianized by the Romans, the Roman ritual and the Roman religious books in "the veray Romain tongue" were imposed upon the English. The native priests, therefore, had first to be taught the tongue in which the religious services were performed. Latin was the language in which was conducted the correspondence of the Church; it was the language in which the canons, liturgies, and the Bible itself were written. If the converts among the people were to profit by attending the church services they were obliged to learn the rudiments of Latin grammar. Thus a Grammar school became an integral part of every collegiate church, an inseparable accident of every cathedral/

¹ Gomperz, Greek Thinkers, English translation. vol.1. p.43.

cathedral: in theory, as in fact, the anteroom of the Church. But more was required of priest and convert; both must learn to chant, for music was an important and inseparable feature of the Church services. Hence we may be justified in saying that a Grammar school and a Song school were integral parts of every cathedral of the old foundation. Thus these two institutions, the Grammar school and the Song school, mark the beginnings of systematic education.

The long research of Mr. Arthur Leach has enlightened and corrected our notions of the mediaeval schools of England. In the Statutes of St. Paul's, written about 1300, "a clear distinction," he says, "is drawn between the Choristers' School and the Grammar School". Among the precentor's duties he finds: "To order the chants on the table for the day by the Master of the Song School; -----
----- on the greater feasts himself to begin the anthems after the Benedictus and Magnificat, the processional chants and sequences; -----
to examine the boys to be admitted to the choir and entitled to chant; to appoint the Master of the Song School".
According/

Some results of Research in the History of Education in England. (From the Proceedings of the British Academy, vol vi) Read Nov. 25. 1914. Published for the British Association by Humphrey Milford.

According to the Statutes, the Chancellor's duty was, says Leach, to "set out the table (that is, the persons who were to read) for lessons, masses, epistles, and gospels for the week, to hear the lessons, to minister (that is, hold the book for) the last lesson to the bishop, and to read the sixth lesson himself; to introduce the clerks of the lower grade (that is, the lower canons) for ordination; and to render justice to any one who complains of any misdeed of theirs. The Chancellor also appoints a Master of Arts to the Grammar School, and is bound to keep the Grammar School in proper repair. He is the chief custodian of all school books. The Grammar School master attends choir in a proper habit and himself reads the first lesson, and hears and corrects at least the lesser persons who are going to read".

In his Prioress's Tale, Chaucer gives us a lively picture of a fourteenth century school:

"A litel scole of cristen folk ther stood
 Doun at the ferther ende, in which ther were
 Children an heape, y-comen of Cristen blood,
 That lerned in that scole yeer by yere
 Swich manere doctrine as men used there,-
 This

ⁱ Ibid. * Though the scene is laid "in Asye, in a great citee", it is manifestly drawn from England.

This is to seyn, to syngen, and to rede,
As smale children doon in hire childhede".

Among these children was "a litel clergeoun,
seven yeer of age". While sitting at his "prymer" he
heard the elder boys singing the "Alma redemptoris",
and knowing no Latin he begged his "felawe", one of the
elder boys,

"Texpounden hym this song in his langage,

Or telle him why this song was in usage".

The elder boy replied that he had heard it said that this
song

"Was maked of our blisful lady free,

Hire to salue, and eek hire for to preye

To been our help and socour whan we deye;

I kan no moore expounde in this mateere,

I lerne song, I kan but smal grammeere."

The concluding couplet in itself might warrant the pro-
:position that this was a Choristers' school or song
school. It is also significant that Chaucer allots the
tale of the "litel clergeoun" to the Prioress.

We have ample proof that the constitution of
some of our Scottish cathedrals was formed on English
models. The earliest copy of the statutes of Lincoln
are/

are preserved at Elgin, having been sent there in 1232 to provide a model when that cathedral was founded about the year 1230. In a letter from the Dean and Chapter of Sarum to their brethren¹ in Glasgow, who wrote to Sarum inquiring as to the constitution of the church there, it is stated that there are four principal persons in Sarum Cathedral: the dean, chanter, chancellor, and treasurer; in addition there were four archdeacons, besides a subdean and sub-chanter.¹ The constitution of the chapter of Dun:keld was likewise modelled after Sarum. We have also found that the constitution of Brechin cathedral in 1372 was almost identical with that of Sarum. There were then eleven canons, four of whom had the dignity of dean, chanter, chancellor, and treasurer,² and five had the dig-:nity of archdeacon;³ but no mention is made of any office being allotted to the other two. And by a decree of the bishop of Brechin, given and pronounced on 29th October 1429, with the counsel and determination of the Chapter, these four dignitaries, the dean, chanter, chancellor, and treasurer, had precedence of all the other canons of whatever/

¹ Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, l., No. 211. p.170.

² In 1541 a subdeacon takes precedence of the treasurer. Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis. vol. 11. p. 194.

³ No. 13. Brechin Chartularies.

whatever state or degree within the choir and chapter, in reverence, honour, and place.¹ We have noted in our search of the local records that the Precentor is always mentioned before the Chancellor, and that as a signatory he also has precedence.² At Sarum the Chancellor's chief duties consisted "in scolis regendis", listening to the lessons, repairing and correcting books, preparing charters, reading letters that were to read in the Chapter, and keeping the seal of the chapter.³ We have found no trace of his various scholastic duties in connection with Brechin Cathedral, and we are thus left to assume that they were of a nature similar to those of the Chancellor at Sarum.

In a charter, dated 22 October, 1429, Walterus Palatinus de Strathern Atholie et Cathanie comes, ^{ac} ~~ae~~ dominus de Brechyne et de Cortowquhy, granted from his lands of Cortachie an annual rent of £40 (Scots) "ad sustentationem"

¹ No. 44. Brechin Chartularies. ² Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis vol.1. p.157, vol 11. pp.37,77,194.

³ Grant's History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland, p.19.

⁴ Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis, vol.11. Cartae Originales, No. xvii. p.24. "The lordship of Brechin was granted by King William the Lion to his brother, David, Earl of Huntingdon. The Earl conferred it on his natural son, Henry, who from the lordship was designed Henricus de Brechin, by which surname his descendents came to be known". Registrum de Panmure, vol.1. cl.

sustentationem duorum capellanorum sex puerorum", and desired that one of the said chaplains "magis sufficiens habeat regimen scholarum de cantu ex parte Cantoris et alter regimen scholarum de grammatica ex parte Cancellarii".² The two chaplains and six boys were to attend divine service with the others "in habitu decenti"; they were to live together "in una domo ipsis ordinata tam in mensa quam in lecto", and were to go from the house to the church "in superpelliciis et caputiis nigris". The boys were not permitted to wander "ad quamcunque partem extra domum nisi cum licentia petita et obtenta a principaliori duorum capellanorum"; nor were they to go to the fields unless accompanied by the two chaplains or at least one of them, and on these occasions they were to be dressed "in tunicis honestis, talaribus strictis, manicis et de eodem colore scilicet de persico vel blawio". Each of the boys was to have "tonsuram bene latam et rotundam durante tempore sue ministracionis in ecclesia antedicta". One of the chaplains was to preside over the boys in the house "ac autoritatum habeat tam in mensa camera quam loco et ordine ac puerorum regimen", as might seem fitting to the bishop, dean, and chapter; and further/

¹ R. E. B., vol 1. No. 33. p.47. ² Ibid, vol.11. No. xvii page 26.

further, one of the chaplains was to be "excellenter sufficiens in musica et cantu et alter in grammatica ad instruendum dictos pueros in predictis scientiis horis a dicto servitio divino vacantibus". From an "Obligatio capituli to ye byschope" it is evident that there were more than six boys in the choir: "similiter sex pueri cum ceteris pueris in choro ministrantibus et ministraturis"². In these words we may have the distinction between the Song School and the Grammar school of Brechin. The six boys were probably chosen for the priesthood and received instruction in Latin and in chanting; and it is possible that the 'other boys' were younger and received some elementary education with instruction in singing. Walter reserved the right of presentation to himself, his heirs and successors whenever there was a vacancy. The chaplains and six boys were to be presented in the first instance to the 'Cantor' and 'Cancellarius' of the Church of Brechin "ut in cantu in lectura per ipsos examinentur", then to the dean and chapter, and finally to the bishop for approval.³ Each of the six boys was to receive annually from the procurator/

¹Ibid. vol. 1. No. 33. pp.48-49.

²Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis, vol 11. No. xvii. Cartae Originales, p.27.

³Ibid. vol. 1. p. 50.

ator "quinque marcas annui redditus predicti quousque
perueniat ad etatem viginti annorum et non ultra".¹

This charter was ratified and confirmed by James I. of
Scotland at Edinburgh on the last day of November in the
twenty fourth year of his reign.²

The bishop of the diocese of Brechin was in real-
:ity the 'overseer' of education in Angus. His wide
influence and extensive power are revealed when, on 22
August 1434, before John, Bishop of Brechin and the
chapter of Brechin, "comparuit discretus vir dominus
Gilbertus Knycht presbyter. Cognoscens defectum suum et
petens veniam a dicto episcopo", he admitted he had not
obeyed the lawful orders of the bishop, "in facto
regiminis scolarium ville de Dundee", and in defence had
contended wrongly that he was subject to "jus abbatis
de Lundoris in collacione et omnimoda provisione dicte
scole et scolarium". He then resigned "in manibus dicti
reverendi patris omne jus suum ad dictas scolas et ad
regimen earundem quod habuit". The bishop accepted his
resignation and conferred "dictas scolas et regimen
earundem magistro Laurencio Lownane"³. This is a note-
:worthy case in that it not only illustrates that the
control./

¹Ibid. vol 1. p.51.

²Ibid. vol. 1. pp.55-56.

³Ibid. vol.1. No.42. pp.62-63. See Appendix.

control and supervision of the school in Dundee lay with the bishop of Brechin, but justifies our standpoint in making the early history of Education in Angus centre round the ancient cathedral city of Brechin. We are further justified in doing so when we remember that cathedrals were planted only in what were then the chief towns of their respective districts. Pope Honorius III, as we have already noticed, arranged the Episcopal sees of the Scottish Church in 1218 as follows: St. Andrews. Dunblane, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Brechin, Aberdeen, Murray, Ross, and Caithness.¹

In the Collegiate Church of Biggar in the County of Lanarkshire, and founded on the 16th. of January 1545, by Malcolm, Lord Fleming, there were eight prebendaries. According to the Charter of foundation the first prebendary was to be "preceptor, instructor et magister scole cantus et instruet pueros (quattuor) dicti collegij et alios supervenientes in plano cantu precatō et discantu et erit peritus in organorum modulatione pro divino officio exercendo". The second prebendary was to be "preceptor studij grammaticalis et in grammatica sufficienter/

¹ Ibid. vol. 11. p. 387. Literae Papales. No. ccccx.

sufficienter edoctus et literatus"¹. Malcolm also wished and ordained that the four boys "puerilem vocem habentes qui erunt in plano cantu precatō et discantu bene et sufficientur instructi" should have their crowns shaved and should be dressed "in togis blodei² coloris" after the manner of the choristers of the Church of Glasgow.³

Dundee possessed a Song school in pre-Reformation times. In 1511 Elizabeth Masoun or Scrymgeour granted an annual rent from a tenement in St. Margaret's Close, Dundee, to assist the chaplain of St. Thomas. Part of the revenue from this altar was assigned in 1553 to support the master of the Sang Schule in Dundee.⁴ In the "Extracts from the accounts of the common good of various burghs in Scotland, relative to payments for schools and schoolmasters, between the years 1557-1634,⁵ the following entries/

¹ Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. V. p.299. ² Ducange translates 'blodei' as blue; others derive the word from O.E. 'blod', blood, and translate it as crimson. The choristers of Brechin were to be dressed in tunicis de persico vel blavio. Compare Chaucer's Doctour of Phisik: "In sangwyn and in pers he clad was al". It is interesting to note that two of the witnesses of the above charter were Willielmus Comes de Montross and Johannes dominum Erskyn. *ibid.* p.308. ³*ibid.* p.301.

⁴Lamb, Dundee: Its Quaint and Historic Buildings.p.xxxivh.

⁵Miscellany of the Maitland Club, vol.11. part 1. Edin. 1840. pp.5-37.

entries apply to Dundee:

"1602 - Item to the Maister of the Song Scule- lxxx. lib

1621,1622 - Item to Mr. John Mow, Maister of
the Music Schoole for his fie and
house maill (rent)- ij^o. lib

1628 - Item to Mr. John Mow, Maister of the
Music Scule for his fie and hous
maillij^o lxxvj li xiijs.
iiij^d.

1634 - The same as in 1628"¹

Of the early Song schools that of Aberdeen was perhaps the most celebrated in Scotland. It is believed to have existed as early as 1370, and its popularity became so great as to attract teachers of continental fame. In 1418 the appointment of the rector in the school of Aberdeen lay with the Chancellor: "To all the faithful - greeting: Inasmuch as the institution to the office of schoolmaster belongs to me as Chancellor." In the same year the Town Council of Aberdeen nominated a candidate/

¹ Ibid. pp.43-44.

² Scottish Review, October 1888. Music in Early Scotland, By J. Cuthbert.Hadden. ³ Report on Burgh Schools. p.2.

candidate but his appointment was subject to the approval of the Chancellor. The Schoolmaster was appointed "pro tempore vitae suae", which is significant as an early instance of tenure of office.

In the "Rental Book of Cupar-Angus Abbey" there is only one reference to the 'chanter' Donald, Abbot of Cupar, within the chapter on 15 October 1553, and with the advice of the convent, appointed "Sir Alexander Anderson to be Chanter, and John Fogow, elder to be sub-[!]chanter, with their perquisites".

Instruction in the theory and practice of music seems to have been one of the chief elements of education in the earliest days of the Church. The old system of musical notation was by points or dots; and the Gregorian chant was presumably the foundation of the teaching in schools connected with collegiate churches, monasteries, and other religious houses. Up to the beginning of the thirteenth century musical instruments were totally unknown in the Scottish Church. The earliest instruments were the regal and the organ, the regal being the precursor of the organ. The regal was a small instrument and portable, and long after the introduction of/

[!] Vol. 11. pp. 109-11. 'Cupar' is now written 'Coupar'.

of the organ it was used by congregations unable to afford the more expensive instrument. The organ was introduced into Scotland about the year 1250. By the time of Chaucer organs were probably in common use. In his Nun's Priest's Tale he says of Chauntecleer that

"His voys was murier than the murie orgon.

On messe dayes that in the chirche gon".¹

From the elaborate arrangement of the Psalm tunes after the Reformation we can infer that the music of the psalter was of primary importance. We are told by James Melvill that Erskine, "the Lard of Done, dwelt oft in the town (Montrose), wha haid a singular guid voice; him he causit the doctor of our scholl teatche the wholl Psalmes in miter, with the tones thair of, and sing tham in the kirk"². We have ample evidence that by the time of the Reformation the old ecclesiastical institutions had fallen on evil days. In the process of decay the Song school lost its pristine glory, which is amply borne out by the Act of Parliament of James VI. 1579 -

"For instruction of the youth in the art of musik and singing quhilk is almaist decayit and sall schortly/

¹ Globe edition, 1910, p.132, ll. 4041-2.

² The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melvill. p.22.

schortly decay without tymous remeid be provided Oure
 sowerane lord with avise of his thrie estaites of this
 present parliament Requestis the provest baillies
 counsale and communitie of the maist speciall burrowis
 of this realme. And of the patronis and prowestis of the
 collegis quhair sang scuillis ar founded To erect and sett
 up ane sang scuill with ane maister sufficient and able
 for instruction of the yowth in the said science of
 musik. As they will answer to his hienes vpoun the
 perrell of thair foundationis and in performing of his
 hienes request do vnto his maiestie acceptable and gude
 plesur".

In their Report on the Burgh and Middle-Class
 Schools of Scotland (1868), Her Majesty's Commissioners
 state that Song schools existed in some cases before the
 Reformation, but that they mainly owed their origin to
 the above Act which seems to have been generally obeyed.²
 This statement is based on the entries of salaries paid
 between 1557-1634 contained in the extracts of the
 accounts/

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol 111, p.174.

² Third Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed
 to inquire into the Schools in Scotland, Burgh and Middle-
 Class Schools. vol. 1. 1868. p.36.

accounts of common good of the various burghs of Scotland, found in the second volume of the Miscellany of the Maitland Club. J. Cuthbert Hadden in "Music in Early Scotland" states that this same Act had a double effect: it arrested the decline of the teaching of music; and added largely to the existing number of schools. We certainly have evidence that Song schools existed in Scotland after 1579; but it is our belief that sufficient evidence has not been adduced to warrant the assertion that the Act of 1579 was generally enforced, and that it added largely to the number of Song schools. If this were the case, the Act of 1579 was an exception, for the Acts relating to Education in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries were generally disregarded. With the desecration of the abbeys and cathedrals at the Reformation came the destruction of the regals and organs. After the Union of the Crowns in 1603 attempts were made to enforce Episcopalian church government upon Presbyterian Scotland, with the result that Psalm books with music became scarce. With the death of Charles I. in 1649, Puritanism predominated under the all powerful influence of Cromwell. The metrical version of Psalms issued in 1650 was without tunes. Song schools sank/

sank into oblivion, and in less than a hundred years after the Reformation scarcely a Song School of the old order remained. Evidence of this is to be found in the fact that at Brechin on the 20th of April 1608, it was "appointit contractit and aggreit" between the Bailies, Council and Master of the Hospital of Brechin on the one hand, and John Schewan, burgess in Dundee, and Marion Young his Spouse, "withe the consentis off maister Paull Fraser chantor of Brechin and James Schewane his brother chancellor thairoff his superioris" on the other, that the mansions of the Chantor and Chancellor be sold to the Bailies, Council, and Master of the Hospital, that they might have "ane hospitalitie for the ease and sustentatioune off the edgit and puir placit and to be placit tharine". In making this purchase the Bailies and Council were but carrying out the charitable wishes of King James I, who had "dottit and gewine to thame dyverss rentis and benefices" to erect a hospital for the poor and aged. It is also interesting to note that this purchase marks the last act in which the Cantor and Chancellor take part in the ecclesiastical life of Brechin.

APPENDIX.

~~No. 1.~~ An unfortunate slip occurs in Jervise's "Memorials of Angus and Mearns", 1861, p.229. It is repeated in the second edition, 1885, vol. 1. p.308. rewritten and corrected by the Rev. James Gammack. In both editions it is stated of Dundee: "but it is certain that, so early as 1435, which is the first authentic notice of the public schools, a new school and school-house were built by Laurence Lownan, then master, and that, in consequence of his having erected the buildings without consulting the Bishop of the diocese, he incurred his displeasure, and received the censure of the Church". (Reg. Ep. Brechin, 1. p.62). Maxwell in his "History of Old Dundee", 1884, p.87, quotes Jervise, and also repeats the error. It will be noticed that Maxwell must have used the first edition of the "Memorials" which consists of one volume only. Grant, who acknowledged his debt to "Mr. Andrew Jervise of Brechin, so admirable a student of Scottish history" (History of the Burgh Schools, pref. p.ix) gives (p.21) the correct date, 1434, and a more accurate statement of the case as cited in the Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis, vol. 1. pp./

pp. 62-63. We trust we have given a fuller and more precise account of this important case in the history of education.

Education at Logie-Montrose and Montrose in
James Melvill's Diary (1556-1610).

When we come to Reformation times we are fortunate in having such a lively, frank, and fascinating source of information as "The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melvill" of Baldowy or Baldovy, "a place pleasand, fertill, and weill aired, lyand within a myll to the town of Montrose, upon the south-west, hard be the 'Aestuarium fluminis AEscae meridionalis.'" James Melvill, Melvyne, or Melvin was born on the 25th July 1556, the son of Richard Melvill of Baldowy and Isobell Scrymgeour, "a woman exceidinglie belovit of hir housband's frines and nibours." We are told by James that his father was "brought upe in letters from his youthe, and gentlemanie effeares till he was past twentie yeirs of age." Thereafter he was chosen as pedagogue to James Erskine "appeirand of Donne;" and went with him to Germany, where he studied Theology; "first with Doctor Macabeus, in Denmark, and thairefter a heirar of Philip Melancton in/

¹Diary, p. 38.

²His uncle, the famous Andrew Melvill, held that James was born in the year 1557. Footnote, p. 13.

³Ibid. p. 15.

⁴Ibid. p. 14.

in Wittenberg, be the space of twa yeirs. Of the grait mercie of God, haiffing the happe of sic maisters as war the graittest lights of that age within the countrey, in the toun of Montrose, and companie of that Lard of Doune, and the maist godlie, lerned, and noble Scots Martyre, Mr. George Wyshart, and these nominat in Germanie."

Soon after "the first Reformation of Religion" he became minister of the Kirk of "Mariton, a myle from Montrose" where he continued to minister till he died in 1575, "the 53 yeir of his age."

Richard Melvill had eight brothers, the most distinguished of whom was the youngest, "a seiklie tender boy" who "tuk pleasur in na thing sa mikle as his buik." This was Andrew who, with George Buchanan, was the most distinguished scholar of his time, and who played such an important part in Scottish History. "Scotland receavit never a graitter benefit at the hands of God nor this man." Andrew was born at Baldow "in the year of Chryst's birthe 1545, the first day of the monethe August, begotten of gentill and honest parents", Richard/

¹ Jhone Areskin of Dun, Superintendent of Angus and Mernes (footnote p. 14).

² Ibid. p. 14.

³ Diary p. 39.

⁴ Ibid. p. 38. He forgets the part played by John Knox.

⁵ Ibid. p. 38.

Richard Melvill of Baldowy and Gills Abercrombie,
 daughter to Thomas Abercrombie, burgess of Montrose.
 Andrew's father was slain with the greatest part of the
 gentlemen of Angus in the vanguard on the field of Pinkie,
 1547. His mother lived "an honorable weidow" till Andrew
 was twelve years of age, "trained upe in letters in the
 scoll of Montrose, under Mr. Thomas Andersone, esteimed
 the best maister in his tyme, whowbeit nocht the maist
 lernit"¹. Andrew spent "a yeir or twa" in Montrose, "heir-
 :ing a France man, called Petrus de Marsiliers, teache the
 Greik grammer, and sum thing of that language, honestlie
 conducit to the sam as a rare thing in the countrey,
 nocht hard of befor, be that notable instrument in the
 kirk, Jhone Erskine of Done, of most honourable and happie
 memorie"². Andrew profited so much from his instruction
 that when he went to St. Andrews he learned and studied
 the works of Aristotle in the Greek language which his
 masters "understud nocht"³. Montrose, then, must have been
 at that time pre-eminent as the first place in Scotland
 in which Greek was taught.⁴ When Andrew's nephew, James
 Melvill/

¹ Ibid. p. 38. ² Ibid. p. 39. ³ Ibid. p. 39

⁴ Perth also claims the honour of having been the first
 place in Scotland where Greek was taught. Grant, Jas.,
 History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland, 1876, p. 48.

Melvill, went to St. Andrews in 1569¹ he would gladly have learned Greek and Hebrew, but he tells us that these languages "war nocht to be gottine in the land". The Regent began and taught the A,B,C, of Greek and the simple declensions, "bot went no farther"².

James has left us a graphic account of his school days at Logie-Montrose and Montrose. He tells us that at Baldowy "about the fyft yeir" of his age, the "Grate Buik" was put into his hands, but by the time he was seven he says he had lwarned "lytle thairof"³. His father then sent James and his eldest and only brother, David, "about a year and a halff in age above me", to the school of a kinsman, Mr. William Gray, "a guid, lerned, kynd man", minister at Logie-Montrose. At Logie the two brothers found themselves the classmates of "a guid nomber of gentle and honest men's bernis of the cowntrey about, weill treaned upe bathe in letters, godliness, and exerceive of honest geames"⁴. Their early instruction, we might say, was threefold - spiritual, mental, and physical./

¹Diary p.24. He himself says 1571, but it would appear that he had quoted from memory at an advanced period of his life as the Very Rev. Principal Lee has shown that Melvill was enrolled in 1569, Prefatory Notice, p.vii.

²Diary, p. 30. ³Ibid. p.16.

⁴Ibid. p.16.

physical. They learned to read "the Catechisme, Prayers, and Scripture; to rehearse the Catechisme and Prayers par cœur; also notes of Scripture, after the reading thereof ----- and to abhor swearing, and rebuke and complean upon sic as I hard swear". They were taught the rudiments of Latin and French with the "right pronunciation" of French. Having learned the rudiments of Latin, they proceeded to "the Etymologie of Lilius and his Syntax, as also a lytle of the Syntax of Linacer; therewith was joyned Hunter's Nomenclatura, the Minora Colloquia of Erasmus, and sum of the Eclogs of Virgill and Epistles of Horace; also Cicero his Epistles ad Terentiam". Melvill tells us that his teacher had "a verie guid and profitable form of resolving the authors" and that he taught grammatically, "bathe according to the Etymologie and Syntax". But to a healthy boy the most pleasant part of the curriculum was the third, which is best described in the words of James himself: "Ther also we had the aire guid, and fields reasonable fear, and be our maister war teached to handle the bow for archerie, the glubb for goff, the batons for fencing, also to rim, to/

¹
Ibid. p.17.

to loope, to swoom, to warsell, to preve pratteiks,
 everie ane haiffing his matche and andagonist, bathe in
 our lessons and play"¹. Melvill, like Wordsworth, recalls
 those "visionary hours", as a happy and golden time.

When he went to St. Andrews he did not neglect his
 physical well-being, for he tells us that he had "bow,
 arrose, glub and bals, but nocht a purs for catchpull
 and tavern; sic was his fatherlie wisdom for my weill.
 Yit now and then I lernit and usit sa mikle bathe of the
 hand and racket catche as might serve for moderat and
 halsome exercise of the body"². James attended the
 school of Logie "the space of almost fyve yeirs" when he
 and the others were sent for, "partlie be deceying of the
 number, quhilk caused the maister to weirie, and partlie
 be a pest quhilk the Lord, for sinne and contempt of his
 Gospell, send upon Montrose, distant from Over Logie bot
 myles; sa that the scholl skalled, and we war all send
 for and brought hame"³.

The state of the country being so "uncertain
 and troublesome" and "the occasione of scholles nocht
 serving/

¹Ibid. p. 17. ²Ibid pp. 29-30.
³Ibid. p. 17

serving", James remained at home for the winter study-
 :ing his books "bot now and then". During that winter
 he read the Story of the Scripture "quhilk stak in my
 mynd", and his eldest sister read and sang from "David
 Lindsayes book" the pains of hell and the joys of
 heaven, whereby she caused him "bathe greit and be glad".
 His father "for civill conversation and prudence" gave
 him Palingenius and enjoined him to learn "sa manie
 verses par ceur". In the spring of the following year
 James was sent to the school of Montrose but his brother
 was kept at home "to learn housbandrie and experience of
 the wardlie lyff". Marjorie Gray, who was the sister of
 his former master at Logie, and whom James affectionately
 addresses as his "auld mother", had gone to reside in
 Montrose, and welcomed him as if he were her own son.
 She had parted from her brother on the occasion of his
 marriage and "haid taken up hous and scholl for lasses^{*}
 in Montrose". Mr. Andrew Myln was the master of the
 Montrose school, and is described by James as a^{*}lernerd,
 honest, kynd man," very skilful and diligent. At Montrose
 James/

^{*}An anticipation of later Dame Schools.
^{*}Ibid. pp. 20-21.

James had to learn again the Rudiments, "thairefter enter and pas throw the first part of Grammer of Sebastian; thairwith we hard Phormionem Terentii, and war exerceised in composition; efter that entered to the second part, and hard thairwith the Georgics of Virgill, and dyvers uth¹er things". He makes no mention of the hours of attendance at school but in those days the school day was very much longer than it is now.² In relating one of "twa lurð faultes" that he committed at school he says: "Haiffing the candle in my hand on a winter night, befor sax hours, in the scholl, sitting in the class bernlie and neglig-entlie playing with the bent, it kendlet sa on fyre, that we haid all ado to put it out with our feit". The 'bent' of which a plentiful supply could be had at Montrose, was used to strew the earthen floors. Grant tells us that scholars were allowed holidays to gather rushes or bent. In the records of Dunbar there is a notice of this custom which was discontinued in 1679, as the children took to "wrestling/

¹ Ibid. p.21. ² In 1595 the grammar school of Glasgow met at 5 a.m., A few years later the grammar school of Stirling met from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. In 1674 the grammar school of Dundee began at 6 a.m. in summer and 7 a.m. in winter. Grant's History of the Burgh Schools. pp.162,164.
³ Ibid. p. 21.

"wrestling with hooks in their hands", and often injured themselves. The town council thereupon enacted that each child should give at least twelve pennies Scots for bent silver to the master on the first Monday of May, June, and July. With this money the master was to buy bent, or other things needful for the school.

James Melvill attended the school in Montrose for two years. He tells us that he went back to Baldowry "be occasion of the master's taking of him to the ministerie"². James was set to work at the harvest, but, as he himself says, "I spendit nocht the tyme sa fructfullie as I might at scholl"³. He liked the "schollar's lyff" best, but he dare not reason with his father who "held us in sic aw". But soon he found that fortune frowned not on him, for there came to Baldowry his uncle, Mr. James Melvill, and "a godlie lernit man, Mr. Wilyeam Collace", who was that same year to be first regent of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews.⁴ Having been promised the "benefeit of a bursare's place", James went to St. Andrews and "enterit in the course of Philosophie, under the regenterie of the said Mr. Wilyeam wha/

¹ History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland, p.173.

² Diary, p.23. ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid. p.24.

wha haid the estimation of the maist solide and lernit
in Aristotle's Philosophie".

Ibid. pp.24-25.

PARISH SCHOOLS.

With the organization of dioceses the Church hoped to spread its teaching from various chosen centres, such as Brechin,^{*} so that all classes and conditions should conform to its doctrines. The church gave rise to the parish, not the parish to the church. To spread its influence, to strengthen its position, and to maintain its hold, the Church thought it necessary to establish schools as an adjunct - not for the sake of secular education, but of religion. Thus the parish school was as necessary as the parish church. Herein lies the germ of the parish school system. But so far as records have been preserved and are available, the facts reveal a serious neglect in the establishment of parochial schools. For many years, and longer than is generally supposed, many parishes were not provided with schools. It is true that the school was sometimes conducted within the precincts of the church itself, and in early times the parish church no doubt served this double purpose when a school was established by/

^{*} This ancient stronghold of the Celtic Church had become a bishopric before 1153. The bishop of Brechin is at present the ~~Primus~~ Primus of the Episcopalian Church in Scotland.

by the parish priest. ^{*} And even in comparatively modern times the school was sometimes conducted in the church, as the heritors, contrary to law, had failed to erect a school within their parish. When schools were built as such, they were generally erected in the vicinity of the kirk, but in too many instances the school consisted of an out-house, or dwelling-house, so dilapidated in structure that it was more of a hovel than a house. ¹

In spite of the introduction of printing into Scotland in 1507, ¹ in spite of the Acts of Parliament and Privy Council, and in spite of the resolutions of the Reformed clergy, as recorded in the First Book of Discipline/

^{*} The conception of a 'parish' church and a 'parish' priest came to Scotland with the arrival of the Norman and Saxon gentry after the Conquest. ¹ "In many places the kirk was used as schoolroom; in others the church steeple, a family vault, a granary, a byre or stable, or any dilapidated hovel, was utilised". Graham, Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, 1909, p.425.

¹ James IV. granted to his "lovitiss servitouris", Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar, the sole licence to print books in Scotland. Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vol. iii, p.129. Myllar learned the art at Rouen. The Gutenberg Bible, now valued at £55,000, was completed in 1455. The printing-press reached Paris in 1470, and Westminster in 1474. The earliest extant specimens of Scottish printing are found in Chepman and Myllar's Prints, a unique volume of fragments of Scots poems and prose-pieces, printed in Edinburgh in 1508. See Dickson, Introduction of Printing into Scotland, 1885.

Discipline (1560-61),¹ an examination of our most authentic sources of information reveals a serious neglect of education. The early enactments and the Book of Discipline can fairly be regarded as proof of the state of ignorance which then prevailed in Scotland, and but reveal the awakening consciousness of its political and ecclesiastical rulers that the evil must be remedied.

The most reliable sources of information regarding our early parochial schools are the records of kirk-sessions and presbyteries. In Angus the only kirk-session records extant prior to 1600 are those of Monifieth, dating from 1562, and those of Tealing, dating from 1599.² The records of Brechin Cathedral and Brechin Presbytery date back to 1615 and 1639 respectively. From the last two sources chiefly, we have ascertained the facts which follow regarding the parish school system as it prevailed in Angus in its early stages. Our earliest records convey some curious information as to the zeal with which kirk-sessions advocated attendance at school. In 1620 one "Jon duncan/

¹ See Knox, Works, vol.11. Edin. 1848. The Book of Discipline, pp.183-260.

² Miscellany of the New Spalding Club, vol.1., 1890. Inventories of Ecclesiastical Records. Presbytery of Brechin, pp. 306-16; Arbroath, 317-23; Forfar, 325-32; Dundee 344-56.

duncan baxter (baker) requystat the session (Brechin) to bestow ane coat upone ane pair boy ----- because he was naikit qlk the session upon thir coditions that he suld seik nane gave after and also keip (attend) the schuill weill"¹. Charity on these conditions was not confin- :ed to Angus. The kirk-session of Anstruther Wester, on 26 October 1595, thought it meet that "all the yowth in the town be caused com to the schooll to be teached ----- and gif ony pair refuiss to com to scholl, help of sic thing as thay neid and requir shall be refused to them". And a month later it is recorded that "the yowng shall get na almess bot on condition that they com to the schooll, qlk sa mony as does shall be helpit; and the manner of ther help shall be thay shall haif thrie hours granted to them everie day throw the town to seik ther meat, ane hour in the morning fra nyn to ten, at midday fra twell to ane, and at nyght fra sax hours furth, and the peiple are to be desyred to be helpful to sic as will give themself to any vertue, and as for others to deall lyardly wt them to dryve them to seik efter vertue"². in those bad old days boys were/

¹Brechin Town Session Record, 13 Dec. 1620.

²The works of Thomas McCrie, D.D., vol II. Life of Andrew Melville, 1856. Notes to Chapter XI., p.472.

were so bad in their behaviour that Brechin Session, on 20 October 1629, "considering the trouble and hinder that was done both to the preacher and hearers (hearers) in tyme of preaching and prayers by mislearned bairnes and tailing^{*} tyckes in the kirk speciallie on Tuysdayes ----- Thairfor they conclud that whosoever they be that hes thair bairnes perturbing, playing or rinning up and doune at any of the tymes forsaid they sall pay 10s. toties quoties". Does this not explain, to some extent, why sessions were so anxious "that all the yowth in the toun be caused com to the schooll to be teached"?

From the isolated and meagre details furnished in our earliest records it is difficult to construct any coherent account of our early schools. In old documents and deeds we find traces here and there of a school or schoolmaster, but we learn nothing more till we read of some 'visitation' by the presbytery, and even then, about all/

* In the original this word looks like 'tuelleng' -probably 'tailing' away or off, as used of animals, hence 'stray'. "And that nane be permittit nor admittit to have charge and cure thair of in tyme cuming, nor to instruct the zouth privatlie or oppinlie: but sic as salbe tryit be the Superintendentis or visitouris of the Kirk". Act of the Parliament of Scotland, 20 Dec., 1567. (Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol.111., p.24.)

all we gather from our earliest sources is that such and such a parish has, or has not, been provided with a school. The earliest visitations of parishes in Angus that we have discovered are those of 1611 and 1613, as recorded in the Record of the "Synod of that part of the Diocie of St. Andrews qlk lyeth benorth Forth". There we learn that the Angus parishes of Tannadice,¹ Inverkeillor, Barrie or Panbride, Kinnaird, Inchtute and Benvie, Mains and Strathmartine, Inverarity, and Mathie were provided with schools. Those of Rescobie, St. Vigeans, Liff, Logie and Invergowrie, Muirhouse or Murroes, and Monifieth were destitute of schools.² Though the visitation did not include all the parishes in the diocese, the Report is interesting in that it clearly proves that fully fifty years after the Reformation a large percentage of parishes were without schools. The Report also informs us that the visitors ordered schools to be set up where they were lacking, and made arrangements for making proper provision for schoolmasters. This is evident in the case of Monifieth. On 14 December, 1617, the Session, considering "the insufficiencie of ane provisione to the schoolmaister, hes thoght expedient, that of everie/

¹ John Piggot in 1611 became schoolmaster at Tannadice: and admitted minister of Lethnot and Lochlee in 1622.

²Ibid., p.471.

everie baptism he have twa shillings, and of everie marriage fourtie d." And two years later the session, "concerning the establishing off the schoolmaister thocht meitt and aggreitt upon that, for his intertinement (main-:tenance), the Laird off Grange sould find him ane quarter of ane zeir, and the minister ane uther quarter, and the rest of ye parochie quha hes bairnes sould provyd for him the uther halff zeir". Monifieth may have been destitute of a school in 1611 but it had a schoolmaster in 1599, when, on the 18th. of November, "Mr. Thomas Zoung was electit schoolmaister wt cosent of ye haill assemble"; and on 16th. March, 1600, the following provision was made for his main-:tenance:- "Item, becaus ye guid restan of ye kirk and commonweill dois not litell depend fra ye diligent upbringing of the zouth in lerning and vertue. Therefor, for the establishing of ane schoolmaister, ordaynis everie pleuch occupied be the ownar to paye zeirlie fourtie sh., and be the fermouair 20 sh.,; and everie twa marks² restrinit to ane pleuch; and sic as has no labouring to paye for everie bairnie X.sh"³. From the Session's enactment of 14 December 1617/

¹ Statistical Account of Forfarshire, 1843, p.556. ² The merk was a Scotch silver coin issued first in 1570; it was equivalent to 13/4 Scots, or 13 d. sterling. One pound Scots was equal to 20d. sterling. ³ Ibid.

1617, it can be deduced that these perquisites were insufficient for the maintenance of the schoolmaster. The teacher's salary was augmented by an educational endowment known as The Grange Mortification (1645) consisting of £100 Scots (£8- 6- 8). The mortification was for the education of two boys, for four years, at the parish school of Monifieth. The parents, or guardians, of the bursars received one half of the revenue for the purchase of books etc., and the teacher received the other half.¹ A regular schoolroom, however, was not erected in Monifieth until eleven years after the date of this mortification.²

In 1616 the Privy Council issued an Act for erecting schools in every parish. The King, with the advice of his Council, thought it "necessar and expedient that in everie parroche of this kingdome, whair convenient meanes may be had for interteyning a scoole, that a scoole salbe established³". This Act was afterwards ratified, with alterations and additions, by three several Acts of Parliament in 1633, 1646, and 1696. These Acts, as we hope to show, proved/

¹ Endowed Schools and Hospitals (Scotland) Commission, Appendix to Third Report, vol ii. p. 108. ² Statistical Account of Forfarshire, 1843, p.556. ³ Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vol x. pp.671-72.

proved to be hortatory rather than legislative. The poverty, apathy, and ignorance of the lower classes prevented them, even if they were willing, from putting their children to school. We may instance the Angus parish of Farnell in 1627:

"The Estait of the Kirk at Fernuell, 3d. June 1627. The number of the communicants within this parochie are thrie hundreth ----- Thar is na schooll nor fondatione for a schooll, nor na provisione may be maid for a schooll, nor na necessitie that thair sould be ane, for Mr. John Weymes, minister at Kynnaird, has gratis taught all the parocchin-
:eris barnis of Kynnaird, and this parochie, that pleisit to resoirt to him, thir many yearis bypast, bot he fand very few willing evir to send thair children, and nane thir dyvers yearis bypast, for sa soone as they are aucht year old, thay imploy thame all as hirdis in keipping thair schiepe and nolt".

In a rural parish it would appear that parents those days found it more profitable to send their children to watch the flocks and herds of farmers than to send them/

Fraser, History of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk, and their Kindred. Edin., 1867. vol.1. pp. xlvii, xlviiii.

them to school. There ~~were~~ no enclosures, neither dyke nor hedge between the fields, or between farms, so that herds were employed to keep the hungry cattle from devouring the scanty crops. The elder children, if we may anticipate Burns, were

"At service out, among the farmers roun';

Some ca' the pleugh, some herd, some tentie rin

A cannie errand to a neibor town".

Children in rural districts could also be employed in such occupations as cow-herding, bark-peeling, and peat-cutting. Potatoes and turnips were then unknown in Scotland, but with their introduction fully a hundred years later,⁴ children were employed in potato-gathering and turnip-hoeing. In fishing villages there was constant employment for children during the summer months. And so we find that parents could not withstand the temptation of eking out their scanty means with the "sair-won penny fees" of their children. This state of affairs persisted for many years, and ended only with the passing of the Act of 1872.

In the Reports on the state of certain parishes in Scotland, made to His Majesty's Commissioners for plantation of kirks, etc., we have ample evidence to show how destitute of/

⁴Potatoes did not come into cultivation in Scotland till about 1750, though they had been grown in gardens about the beginning of the 18th. century. Graham, *Social Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 1909. pp. 172-173.

of schools Scotland was in 1627.¹ Almost without exception it is reported that, despite the great necessity of schools, there were no schools and no means to establish and maintain them. The Reports refer to parishes in - Berwickshire, Clackmanⁿanshire, Dumfriesshire, Edinburghshire, Haddingtonshire, Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, Perthshire, Renfrewshire, Roxburghshire, Stirlingshire, Wigtonshire and Zetland. It will be seen that the parishes of Angus are not included, but from the evidence that follows it is obvious that Angus was equally destitute of schools, and without the means to establish and maintain them.² In early times the parish school was taught by the parish minister, schoolmaster or reader. The schoolmaster generally was reader or vice versa. On 2 April, 1628, the KirkSession of Menmuir had before them a complaint from Patrick Brokas, reader and schoolmaster, that he lacked a great part of his salary appointed to be paid to him by the parishioners of Menmuir, viz. - "ane mark ye plouche zeirlie". On 16 October, 1636, it was resolved to/

¹ Reports on Parishes in Scotland, 1627. Maitland Club, See pp. 2, 10, 17, 21, 22, 23, 25, 27, 35, 46, 50, 54, 60, 65-66, 70, 76, 84, 106, 110, 122, 127, 135, 138, 142, 146, 154, 167, 175, 180, 188, 191, 192, 195-196, 199, 202, 208, 215, 226.

to grant him four pounds for his past services. A year afterwards the heritors, considering the necessity of having a reader agreed that Patrick Brokas, doctor of the Grammar School of Brechin, should visit the Kirk of Menmuir and there "openlie" read the Scriptures between the second and third bell. For his services he was to receive £24 (Scots) yearly. In the parish of Menmuir there were five heritors respectively contributing according to their lands, £9. 6. 8, £4. 14. 4., £2. 13. 4., £4, £3. 6. 8. Sir Alexander Irvine in 1692 left an endowment of the annual value of £7 towards the salary of the parish teacher of Arbirlot, near Arbroath. The mortification, "for help of his entertainment", consisted of 8 bolls of oatmeal annually "to the Reader at the Kirk Session of Arbirlot appointed to be a schoolmaster"².

In 1633 Charles I. with the advice of the Estates, ratified the Act of Privy Council of 1616 "anent the planting of schooles", with this addition: "That the Bischoppes in their severall visitatiounes sall have power with consent of the heritors and most part of the parischioners And if the/

¹ Assistant. L. 'doce'. Menmuir Kirk Session Records. 19. May. 1637.

² Endowed Schools and Hospitals (Scotland) Commission: Appendix to Third Report, vol ii. p. 99.

the heritor being lawfullie wairnit refuiss to appear
 Then with consent of the most pairt of the parischion-
 :ers To set dawne and stent vpon everie plough or husband
 land according to the worth for maintenance and establish-
 :ment of the said schooles". Parishes also maintained a
 bursar at the collage. On 10 October 1639, Brechin Presbyt-
 :ery appointed three of their members "to stent (assess)
 everie parish within this prebrie ----- their part of
 that hundreth markes alloted to the Assemblie for the main-
 :tenance of a bursar at the newe colledge in St. Androis
 for the studie of theologie". On 7 November of the same
 year the ~~Stent~~ Roll was as follows:- Montrose, 12 lib;
 Brechin, 6 lib. 13s. 4d; Kinnaird, 3 lib; Farnvel, 4 lib;
 Inchbrayock (Craig), 4 lib.; Dune, 3 lib.; Logiemontrose
 (Logie-Pert), 4 lib.; Stracathro, 4 lib.; Edzel, 4 lib.;
 Lethnot, 4 lib.; Menmuir, 4 lib.; Fearne, 3 lib.; Fineven, 3
 lib.; Navar, 40s.; Caraldstone (Careston), 40s."

Despite the Act of 1633 anent plantation of schools,
 it is evident from the records of Brechin Presbytery that
 in 1643 several parishes within the bounds of that
 Presbytery/

¹ Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol.V. p.21.
² Records of Brechin Presbytery.

Presbytery were still without schools: "The brethre that wants (lacks) schools in their parishes shows that they ar all taking ~~a~~course" - that is, for the plantation of schools. But the best laid schemes "gang aft agley". The Great Civil War had broken out in 1642. That Angus suffered from the Royalist raids is evident from the local records. Brechin was plundered, and the prebrie book (the source of our information) was taken away by the rebels, together with the scroll². The scroll "whollie perished" but the presbytery book, though taken out of the shire, "was afterwards regained". As a consequence no meeting of Brechin Presbytery is recorded between 4 April 1644 and 1 May 1645. During the campaign of 1644-45 Montrose ravaged his native shire. Covenanters and Royalists fought in the town of Montrose; and Dundee, which supported the Covenanters, was stormed and pillaged by the Marquis. To add to its troubles Angus at this time suffered another affliction in the form of a pestilence, described in the Brechin Presbytery records as "the infectious seikness". The historic adventure of Charles II. known as the "Start", when Charles tried/

Ibid. 7th. Nov. 1643.

²The Minutes were written first in scroll books then copied into the Minute Book. This is still the practice with Brechin Kirk Session. Ibid. 3rd. August and 30. Nov, 1643.

tried to escape from the Covenanters in 1650, had its scene mainly in Angus. Charles rode from Perth on the 4th of October with the intention of joining his friends. A ride of forty two miles found him at Clova in Angus, where he was overtaken by his pursuers "in a nasty room, on an old bolster above a mat of sedges and rushes, overweared and very fearful". While Monk, whom Cromwell had left behind him in Scotland, was storming Dundee, a detachment of his cavalry swooped down upon the Committee of Estates, then sitting at Alyth, and thus at one stroke deprived the country of its nominal government (1651). On the 1st of September Dundee was captured after a massacre of the citizens, and by the close of the year Montrose had opened its gates.² Nor were teachers spared. George Thom, reader at the Kirk of Lochlee, was "robbed of his goods by hielanders" and gave in "ane supplication most humble begging support through the kirkes of this prebrie (Brechin) to help his young children in this tym of dearth quhilk was granted".

Those were serious times for Angus, and the after effects/

¹ Hume Brown, History of Scotland, vol. ii, p.362. ² Ibid. pp. 364-65. Hume Brown states (p.365) that Alyth is in Angus; it is in Perthshire, 26 miles N.E. of Perth.

³Brechin Presbytery Records, 17 May 1649.

effects are noted by Tucker in his Report upon the settlement of the revenues of excise and customs in Scotland, 1656. "The towne of Dundee", states Tucker, "was sometime a towne of riches and trade, but the many rencontres it hath mett with all in the time of domestick comotions, and her obstinasy and pride of late yeares rendering her a prey to the soldier, have much shaken and abated her former grandeur; and notwithstanding all, shee remaynes still, though not glorious, yet not contemptible". Arbroath was then "a small towne without any trade, but for theyr owne expence, which is but little". Montrose was a "pretty towne, with a safe harbour, risen by the fall and ruine of another towne of the same name, not farre off". During those troublesome years little was done in the way of establishing schools in Angus. On 14 September 1648, after the visitation of Menmuir, it was "statut that ane schooll be planted at the Kirk yrof And lykwayes that competency be provydit for the minister and he to have a meetting with the heritors for settling of the samyn". Nine months later the minister of Fern was appointed "to provyd a scholemaister", and along with Mr. Thomas Couper, Minister of Montrose, he/

¹ Miscellany of the Scottish Burgh Society, pp. 1-48.

² Ibid., p.22. ³ Ibid.,

⁴ Ibid. Now known as Old Montrose or Maryton.

he was "appointed to deale with the erle of Southesk for satleing ane schole at the kirk". Their efforts must have been ineffectual, as, four months later, other two ministers were appointed "to goe to the erle of Southesk to remonstrat to him ----- that the kirk be repaired, and provision for a scholemaister, and all murtherers to be removed out of his Lordships ground both in Anguse and Merns"² - probably an allusion to the Civil War.

On 1 Nov., 1649, a copy of certain Directions, twenty three in all, by the Commission of the General Assembly for visiting the province of Angus and Mearns, was delivered to every minister of Brechin Presbytery. The preabmle to the Directions is interesting in that it reveals the social and ecclesiastical state of the two count~~ies~~ies, Angus and Mearns. The Commission, having taken to their consideration "the cariage and behaviou~~s~~s of the Ministers of the said province in doctrine and Discipline and government, and being sufficiently Informed of the great Ignorance, profainitie and Malignancie that abounds therin, doeth think fitt to recommend unto all the minis-
:ters thereof to be more cairfull of the practise and execut-
:ion of all these things which are conteened in the acts
of/

¹ Brechin Presbytery Records. 14. June. 1649.

² Ibid., 11 Oct. 1649.

of the general assembly of this church, more especiallie
of these directions which follow" -----

Directions 19 and 20, as recorded in the Presbytery
Records of Brechin, are as follows:-

19. "That cair be taken to setle scholes with ane compitent
provision and ane qualified scholemaister in every
congregation, and for that effect the Act of parlia-
ment concerning the provision of scholes be put in
execution".
20. "That cair be taken for putting all the children of
the parochin who are capable of Instruction to scholes,
and that such amongst them as are poore have their
quarter payment payit be the Session out of the
penalties".

The General Assembly was evidently anxious to get
presbyteries to carry out the instructions of the "Act for
founding of Schooles in euerie parochie", of 2 Feb., 1646,
beginning: "The Estates of Parliament Consider^ding how
prejudiciall the want of schooles in manie congregations
Hathe bene and how beneficiall the founding thereof in
euerie congregation wilbe to this kirk and kingdome, Doe
thairfore Statute and Ordane that there be a School found-
ed and a Scholemaster appointed in euerie parochie (not
already provyded) by advyse of the presbitrie -----
And if the heritors sall not conveene or being conveened
sall/

shall not aggrie amongst themselves, Than and in that caise
 the presbitrie shall nominat tuell honest men within the
 boundis of the presbitrie who shall have power to establish
 a schoole. On 3 January 1650, Brechin Presbytery, in
 terms of the above Act, nominated twelve "persones of Mark
 and Understanding" to "stent" the several parishes¹ for
 plantation of scholes in caise the heritors refuse². On
 the 13th. of March of the same year it is recorded that the
 Earl of Southesk mortified "a thousand merks for the schole
 (Fern) and iff the reverend brethern (Brechin Presbytery)
 find that thair shall be such increase of scholers as the
 scholemaisters stipend will requyr more, to augment the
 samen at thair sight". Within a month, at their Meeting
 on 11 April 1650, the Presbytery inquired if schools were
 planted at the several kirks of the Presbytery. The follow-
 :ing/

¹ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland. vol. VI. Part 1.
 p.554.

² "Mr. John Lindsay of Edzell georg Symme of Balzordie
 robert arbuthnot of findourie James guthrie of pitforthie
 Robert Melvill of Nether Dysert Jon Skinner provest of
 brechin John Ochterlonny and georg dempster (Brechin)
 Alexr rennot in Montrose John guild of Litlefithie and
 george Ramsay in fearin David Livingston in Dillapie"
 Brechin Presbytery Records, 3 Jan. 1650. See Graham,
 Social Life of Scotland, 1909. p.419, for comment on
 "twelve honest men".

³ Ibid., 21 March 1650. It was also reported that the Earl
 said "that no murtherer should have residence in any of his
 lands who have not or refuses to give satisfaction to
 the Kirk". Ibid., 21 Dec., 1649.

following were the answers:-

"Mr. David Carnegy hade a schole at the Kirk of Farnnell provided.

Mr. David Campbell hade a schole at Menmur provided.

Mr. William Lighton had a schole at Dun but not a satled provision he is enjoyned to speak the Laird Yranent.

Mr. John Lamy (Maryton) had a schole provided.

Mr. Patrik Sympson (Logy and Pert) had a schole but not Maintenance."

Those who had not schools "planted" at their Kirk were "exhorted to use Diligence therein". As it is reported "None absent this day", the above is a complete list of the Schools of the parishes within the Presbytery. These facts are illuminating. They show that despite the Acts of 1633 and 1646, and the efforts of the General Assembly 80 per cent of the parishes within the bounds of Brechin Presbytery were not provided with schools in 1650. During the ten years that elapsed between 1650 and the Restoration, Brechin Presbytery were particularly active in their inquiries as to whether schools were established in the several parishes. In the "Visitation of Logymontrose", 9 Sept., 1652, it is recorded that Logy had a school but that "it would decay for laik of maintenance, and payment of that Viz a marke for the pleugh which was appointed by the Session".

The/

The Presbytery referred the matter back to the Session to see what further augmentation they would give "because the pleughes within the parochie are few in number". At this time there was "a schoole holden within the parochie of Edzell,¹ but there was no school in the neighbouring parish of Stracathro, "be reason there is no satled provision". The minister of the parish, in the name of his parishioners desired the Presbytery to nominate one of their number "to speak the Erle of Athie, chieff heritor of the parochie" concerning provision for a schoolmaster. Mr. William Raitt, minister at Brechin, was appointed to do so.² On 12 July 1655, it is reported that there was "no schooll holden" at Navar "for want of maintenance". The Presbytery had some difficulty in dealing with the heritors of Over and Nether Dysart, near Montrose. The Presbytery commissioned the ministers of Farnell and Inchbrayock to deal with them, "to Doe duetie to the minister of Marietoun in all publick effaires which concerns the repairing of the Kirk, Maintenance for Upholding a school, And building of the ministers manss". The ministers reported that the heritors were willing to contribute according to their proportional part for the/

¹Presbytery Records. 23 Sept. 1652.

²Ibid., 29 March 1654.

the repairing of the kirk and building of the manse, but they "refused maintenance to the school because their schoolmaster is unable to teach the grammar and that Overdysart had built a school for his own use". On 21 August, 1656, the Presbytery Record shows that there was a school at the Kirk of Inchbrayock and that there was maintenance for the schoolmaster, who "was approved for his sober conversation" (behaviour). The Minister, on the other hand, was exhorted "to strive to be more lively in prayer and to carry on processes more quickly". On 2 October of the same year it is reported that there was no school at Dun "because no maintenance". Maryton was in a similar plight in 1653. In 1657 Farnell had a school, and maintenance for the schoolmaster, who was "approved by the minister and elders in his christianly carriage and diligence".

In 1658 there was no schoolmaster in the glen parish of Lethnot, "which was regranted by the elders thereof who shew themselves desirous to have one". And for "many years/

¹ Ibid., 5 May 1653. ² "Parish after parish during the latter half of the seventeenth century, accordingly, marks down with the uniform lamentation in its records that it is without a schoolmaster 'there being no maintenance'". Graham, Social Life of Scotland. p.419.

years bygone", there had been no catechising reader at Lochlee "conform to the mortification made by the last Laird of Edzell".* Lochlee was in "a desolat and deplorable condition" and the minister was exhorted "to repair mor frequently unto that people on the Lords day". The sacrament had not been dispensed for many years, the minister excusing himself by saying, "The cause was thair great Ignorance and unfitness for it, quhilk he professed he was not able to help becaus of his great distance of way from them, and tempests often hindering him when he was both willing and in reddines to come unto them". He could also have pleaded and quoted the 17th Direction of the General Assembly: "That cair be taken to Debar from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper not only such as are Ignorant and such maisters of families as after admonition pray not in their families be Debarred". The "ignorance and unfitness" of the parishioners of Glenesk may have been due to their ignorance of the English language or the vernacular of the Lowlands/

/ Ibid., 5 August 1659. * Settlement by David Lindsay of Edzell, 6 March 1639, Jervise, Land of the Lindsays, sec. ed., 1882, p.75. footnote. "All persons within the Parochin above aught years of age be catechized, 16th Direction of General Assembly, Brechin Presbytery Records. 1. Nov. 1649.

~~Brechin Presbytery Records . 1 Nov. 1649.~~

Lowlands. We find a stray item of information in the "Penniless Pilgrimage" of John Taylor, the "Water-poet", who travelled as far north as Braemar in the year 1618.

"I did go", he says, "through a country called Glaneske

----- At night I came to a lodging in the Lard of Eggels' (Edzell's) land, where I lay at an Irish house, the folkes not being able to speake scarce any English"².

The Act of the Privy Council (1616) had declared that the English tongue should be "universallie plantit" and that the Irish language, "one of the cheif and principall causes of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilitie" amongst the inhabitants of the Islands and Highlands, should be "abolisheit and removit", that the "trew religioun" might be advanced and established in all parts of the kingdom.³

David Lindsay of Edzell had obliged himself in 1639 to pay yearly the sum of a hundred merks and six bolls of oatmeal "with other benefittes and priviledges to be employed allenarly for the Maintenance of Ane Catechising Reader" at the kirk of Lochlee. His nephew, John Lindsay, did "in corroboration of his said Uncle, Bind and Oblige himself/

¹ Still a local pronunciation.

² Penniless Pilgrimage, 1630, p. 134. ³ Register of the Privy Council of Scotland vol.X., pp.671-72.

himself, his heirs and successors, to make good and thankful payment, in all time coming, of Ane hundreth marks Scotts Money, yearlie, at two terms in the yeare, Whitsunday & Mertimes, With six Bolls good and sufficient Oatmeall, betwixt Yule and Candlemas, yearlie, for the use and maintenance of ane catechising Reader, to be established at the Kirk of Loghly (Lochlee), ----- farther binds himself and his foresaids to give peaceable possession to the said Reader and his Successors of that Manse, and two Crofts of Land, with the privilege of the pasturage of twantie sheep, ane Cow and horse grasses, which my deceast Uncle dedicat for that use, together with the liberty of casting of fewell, feall and divott on the said Lands".

A schoolmaster sometimes served two parishes. In 1658 one school was considered sufficient for Farnell and Kinnaird, "be reason the paroches wer so ²contiguous". In 1659 Maryton had a school with maintenance for a schoolmaster. It may be recalled that at Maryton there was a school in 1650 but no school in 1653. In 1660 Robert Speid was schoolmaster of Menmuir and, like the schoolmaster of Maryton/

Deed of Mortification, dated at Edzell 22 Aug., 1659 and recorded in the Sheriff Court Books of Forfarshire 15 May 1805: Brechin Presbytery Records, 4 Dec. 1866. The parish schoolmaster enjoyed these emoluments until 1863.²Brechin Presbytery Records, 18 Aug. 1658.

Maryton, was approved for his Christian-like carriage and diligence in his charge". At this time there was a school at Carrotstoune (Careston) and "John proffeitt master thereof".

We have now come to the Restoration, which is commemorated in the Brechin Presbytery Records by the following insertion in the minute of 12 July 1660: "All within this presbitrie shew that the Day of thanksgiving for the King his maiesties saiff and peaceable returne, to his dominiones and throne was keeped be them on the Day appointed". Glad to be free from a despotism based on the power of the sword, Scotland rejoiced at the accession of a Covenanted King. It was not long, however, until Episcopal government superseded the Presbyterian system. The Brechin Presbytery Minute of 5 August 1662, contains the following note: "This being the first day of the Bishop & Ministers of the exercise thair meeting since prebriall government was inhibited by authoritie The Bishop Appoints that the ordinar meetings of the Ministers of the exercise be kept hereafter, And church sessiones holden for exercising discipline as formerlie it was". The difference in services, in/

¹Ibid., 16 Aug. 1660. 3

²Ibid., 2 August 1660. 20 June 1660, at Brechin: a day of thanksgiving "for the Kings saiff returne to his dominionde and throne". Brechin Session Records..

in worship, and in ecclesiastical polity between Presbyterian and Episcopalian were, taken all in all, curiously slight.

In 1667 we meet a curious case illustrating the credulity and practice of the times. On the 23rd. of May the schoolmaster of Inchbrayock appeared before the Presbytery accused of using "unlawfull art for recovering of stolen goods". He denied the charge, but on being further questioned he answered that "he did nothing but rolled som stones in a chamber for which he was greived". He was sharply rebuked for giving public offence, and "also enjoyned if any person com to him for that effect to repell them, And if he be urged be any to Declare thair names to the Minister and this to be published be the minister of Inchbrayock". In 1673 this same schoolmaster, "now at Logy" caused great offence by marrying the daughter of an Angus Earl and ----- "without any order or consent of parents or proclamations". He confessed his offence, but "sieing the preby is not in power to censur him strictly there being a standing act of parliament against such persons/

The Episcopalians, as well as their rivals, had their Synods, Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions.

persons who act the lyk that they shall be banished out of the Kingdom, not to return hither under the pain of Lyff and so remits his censur to the civill magistrat". Five months afterwards it is reported that the said schoolmaster "satisfies befor the whol congregation of Logy for his scandalous offence".

As early as 1567 an Act was passed "Anent the disposition of Provestreis prebendaries and Chaplaneries to Bursaris to be fundit in Collegeis" -

"Item Forsamekle as the Youth is not onlie sene to preserve the commoun weill bot alswa of thame man ryse sic as efter this man serve in the kirk of God within this realme and to the commoun weill of the samin And because the povertie of mony is in sic fort that thay may not hauld their children at letteris quhairby the maist pairt of the youth of this Realme wantis the giftis and gracies of leirning requisite to that charge".

In Scotland, more than in any other country, perhaps, men of humble origin have risen to eminent positions. This is due in no small measure to the self-denial and persistence peculiar to the Scots. In those days the goal was generally/

¹Brechin Presbytery Records. March 1673. The names of the Earl and the lady are given in the Presbytery Record.

²Ibid., 7 August, 1673. ³Acts of Parliaments of Scotland III. 24, 25.

generally the pulpit, for to a man of humble origin the Church offered a position of power and influence. Instances like the following could no doubt be supplied from local records throughout Scotland. On 6 August 1674, the minister of Fern, on behalf of a poor parent, supplicated that the Brechin Presbytery bursary, though not vacant until the following year, should be awarded to one Alexander Lindsay, "lately graduat" who had been "holden at schoole and colledge by his father, "a labourer of the ground who hes the charge of a great family, hes straitned himselff to bring his son that length to be graduat". The Presbytery consented, and though the bursary was not available till the following year the student attended the New College, St. Andrews, for the next three years; and on 29 March 1677, he "purposses to pass his tryals" before Brechin Presbytery. The 'lad o' pairts', though poor, was thus encouraged by the Church. Some years after this there was evidently no shortage of ministers^{as} the united presbyteries of Fordoun, Brechin, and Arbroath, were "being thronged with the tryalls of young men". The school was often a stepping-stone to the pulpit, and it is possible that teachers, many of them really divinity students, were forsaking the school/

¹ The Records of The United presbyteries of ffourdoun, Brichen & Aberbrothock, 15 December 1698.

school for the higher and more secure living of the
 Church.*

It

*
 The comparative status of the two professions is illustrated in the following story. A parent, entrusting his son to the care of the teacher, whispered in confidence, "Ye see, Sir, if he get the grace o' God, we mean to mak' a meenister o' him". "Ay ", said the teacher, "an if he dinna get the grace o' God, what then?" "Oh weel, " said the parent with a sigh of resignation, "In that case we'll jist ha'e tae mak a dominie o' him".

It can safely be asserted that the Acts of 1616, 1633, and 1646 were ineffectual in Angus. Not only in Angus but throughout Scotland had they failed to operate, for on 9 October, 1696, there was passed the "Act for Settling of Schools," the oft quoted charter of Scottish education. The Act begins: "Our Sovereign Lord considering how pre-judiciall the want of Schools in many places have been and how beneficiall the establishing and settling thereof in every paroch will be to this Church and Kingdom Therfor His Majestie with the advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament Statutes and Ordains that there be a School settled and Established and a Schoolmaster appointed in every paroch not already provided by advice of the Heritors and Minister of the paroch." If the heritors refused, the Presbytery "shall apply to the Commissioners of the Supply of the shire who or any five of them shall have power to establish a school and settle and modifie a salary for a Schoolmaster." The heritors were to provide "a commodious house for a school," and a salary "which shall not be under one Hundred merks to be payed yearly at two terms Whitsunday and Martinmas by equall portions." Never was there a wiser law, for great ignorance prevailed. But, unfortunately, the country was poverty-stricken. In 1661 so many sturdy beggars and infamous persons frequented

Brechin/

Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. x., pp. 63-64.

Brechin that the Session appointed one William Brand "to putt and hold out these persones out of this toun;" and for his pains he was to receive 12 shillings weekly. Again, on 11 November, 1674, it was enacted that the town officer of Brechin and William Brand should remove the great number of poor that "did sitt within and stood at the porch doore crying for charitie," no matter whether they were "natives or strangers." In 1704 the Brechin Session found it a great abuse that in time of worship "a multitude of common people and beggars" convened and stood at the church door. Again, in 1708, owing to "the great ignorance among many poor people in this place (Brechin) which is occasioned very much by their poverty and neglect of being taught to Read the Bible," the Session resolved to give all encouragement to children of such parents as were unable to maintain their children at school, "this being a most charitable way of disposing the poor's money." The Session recommended the minister to intimate their resolution from the pulpit, and to exhort the poor to bring their children to the minister and session that they might determine who were to receive this charity. Two years later, 1710, the Session adopted a practice then common in Scotland. They recommended the schoolmasters "to cause two of their scholars to repeat a part of the Westminster/

Session Records, 2 October, 1661. Ibid., 7 Jan., 1708.

Westminster Catechism publickly in the Church every Lords day betwixt sermons." This practice was designed for the ignorant who wished to edify themselves by remaining in church. During the interval between sermons some went home, and others less devout resorted to the 'change-house; where they sat "bousing at the nappy."

From a "Report anent the severall Schoolmasters," dated 31 Aug., 1710,² and from information contained in contemporary records, much light is shed as to how far the Act of 1696 was ineffective. At Dun, thirteen years after the passing of the Act, there was "No legal school, no salary for a schoolmaster & no house though many good Laws have been made for Settling and maintaining of Schools." Some years prior to this there had been a house used as a school but it is described as "now altogether ruinous." A year afterwards, 5 July, 1710, the Presbytery settled John Robertson as schoolmaster on his signing the Confession of Faith,⁴ and recommended the Session to provide a house.
Mr./

¹ Ibid., 29 March, 1710. ² Brechin Presbytery Records. ³ Ibid 26 July, 1709. ⁴ In accordance with the Act of Parliament 4 July, 1690, Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, LX, p.163.

Mr. Erskine, brother of the Laird of Dun, "repaired and built" the school and schoolhouse and offered the buildings to the parish at £10 Scots per annum. The Presbytery approved and "appointed the said Sum to be Laid on upon the Heretors according to their valued rents as the Sallary is." In the Report of 31 August, 1710, it is recorded that Fern had a schoolmaster. As schoolmaster and precentor he received as a yearly salary, £40 from the Earl of Southesk, £6 from the Session, and the interest of a £100 mortification. He had assisted his father, and on his father's death he continued as schoolmaster, but as he did not cohabit with his wife the Session did not think it fit "to Apply the Presbitery for his orderly admission." At this time David Aitken was schoolmaster and precentor at Stracathro, but there was no schoolhouse, and "no Schollars Except an handfull in the wintertyme." He had subscribed the Confession of Faith but had "no Encouragement but Eleven firlots of meall and Casualties." William Wilson officiated as schoolmaster at Aberlemno, but the parish minister reports that "he doth not precent to him, nor own him as Minister of that parish." At Menmuir there was neither school nor schoolhouse, "nor any scholars except three or four." The schoolmaster was appointed by the Heritors/

Heritors and Session but "was never tryed by the Pres-
:bitery." On being interrogated by the Presbytery he said
he was willing to subscribe the Confession of Faith, and
as to his "encouragement" he answered that he had "only
betwixt four and five bolls of meall and oats and ten merks,
as Session Clerk besides casualties." A year later, it is
reported in the Presbytery Records that "the Session and
parioch (Menmuir) are Resolved to change their school-
:master." On 20 September, 1710, the parish minister
informed the Presbytery that there was no schoolmaster at
Navar, and at the same meeting the minister of Fern reported
that "he told his Schoolmaster in face of the Session to
be present this day, but that he has not come." On 11
October, 1710, it was also recorded that the schoolmaster
at Oathlaw was unwilling to subscribe the Confession of
Faith. At the same meeting the schoolmaster of Craig
declared his willingness to subscribe, and on being inter-
:rogated regarding his salary he answered that he had
"seven bolls and ten pecks of meall, and about twenty three
pounds Scots of money besides casualties." There was
evidently disaffection amongst the schoolmasters, for the
Procurator of the Church, in reply to a letter of the
Moderator/

4 Oct., 1711.

Moderator "anent Schoolmasters," advised the Presbytery "to delay any strict procedure against them, Because of the present Juncture."

Unfortunately the "Report anent Schoolmasters" is not complete - "Because of the Absence of some" - but it contains sufficient evidence to show that fourteen years after the Act of 1696 the educational system of Angus was far from satisfactory. The condition and character of some of the parochial schoolmasters, as revealed in the Presbytery Records, also bear witness to the inefficiency of the parochial system. On 4 February, 1713, Alexander Forbes, schoolmaster at Menmuir, presented a petition to the Presbytery "craving some supply in regaird of his sad and deplorable circumstances which are pretty well known in the bounds." The Presbytery, on considering his case, recommended "the severall members to bring in something from their sessions for his supply." On 5 August of the same year the schoolmaster of Dun compeared before the Presbytery, who found that he did not "please the parish in precenting, he being unfitt for that part of his office." The Presbytery recommended the Session of Dun "to Lay aside" the said schoolmaster from officiating as precentor and session clerk until the Presbytery were fully satisfied with his "regular and orderly walk behaviour and dutifull deportment/

Brechin Presbytery Records, 11 October, 1710.

deportment especially to the Minister." On the 28th of October the parish minister reported that the schoolmaster was to leave Dun, and that the heritors were to appoint William Petrie of Montrose as schoolmaster, "without the concurrence of the Presbytrie of Brechin, or Session of Dun." Such conduct roused the ire of the Presbytery and their attitude is vividly described in the records. The minister of Stracathro and the minister of Dun were empowered and commissioned "to attend and wait upon the tyme when the said William Petrie shall beginn to officiat there as Schoolmaster, And protest against his being admitted to that office, ay and untill he shall satisfie both presbytrie and Session, conforme to Law; - and for that end require him under forme of Instrument to attend the next meeting of Presbytrie thereafter, as he shall be Answerable." During the same month the former schoolmaster at Maryton appeared before the Presbytery and represented that he had lost his sight "by reason of age and so cannot officiat in his charge, is now reduced to straits." The Presbytery resolved to recommend him to all the church sessions within their bounds, and to "all Charitable Christians where providence shall order his Lote," and ordered an extract of this to be given him for four months. Not until 1718, though a school had been in existence for nearly/

¹ Brechin Presbytery Records, 28 October, 1713. ² Ibid., 7 October, 1713.

nearly seventy years,¹ did the heritors directly contribute anything towards the schoolmaster's salary at Auchterhouse. During those years the burden fell upon the Session who paid a yearly salary of £36 Scots. The condition of the school can be imagined from the following entry, dated 22 October, 1710:- "To Thomas Anderson for two days' meat and fie, and for casting 700 divots for repairing the schooll, and for work thereat, £1."²

Brechin Presbytery did not meet between 15 September 1715 and 16 February 1716. The reason is not far to seek: it is contained in the words of the well-known Jacobite song,

"Wha the deil hae we gotten for a King,

But a wee, wee German lairdie!"

The Earl of Mar raised the standard at Braemar on 6 September, 1715, and James VIII was proclaimed at Aberdeen, Brechin, and Dundee. The Rebellion is commemorated in the familiar Scottish song, "The Standard on the Braes o' Mar," composed by the Brechin poet, Alexander Laing/³

¹ On 21 May, 1648, the minister and session decided that a school should be built. ² Robertson, Education: with Notices of the Schools and Schoolmasters of Auchterhouse, pp. 16, 17. ³ Author of "Wayside Flowers," etc. Buried in the N.E. corner of Brechin Cathedral churchyard where the U.P. congregation of High St., Brechin, erected a stone in his memory. The Panmure estates were bought back in 1764.

Laing (1787-1857). The Angus Earls of Panmure and Southesk espoused the Jacobite cause with disastrous results to themselves and their dependants: their estates were forfeited, and afterwards sold to the York Buildings Company.¹ In Angus a great many ministers during the Rebellion were turned out of their churches, and obliged to leave the country," and "others that favoured the rebellion intruding in them." The few that remained were "obliged to leave their houses," and could not "with any safety meet in a Presbiteriall capacity. In the Brechin Presbytery records of 7 March, 1716, there is a list of Intruders, thirteen in all. The eleventh on the list is "Mr. Patrick Ouchterlouny, Chamberlain to Panmure" who acted in the interests of the Pretender, "forcing people to rise in Arms, and carrieng them to Perth." The attitude of the Jacobites is revealed in the Rabble at Edzell in 1714: October 30, 1714. This day Mr. Gray came to preach, but he no sooner advanced towards the church than he was interrupted and stopt in his passage by a great many persons outhounded and hired by David Lyndesay of Edzell to mob and rable him, and those that were with him, who did violently beat severals of those who came with Mr. Gray to join in divine worship with big staves to the effusion of their/

¹In a list of forfeited estates, 38 in number, those of Panmure head the list at a rental of £3456: 11: 10¹/₂; Southesk is third at £3271: 10: 2¹/₆; Murray, The York Buildings Company: A Chapter in Scottish History, 1883, p.114.

their blood, and thrust at the breast of others of them with naked knives and durks, and violently beat them, and did strik them with stones and rungs, and bruised them to that degree that some of them fainted, others lay as dead on the ground for some time; and others of them they drove into the West Watter running by the church, which was very deep be reasone of much rain that had fallen the night befor and that morning, and forced them to wade and pas hither and thither in the said watter until they were almost drowned, and, having suffered them to come out of the water, they cut their cloaths and struck them severely upon the head, so that they had not there health for many months thereafter. By the end of February, 1716, all the ministers of Brechin Presbytery had returned to their charges, "by the good hand of the Lord upon us That Rebellious Insurrection being broke, the Rebels being obliged to flee, and put to flight." It is interesting to note that the Pretender sailed to France from Montrose. "Un souvenir historique s'y rattache: C'est là qu'en février 1716, le prétendant Jacques-Édouard, chevalier de Saint-Georges, s'embarqua pour la France dès qu'il vit sa cause perdue."

¹ Extract from the Parish Register of Edzell: Jervise, Land of the Lindsays, 1882, Appendix, No.1. pp. 411-12. ² Brechin Presbytery Records, 16 and 29 Feb., 1716. ³ De l'Enseignement secondaire en Angleterre et en Écosse, Paris, 1868, p. 531.

perdue." The Fifteen Rebellion produced a detrimental effect on education in Angus, and added to the difficulties of those who were responsible for the superintendence of schools. Teachers who favoured the Rebellion, and their number was considerable, were deposed by Presbyteries and Sessions alike. For instance, John Petry, headmaster of Brechin Grammar School, was deposed by the Presbytery "for his Episcopal leaning in the late unnatural Rebellion." and the Session of Fern "removed Mr. John Crofts their former Schoolmaster, for his accession to the late Rebellion."²

In 1716 the minister of Maryton reported that in his parish "they still kept school in the church, where the boyes broke the windows." In his conversation with the parishioners he learned that there was "a place near the church, where a school had been of old, commonly called the Dominies walls."³ Alexander Murdoch was appointed as schoolmaster, presentor, and session clerk at Fern but Sir John Carnegie, factor of the Southesk/

¹ Brechin Presbytery Records, 15 March, 1716. On 28 January, 1717, the magistrates and town council of Brechin "taking to their sereous consideration that there is and has been a Vacancie of the preceptor or Master's place in the Grammer School of the said Burgh ever Since the month februar or March last Jajvii and Sixteen years and that by and though Mr. John Petrie late School master there his being deposed from the said office by the Reverend the Presbitry of Brechine." Minutes of Brechin Town Council. ² Ibid., 30 May, 1716. ³ Ibid., 26 September, 1716. ⁴ Between the dismissal of John Crofts and the appointment of Alex. Murdoch, John Gillies, who had been a schoolmaster at Wigton for 3 or 4 years, acted as schoolmaster. He was ordained to the ministry of Careston on 18 Sept., 1716.

Southesk estates, refused to pay the schoolmaster's salary—probably because the estates were forfeited after "the Fifteen." The Presbytery appointed that a letter should be sent to the Procurator and Agents of the Church craving their advice as to the method the Session of Fern should adopt, and as to how Thomas Paul, schoolmaster at Brechin, was to obtain that part of his salary which was payable out of the estate of Southesk.¹ In 1718 the Presbytery found there was neither schoolhouse nor a salary for a schoolmaster at Careston. Alexander Miln, who had presented at Logie and Pert "for several long dayes bygone," is represented as being unable to teach Latin, but the parish minister desired the Presbytery on 17 September, 1718, to allow Miln to officiate as "precentor, schoolmaster, and session clerk." The Presbytery granted the request "upon his being found qualified to teach English, Writeing, and Arithmetick." In 1717 David Walker, who had been deposed from Farnell, taught at Maryton with the consent of the heritors but without the concurrence of the Kirk-Session or Presbytery. He had received no salary but on 24 September, 1717, the Presbytery allowed him to continue "for some time" as schoolmaster and precentor.

In 1719 it is evident that the heritors of various parishes in Angus had not conformed to the clause determining/
¹

¹Ibid., 4 Dec., 1717.

determining salaries in the Act of 1696, for the Presbytery nominated three of their members "to repair to Forfar and apply to the Commissioners of Supply for settling salaries for all the schools and schoolmasters in their bounds not yet provided."¹ Three years later the Presbytery on inquiry found that at Craig there was "no legal Settlement of a competent salary" for the schoolmaster, and decided that there should be a commodious house built for the use of the school and schoolmaster at the south-east end of the Church. The dimensions and form of the building were as follows: "thirty six foot long and twelve foot broad within the Walls, 2ndo. That the Walls be built of Stone and Mortar two Elns high. 3tho That the Roof be slated, with convenient Lights, Doors and Partitions."² Such was the "commodious house" built for the use of the school and schoolmaster. The valued rent of the parish, according to the Clerk of Supply for the Shire of Forfar, amounted to £4275: 16: 8 Scots, and the Presbytery did and hereby do modify and appoint the sum of Fourscore pounds Scots Money, as a free salary for a schoolmaster in the said parish of Craig yearly in all time coming; and that by and attour the Casualties belonging to the Reader and Clerk of/

¹ Ibid., 6 May, 1719. ² Ibid., 21 March 1722. The entire cost of the school and schoolhouse amounted to £205: 3: 4, Scots. Ibid., 12 April, 1722.

of the Session of that Parish, as being payable only to such as officiate as Session Clerk." They then appointed the heritors of Craig to meet and stent themselves as to their respective proportions, and to report the same to the Presbytery." They did so on 8 January, 1723.

The Presbytery Records throw considerable light on the ecclesiastical, educational, and social state of Angus at this period. At the Presbytery meeting held at Brechin on 3 May, 1721, the Presbytery thought it fit to instruct their commissioners to lay several urgent matters before the General Assembly. The commissioners were instructed to report that several Jacobite Episcopal clergy who had been deposed "do continue to preach, marry and Baptize." They were to request the General Assembly to apply to His Majesty and the Government to make effectual the erection of Highland schools from the Fund of £20,000 Sterling appointed by Parliament out of the forfeited estates, "five of the said Schools being to be settled in the Braes of Angus." They were to represent that Jacobitism and disaffection to His Majesty and the established government, both in Church and State, prevail "in this Corner more now than ever," and that this in their opinion was largely due to "the Method of/

¹Ibid., 21 March, 1722.

of the Gentry's Educating their Children here, in choosing such to be Pedagogues to their Children and taking them into their Families, who not only are not qualified to His Majesty King George, but whom they know to be most violently set on propagating Jacobitism not only in their Families but the Neighbourhood, and to crave the Assembly may interpose with the Government to get all such Pedagogues and Teachers of Youth qualified according to Law." The commissioners were also to report that the sin of Sabbath-breaking "does much abound in this Corner among all Ranks and that Methods used by Presbyteries have hitherto been ineffectual" - - - - and that "We have no Justices of Peace or other Judges in this Corner, because of the Disaffection of the Gentry, except the Members of the Sheriff Court of Forfar, who were all engaged in the late Rebellion."

From the information available it can be safely asserted that the Act of 1696 was ineffective in Angus for these reasons: persistent poverty in the lower classes; Jacobitism and disaffection towards the Government among the gentry and their dependants; the unsettled ecclesiastical state owing to the intrusion of deposed Episcopal clergy, and the Jacobite and Episcopal leanings of teachers, some of whom may have been swayed through fear of incurring the hatred of lairds, who were/

were powerful enough to defy the Presbytery, and whose lands furnished the chief source of the parish schoolmasters' salaries. The Presbytery, in addition, admitted that the methods they had adopted were ineffectual, and that licence and lawlessness were rife among all classes. And, finally, teachers received such a miserable pittance that they were scarcely able to support themselves. Nationally, the failure of the 1696 Act may be ascribed to the prevailing social, economic, ecclesiastical, and political conditions. From 1696 there followed seven seasons of blight and famine which so aggravated the hardship of a poverty-stricken country that they were long remembered as the "hungry years." Starvation stared the people in the face, and their chief thoughts were those of self-subsistence. Prior to this the Civil War had exhausted the country, and trade had declined. The economic conditions were grievously affected by the Navigation Acts. The ancient commercial relations with France and the Netherlands had been destroyed by English foreign policy. The Revolution of 1688 led to the abolition of Episcopacy, closely identified with Jacobitism, and religious squabbles followed. William III, nicknamed "Wilful Willie", was never forgiven/

¹ For the economic activities of Parliament from 1603-1707, see Thomson, Parliament of Scotland, 1929, pp. 131-144.

forgiven for the Massacre at Glencoe and the failure of the Darien Scheme, designed to lift Scotland out of her impoverished state. The country was poverty-stricken. Proof of this can be found in the Register containing the state and condition of every burgh within the kingdom of Scotland, in the year 1692.¹ In Glasgow it is reported that "by the decay of trade a great number and many of the best of their houses are waste, yea that there is near fyve hundredth houses standing waste and that those inhabited are fallen near a third part of the rent they payed formerly."² Owing to "the low condition" of the burgh of Dundee and "the increasing of their debts," the brewers granted a voluntary contribution and imposition to be paid by them to the town "of ten shillings Scots upon each boll for support of the burgh."³ With regard to inland trade Montrose had none "save coalls and salt for serveing the inhabitants, and our barks are imployed for transporting gentlemens victuall to the Firth. As for tobacco, suggars, and leather, our merchants are served from Glasgow."⁴ The inland trade of Brechin was "but very mean and small, being altogether failed/

¹ Miscellany of the Scottish Burgh Records Society, Edinburgh, 1881, pp. 51-157.

² Ibid., p. 72.

³ Ibid., p. 62.

⁴ Ibid., p. 88.

failed within these three or four years last, soe that more then a third pairt of the merchants and inhabitants of the toune are either become bankrupt or left the burgh, as will appear by a list of the vacant houses thereof." In those days Kirriemuir had "ane great weekly marcat, yearly, with two great marcats contain-
:owing two days each of them, with ane croft marcat con-
:tainowing from Michaelmes to the twentie third day of December, which marcats exceeds all the marcats in this place and shire, and will trade in and about yeirly 6000 lib."² It is noteworthy that while the other towns of Angus are dwindling and pining, Kirriemuir still enjoys comparative prosperity. "Better is he that laboureth and aboundeth in all things, than he that boasteth himself and wanteth bread."³ Union with England was preferable to the union of pride, poverty, and idleness, resulting from a century of strife, from the seven "ill years", from the Navigation Acts, and from the miserable failure of the Darien Scheme. Union with England, however, was not com-
:pleted until 1707.

In 1723 the Session of Dun reported to the

Presbytery/

¹ Ibid. p. 100.

² Ibid. p. 137.

³ Text of Dr. John Arbuthnot, who preached in favour of Union at Edinburgh in Dec. 1706. Scottish Historical Review, vol. xxiii, p. 279.

Presbytery that the schoolmaster at Dun "had deserted his Charge," that they had declared the office of schoolmaster vacant and were to appoint a schoolmaster. During the same month the schoolmaster at Lochlee compeared and "confessed drunkenness," for which he was suspended. Within a month the suspension was raised but he was put on trial for six months. Four years later "bad Reports" of his conduct were submitted to the Presbytery and he was again suspended until he should compear before the Presbytery, which he did on 20 March, 1728. On being asked why he did not sing in church, he replied that "he that precented could not sing but had a Tune of his own And it would have been a Mockery of God in him to join in singing with the Congregation." On being further charged with Sabbath-breaking he pleaded "lapsus memoriae," his excuse being that "thro' a gross Mistake of Memory" he mistook Sabbath for Thursday! The Presbytery remembering his former offences at Marykirk and Droustie (Glenesk) and having been "reproached already for continuing him there so long," deposed him and declared the sentence to be publicly intimated in the Church. Seven months later the minister himself demitted office, "the presbyterie finding his work there unsatisfactory." In extenuation it could be pleaded for the pastor of Lochlee that "Wyd was his parisshe, and houses fer asonder" - a sore trial for a man described as "a/

"a person of such a bulkish, unwieldy body." But "if gold ruste what shall iren doo?" Charles Lyon of Brechin was presented by the Presbytery as schoolmaster at Farnell on 25 July, 1722. ^{wo}~~two~~ years later the parishioners, "much displeased with him" for not having attended the school for some time, proposed to the minister that another schoolmaster should take Lyon's place. The Presbytery on 22 July, 1724, appointed Lyon to appear before them but he did not do so until 30th December of the same year. On being interrogated as to his reason for deserting the school at Whitsunday, he replied that he was not acceptable to the parish, and disclaimed any title to the office of schoolmaster.

Despite the vigilance of Sessions and the superintendence of the Presbytery there were still traces of Jacobitism amongst teachers. The minister of Dun reported on 16 November, 1726, that he thought the thought the schoolmaster at Dun (appointed without the minister's consent) was a Jacobite. The minister alleged (1) The schoolmaster had not qualified himself "according to law" though he had had several opportunities. (2) Though the session desired him to be precentor and session clerk he would have nothing to do with the session. (3) He had not partaken of the Sacrament. (4) He attended church but "owns no other part of his ministry."

Mr. Alexander Brand was appointed schoolmaster at Maryton/ Brechin Presbytery Records, 9 October, 1728.

Maryton about 1727, but soon intimated his resignation "by reason of the unbecoming carriages of some of the Parish to him, and also of not paying of him his Dues." The Session entreated him to remain as schoolmaster and precentor but he told them he could not stay for the reasons already mentioned, and that the "place was not sufficient for him to live in all his Days; therefore he would leave it, and cast himself in the hands of Almighty God, who is an all-sufficient Being, and one who was able to support him in all difficulties." At the time of the Union the Scots silver money was called in to be reminted to standard English coins; but the copper money was left. When it went out of legal currency parishioners sometimes deposited obsolete coins into the ladle of the kirk which, in addition to bad copper money, not infrequently contained foreign coins. In 1734 the Session of Dun found that part of their money was "impassable", and decided "to lay it up till such time as it may pass." The schoolmaster of Dun on one occasion deferred payment of his salary "in regard the money we had by us was in Brass,"² that is, bad copper.

The parishes of Navar and Lethnot had not conformed to the Act of 1696. On 24 May 1727, the parish minister represents/

¹ Fraser, St. Mary's of Old Montrose, pp. 206-7.

² Ibid. p. 230.

In 1723 Lethnot was disjoined from Lochlee and annexed to Navar.

represents that "there has never been any Schoolmaster or Session Clerk in the parish" but that the parishes "are now inclining to have a Schoolmaster, Session Clerk and Precentor." William Davidson of Aberdeen was appointed to Navar and Lethnot, but on 3 July, 1728, the Presbytery decided to delay his trials "till they see what can be done anent obtaining a legal Salary for the Schoolmaster there." A year later the minister of Lethnot proposed that the Presbytery, "with the advice of the Tenants present," should fix the dues for each marriage and baptism, whereupon they appointed that the schoolmaster should keep a register of marriages and baptisms, for which, including the proclamation of banns, the schoolmaster should receive twelve shillings Scots, and 6/8 Scots for each baptism. The Presbytery also fixed the scale of school fees as follows: "Half a merk for Quarter to be payed for each Scholar reading English, Ten pence for reading and writing, twelve pence for teaching Arithmetick, and a Merk for teaching Latin." Four years later the schoolmaster presented a petition to the Presbytery showing "That altho' he be legally settled in the said United Parishes (Navar and Lethnot) yet he has not the legal Encouragement appointed for Schoolmasters; and also that a great many Persons in the/

the said United Parishes do not pay him Half a Merk for the Baptism of their Children, altho' this Presbyterie made an Act appointing that Sum to be payed for his recording the same." The Presbytery decided to renew their former Act. In 1729 Brechin Presbytery recommended their commissioners to report to the General Assembly that in their opinion the number of students and probationers had increased "far beyond what the Church has Use for," and that the bursaries for the encouragement of students were generally too small, and that by joining three Presbytery bursaries the number should be diminished and that the bursaries should be bestowed upon deserving young men "of more than ordinary Expectation, to be chosen by the Synod." The Presbytery were not in favour of giving encouragement to "Students and Preachers having Irish," as they considered that "it were much better, that Language were worn out by Degrees," and that those who were taught to read "the Irish-Bibles and Catechisms" were at the same time taught to read English by the schoolmasters of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, and others similarly employed.

The/

Ibid., 15 August, 1733.

In 1727 the bursary of Brechin Presbytery amounted to about £5 Sterling.

Ibid., 15 April, 1729.

The failure of the 1696 Act is further revealed in a report of the schools within the bounds of Brechin Presbytery in 1731. The Presbytery found from the ministers of Brechin, Montrose, Dun and Craig, that "they have schoolmasters settled, and that the Parish of Lochlee has a sufficient Salary for a Schoolmaster by Donation. And as for the rest of the Brethern, they representing that their Schools and Salaries are not legal, the Presbyterie appoints them to bring in a written Report." The ministers of Fern, Stracathro, Maryton, Navar, and Lethnot, were absent from the Meeting, but of these parishes, Fern and perhaps Maryton seem to have been the only ones with a legal salary for a schoolmaster. This means that in 1731 at least 80 per cent of the parishes had not conformed to the 1696 Act, and that between 1650 and 1731 there was little or no improvement in the educational system of Angus. At the afternoon session of the same meeting the Presbytery resolved to give the Schoolmaster of Navar and Lethnot the old manse and church of Navar as dwelling-house and school, and in lieu of a salary he was to get the tenancy of the old glebe of Navar from the York Buildings Company. The tenants' contribution towards his salary was to work the/

Ibid., 10 Februaty, 1731.

the glebe free of cost to the schoolmaster, who was also to have the pupils' fees. In 1732 the schoolmastership of Lochlee had been vacant for about six months. On 5 July, 1732, Bailie Gordon of Brechin, on behalf of the laird of Troup, compeared before Brechin Presbytery and presented a letter, dated 3 June, recommending Alexander Ross as a fit person for the vacancy. The Presbytery found difficulty in making choice of Mr. Ross, as his wife had "been educated in the Popish Religion." Mr. Ross was called before the meeting and asked to show his marriage certificate. He answered "that he had none at present," whereupon the Presbytery delayed the appointment. Bailie Gordon protested against the delay, and within a month the Presbytery were informed that he had brought Mr. Ross to Lochlee and put him in possession of the "Houses" belonging to the schoolmaster. Mr. Blair, minister at Lochlee, also informed the Presbytery that Mr. Ross came to him "demanding his Concurrence thereto, which was refus'd." Mr. Ross with the concurrence of Bailie Gordon, must have defied the Presbytery and parish minister for, nearly a year later, the minister reported to the Presbytery "That he never observed anything in Mr. Ross his Conduct but what was very agreable to him, and that his Wife Jean Catenach since her coming to Lochlee had punctually attended the publick Ordinances, and that he, upon conversing with her?

her anent her Principles, found her much better affected to Protestant Principles than he expected, and does not doubt but in a little time She may be a thorough Convert to this Church." The Presbytery then resolved to appoint Mr. Ross by way of trial to officiate as precentor and schoolmaster for another year. The minister was also appointed to intimate to the congregation of Lochlee that the school was "to be opened by Mr. Ross, and to desire them to send up their children to it."

From 1725 to 1732 John Weath, doctor of the Grammar School of Brechin, officiated as clerk to the Presbytery. In 1732 he was succeeded by James Bruce, schoolmaster of Fern, Mr. Weath having become a licentiate on 2 August, 1732. Mr. Weath as clerk received the same emoluments "as formerly payed to the Clerk, vizt. Twenty Shillings Scots from each Member." In 1731, a certain George Weath, elder, caused "great offence by going to the Jacobite meeting-house in this place" (Brechin). He admitted attending the Sacrament held in the said meeting-house on Pasch Sabbath, but declared he went/

¹Brechin Presbytery Records, 16 May, 1733. Ibid. 10 Feb. 1725.

²This appointment must have been temporary for on 8 June, 1743, Weath represented to the Presbytery that as he was settled as minister at Tannadice, he resigned office as clerk to the Presbytery. In 1744 Hugh Christie, doctor of Brechin Grammar School, was clerk.

went only to satisfy his curiosity, and without the least intention of joining in the worship, "which in his judgment he look'd upon as impure."

Schoolmasters at this time were examined by members of the Presbytery as to their scholastic qualifications as well as their principles of religion. On 8 September, 1736, the minister of Menmuir, representing that there had been no fixed schoolmaster in his parish for about fifteen months, entreated the Presbytery to proceed without delay to consider the presentation of Patrick Creighton. The Presbytery complied, and "having examined him coram, as to his Skill in Humanity, the Principles of Religion and other Parts of Learning necessary for that Station," they were satisfied with his qualifications. When Nathaniel Morgan was admitted by the Presbytery on 17 August, 1737, as schoolmaster of Logie and Pert, he, too, was examined in Latin as well as in the principles of religion. In those days no provision by way of a pension was made for the impoverished or impaired schoolmaster. Unhealthy, depressing, and deplorable surroundings, together with unremunerative toil and frequent want, often reduced him to misery and poverty, and compelled him to seek charity. A petition showing the plight of James Bruce, formerly schoolmaster/

Brechin Cathedral Session Records, 23 June, 1731.

schoolmaster at Fern, was presented to Brechin Pres-
:bytery on 6 June, 1744. The petition "humbly sheweth"
that he had held the offices of schoolmaster, session
clerk, and precentor at Fern for "above twenty years",
and had acted as such "without any Accusation for Insuff-
:iciency or Negligence untill that about a year ago, by an
accidental Fall from a House He was so bruised as to bring
on him a Paralitick Distemper disabling him from the
Execution of his Offices." The tenants were willing,
according to the petition, "to give him Oats, when he
should apply for them in Time of Oatseed," but refused
to grant to him some part of his salary by way of an
allowance in accordance with a verbal agreement made at
the time of his resignation. On considering the petition
the Presbytery appointed the parish minister and the
moderator to approach the tenants of the parish to get
them to give a proper yearly allowance to their former
schoolmaster, "especially as he had officiated for the
space of twenty years and upward to the satisfaction of all
concerned." The appointed ministers failed to persuade the
parishioners, for it is reported on the first of August that
"they refuse to grant security of any Thing yearly for his
subsistence." The Presbytery then appointed the parish
minister to take all proper steps to secure a legal salary
for the poor and unfortunate schoolmaster; but nothing is
recorded/

recorded to show whether he was successful or not.

Thomas Glass was schoolmaster at Auchterhouse from 1724 to 1736. Two years after demitting office he must have been in poor circumstances as there is an entry to the effect that there was given to him "under distress" £6 :6:- Scots, in charity. His successor officiated for about two years when on 17 September, 1738, "having fully enquired into the scandalous behaviour and gross mis-carriage" of the schoolmaster, and finding the same proven by several witnesses of good reputation," the session empowered the minister in their name to discharge the said schoolmaster from exercising any office in the congregation, either as schoolmaster, precentor, or session clerk.²

On 9 October, 1745, Brechin Presbytery met at Logie as they considered "it would not be safe to meet at Brechin in Regaird of the present troublous Times," especially when it was necessary for them to deliberate upon joint measures as to how they were "to conduct themselves at this dangerous and critical Juncture" - an allusion to the Forty-Five Rebellion. No meeting of the Presbytery is recorded between 23 October 1745 and 15 January/

Robertson, Education: with notices of the schools and schoolmasters of Auchterhouse, p. 18.

Ibid. pp. 18+19.

January 1746. When the Presbytery met at Brechin on 22 February, 1746, they were informed that the Duke of Cumberland was to halt that same day at Brechin and Montrose. On learning that he was at Montrose the Presbytery adjourned there, and desired access to the Duke. Having "called his General Officers to consult about Matters of Importance," His Highness was "not at leisure". He was willing, however, to receive them "on Monday next in forenoon," and it is recorded that on the 24th of February, 1746, "they were graciously received, and had the Honour to kiss his Royal Highness's Hand," and to wish "Success to his Royal Highness (whom God had raised for an happy Instrument to extinguish the Rebellion)." The Rebellion and the hopes of Prince Charles were finally crushed at Culloden on 16 April, 1746, but in doing so the "happy Instrument", by his cruel persecution of the Jacobites, earned for himself the title of "Butcher". Though the Forty-Five was a more serious affair than the Fifteen it had less detrimental effect on the educational system of Scotland than the Fifteen. This may be attributed to the recognition of the beneficial results of the Union, the firm establishment of the Hanoverian/

Brechin Presbytery Records. Several others from the Presbytery of Fordoun and Aberdeen were also present.

Hanoverian succession, and the peace policy of Walpole which had made prosperity possible. In the more remote parishes of Angus, Jacobitism lingered, and on 8 June, 1748, the ministers of Edzell and Lethnot represented to Brechin Presbytery "the Danger the Friends of the Government in their Parishes are exposed to from the disaffected," on consideration of which the Presbytery agreed to write to His Grace the Duke of Argyle.

On 25 September, 1746, William Davidson, who had acted as schoolmaster of the united parishes of Lethnot and Navar, was admitted as minister of these parishes, and John Dunbar, schoolmaster at Carraldston (Careston) was appointed to be his successor in the office of schoolmaster. For several years the old church of Navar had been used for a school but in 1749 it was proposed that a new school should be built, the estimated cost of which was £277:8: -, Scots. The plan, unfortunately, was not put into execution - probably through lack of funds. Two years prior to this the school at Maryton was in a state of disrepair, and the Presbytery decided it/

On 2 April, 1777, Brechin Presbytery appointed that the oath of purgation should be administered to Mr. John Dunbar, schoolmaster at Navar, in presence of the congregation of Lethnot Church before the first Sunday in June. In October of 1775 he had been charged with immorality.

it should be rebuilt. On being questioned regarding the building, the tradesmen present at the meeting of the Presbytery on 6 November, 1746, answered "That the Schoolhouse and School Chamber (but and ben) must be built from the Foundation. "The details of the various estimates were as follows:- Estimate of the "Reparations of the Schoolhouse" of Maryton (6 Nov., 1746). "To new Building of the Same, being two Roods of Mason Work at ten Pounds Scots per Rood, Twenty Pounds, To Feal and Divots for Cropping & Thatching, Three Pounds. To Two new Couples Timber and Workmanship, Four Pounds Sixteen Shillings. To a mid Spire Wall and two hanging Chimneys, One Pound twelve Shillings; To eight Bolls of Lime for Harling the Walls, Four Pounds; To two Hundred Thatch Sheaves for stobbing the said School, at one Penny Sterling per Piece, Ten Pounds: the Summe is Fourty three Pounds, eight Shillings Scots."

In 1748 the schoolmasters framed a memorial, to be presented to the General Assembly and to Parliament, to have their salaries augmented. But the clergy were at that very time striving to get their own stipends increased. Thus the memorial fell on deaf ears, and schoolmasters had to exist on a miserable pittance which could not procure even the barest necessities of life. Their plight was no better in 1782, when they renewed their attempts to obtain some/

some mitigation of their misery. Their average income was only £13 a year while that of an artisan or ploughman was £15. It was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that the long sought, much needed relief came. In the interval, about 1760, schoolmasters promulgated a scheme to raise a fund for the benefit of schoolmasters' widows and children. With this in view they held a meeting at Edinburgh in September, 1760, and Presbyteries were petitioned to assist them. At a meeting of Brechin Presbytery, held at Montrose on the 1st day of April, 1761, this petition was laid before the Presbytery. The petition humbly supplicated the Presbytery to recommend their representatives at the ensuing General Assembly "to use their Interest for procuring a voluntary collection thro' all the Churches of Scotland for enabling them to make an application to Parliament in order to raise a fund for the support of their widows and Children." The Presbytery recommended the scheme "in the warmest manner," and thereafter proposed that they should visit yearly the several schools within their bounds to enquire into the behaviour of the schoolmasters, the proficiency of their scholars, and the funds and salaries which they had to support them. Five months later the Presbytery resolved that "every minister shall twice a year in the most convenient Season visit the School or Schools of his parish/

parish with one or Two of his Neighbours he shall think proper to join with him, and to report his diligence in that matter to the Presbyterie at their meetings for prayer & privy censure."

By the middle of the eighteenth century Scotland had benefited from the Union of 1707, and could now point to considerable improvement in agriculture, navigation, and commerce. The Turnpike Road Act of 1751 wrought "a remarkable change in civilising the country, in developing its trade, and improving the social and industrial condition of the people."² The rise in trade brought an increase in the population. Yet it is strange there was no corresponding improvement in the means of education for the rising generation. In 1758 it was reported by the S.P.C.K. that "No fewer than 175 parishes, within the bounds of 39 Presbyteries, where the Society's Schools are erected, have no parochial schools."³ If the parochial system had fulfilled its purpose there would have been no need for a private body of men to establish and maintain schools primarily for the propagation of Christian knowledge. The Church seemed incapable of checking the growth of immorality; and even the conduct of/

¹ Ibid., 5 August, 1761.

² Graham, Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, p. 168.

³ An Account of The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, 1709, p. 12.

of children came under the ban of Sessions. The kirkyard had ever been a favourite haunt of children, and their behaviour without and within the kirk often caused the ruling elders no end of trouble. On 14 December, 1725, the Session of Brechin deplored the "great abuses & disorders in several corners of the church at the time when some persons were to be married, not only by Boys, but by persons come to Some Age." The church officers of Brechin were instructed in 1748 to be more exacting in their duties, "particularly that they are not careful enough to bear down noise and disturbance that children make in and about the church in time of divine service." Three years later they were further required to ring the bells "in a decent orderly way not by children or boys but by themselves." Sunday was evidently considered a holiday, and not a holy day, by many of the children, for on the 25th of March, 1759, the moderator of the Session of Brechin was grieved to inform the Session "that on this day's evening he had observed a great number of boys and girls profaning the Sabbath by diverting themselves in the fishing boat on the Castle pool."

In 1767 the schoolmastership of Farnell was vacant owing/

¹ Session Records, 13 January, 1748.
² Ibid., 3 July, 1751.

owing to the dismissal of the schoolmaster who, in presence of the Session, had "judicially confessed himself" guilty of immorality.* The session deprived him of the offices of session clerk and precentor; and the Presbytery approving of the session's action dismissed him from the office of schoolmaster. The method adopted in the appointing of a successor raised a point of law. On 25 November, 1767, the Presbytery had before them a letter from Lady Carnegie in which it was stated that she and the trustees for her son, Sir David Carnegie of Southesk, had presented William Gourlay, student in philosophy, and son to John Gourlay, mason in Brechin, to the school of Farnell. The Presbytery being undecided whether to proceed with or delay the appointment put the matter to a vote, and "the Rolles being called and votes marked it carried by a Majority proceed." Mr. Fergusson, parish minister of Farnell, and two others dissented. Mr. Fergusson objected on these grounds: First, that "the pretended Presentee" was absolutely unqualified as a settled schoolmaster in any parochial school, as he could not attend to his school duties "till his university Education was finished," having still two sessions to attend at Aberdeen. Second, by an Act in the reign of King William (1696 Act), the election of schoolmasters/

* "The sin of uncleanness almost in every kind of it, rages in this place" (Brechin). Session Records, 4 May, 1764.

schoolmasters was lodged in the heritors with the concurrence of the minister, by which Act it appeared that the minister of the parish had "a negative in the choice of a schoolmaster," or at least that his concurrence was necessary. Third, notwithstanding the authority vested in him by the above Act his concurrence was never so much as asked. Fourth, he insisted on the rejection of the present appointment because another candidate was forward, against whom the first objection could not be raised and who was "cloathed" with ample testimonials. For these reasons he "craved the deliverance of Presbytery." The Presbytery, "having at great length reasoned upon the affair," again put the matter to a vote. By a majority the appointment was sustained. Mr. Fergusson again dissented, but Mr. Gourlay was called before the meeting and "the presentation being put into his hands, he accepted thereof, and returned it to the Moderator." The Presbytery then examined him in Latin, Christian religion, singing Church tunes, his "hand of write" and arithmetic, in all of which they found him well qualified to be schoolmaster of Farnell.

In 1772 the school of Dun is described as "ruinous",^{*}
but/

¹ Brechin Presbytery Records, 25 Nov., 1767.

*The tradesmen declared that "the materials or rather rubbish of the old school would be of no use to the new One."

but on 5 September, 1772, the Presbytery had before them the plan of a new school. It was "to be built at a more convenient place," and it was to consist of two storeys, the bottom flat for the school, and the upper flat for the accommodation of the schoolmaster. The dimensions were as follows:- schoolroom, 24 ft. long and 16 ft. broad; upper flat for accommodation of schoolmaster, two apartments, divided by a wooden partition, each 12 ft. long and 16 ft. broad, with an outside stone stair leading to the upper flat. The roof of the schoolroom was to be lathed and plastered with lime and hair, and the floor was to be laid with wrought clay "after the manner of a Barn floor." The schoolroom was to have four windows, each 4 ft. high and 2ft. 8" broad; the upper storey was to have two windows 4 ft. high and 2½ ft. wide; and the roof of the building was to be slated. There was also submitted an estimate for two tables, each 23 ft. long, four forms, and a desk for the schoolmaster, amounting in all to £6 :5 :10, sterling. The valued rents of the parish amounted to £3080 :6s. Scots, the chief heritors being John Erskine of Dun and his son, whose valued rent amounted to a little more than half of the whole valued rent of the parish.

In 1773 Brechin Session received a petition from
the/

the tenants of West Drums, on the west side of the parish of Brechin, showing that they "being at a far distance from any schools," had erected a house for a schoolmaster, and that Mr. Garden, formerly schoolmaster at Farnell, had acted as such for some time but had left, as he was to receive better encouragement elsewhere.* A teacher had been recommended to them and they had agreed to give him a house free, about five bolls of meal yearly, and to furnish him with fuel. Considering this insufficient they presented their petition to the Session who allowed it to lie on the table. Some twenty years later the farmers of West Drums again petitioned the Session declaring that they were a "great distance from a public school," and that they were always under the necessity of contributing among themselves for the encouragement of a teacher. They requested assistance for the support of their teacher, William Edward, "who is found to be a very attentive, diligent and useful among the children entrusted to his care." The Session resolved to contribute £1 sterling yearly, while their funds could afford it, and provided that the schoolmaster produced a certificate from two or more of the petitioners that he had attended and taught the school to their/

* Pitpullox, between Brechin and Careston. Brechin Session Records, 2 Feb., 1773.

their satisfaction.

On 6 January, 1779, Mr. George Tytler, minister at Fern, gave in a complaint to Brechin Presbytery against John Dildarg, schoolmaster at Fern. The schoolmaster, on being called before the Presbytery, "judicially confessed" that he had been guilty of "imprudencies" and disrespectful conduct toward Mr. Tytler, and professed sorrow for his behaviour. The minister then withdrew the complaint on condition that the schoolmaster was rebuked, and admonished to behave in a becoming manner in the future. The Presbytery did so and warned him that if he behaved in such a manner again they would "proceed against him with the utmost rigour of Law." Their judgment was to be intimated from the pulpit of Fern, not by the minister of Fern, but by Mr. Andrew Gray, minister of Careston.

Extracts/

Brechin Session Records 15 Jan., 1792. Petition dated 24 Nov., 1791.

"According to the complaint, Dildarg was so unqualified for the office of precentor that "singing psalms was like to wear out of the church," and he became so turbulent, that no person would "entertain him as a lodger." The more immediate cause of the quarrel arose from Dildarg's propagating the doctrine of the "unlawfulness of eating blood", upon which he wrote a discourse and tried to make converts of all under his influence. Jervise A., Land of the Lindsays, pp. 428-29. Extracts from Petition and Complaint of Mr. George Tytler, Minister of Fern, to the Heritors of the Parish, against John Dildarg, Schoolmaster - January 15, 1778. Dildarg, as session clerk, was also at loggerheads with Mr. Gillanders, minister of Fern, in 1792.

Extracts of the above were granted to plaintiff and accused. The accused had been schoolmaster at Fern for seventeen years, and had acted in that capacity with the consent of the minister and heritors of the parish. The Presbytery had also acknowledged his right to the office on 4 November, 1778, when he subscribed the Confession of Faith. During his incumbency as schoolmaster he had received no salary from the heritors, there being no legal salary appointed for the schoolmaster of the parish. The Presbytery admitted these facts and considered he had a just title to a legal salary, and did "therefore give him their countenance and Assistance in procuring one."

Between /

Between 1780 and 1790 a great change came over the religious habits of the people. "Up to 1760," says Graham, "the Sunday was a day of rigorous observance, of deep solemnity, when the streets were deserted save in multitudinous going to and coming from the worship where attendance was obligatory as a religious duty and as a badge of respectability." But towards the end of the century the streets became noisy and gay, and the church was neglected by the gentry. Unabashed and unrebuked, barbers bore the wigs to their customers and came to shave them on the Lord's Day; and gentlemen even dared to play cards on Sunday to the subversion of all pious traditions and propriety. It was about this time that Burns wrote "Holy Willie's Prayer," the 'motif' of which was Sabbath-breaking.

"Lord, mind Gaw'n Hamilton's deserts,
He drinks an' swears, an plays at cartes,

An' whan we chasten'd him therefore,
Thou kens how he bred sic a splore
As set the world in a roar

O' laughin' at us;

Curse thou his basket and his store

Kail and potatoes."

On 12 June, 1782, Brechin Presbytery were informed

that/

Social Life of Scotland, p. 121. Ibid. Hamilton had ordered some potatoes to be dug on a Sunday for the family dinner.

that Mr. Ross, schoolmaster at Lochlee since 1732, was in a dying condition. He lingered, however, for two more years, dying in May 1784. Mr. Ross was honoured both as teacher and poet. He is chiefly remembered as the author of "Helen-ore," or "The Fortunate Shepherdess," but he wrote other poems in the Scottish dialect. Some of his popular songs are: "The rock and the wee pickle tow;" "Woo'd and married and a';" and "To the beggin' we will go." In September, 1784, the Presbytery unanimously sustained the presentation of the Earl of Dalhousie in favour of John Pirie, son of John Pirie, minister of Lochlee, as catechist and schoolmaster of Lochlee in succession to Mr. Ross.

Though estimates for a new school at Navar had been submitted to the Presbytery in 1749, the scholars continued to be taught in the old church at Navar until 1787, when the glebe was "set in tack." It had been taken by the Earl of Dalhousie for his tenants, and the schoolmaster, David Smith, was left without school or schoolhouse. In May, 1791, in a petition to the Presbytery he stated that he had "taught in a house belonging to the Tenants of Navar and Lethnott for some years past," and would lose it at Whitsunday. He therefore requested the Presbytery to provide accommodation for himself and "at least fifty Scholars of which the School frequently consists." Fully a year later he complained to the Presbytery that there was no legal salary/

salary, and that he had received no salary from the heritors since his settlement as schoolmaster. Such was the parochial system in Navar and Lethnot a hundred years after the Act of 1696. The Presbytery petitioned the Commissioners^{of} Supply who, at their meeting at Forfar on 1 October, 1793, with Sir David Carnegie, Bart., in the chair, "Found & hereby Find the said David Smith entitled to Two hundred Merks Scots of Salary, commencing at Whitsunday last."

The appearance at this time of the various volumes of "The Statistical Account of Scotland drawn up from the communications of the ministers of the different parishes" had an important educational bearing. The voluminous work brought to light how far the Act of 1696 had failed throughout the various parishes of Scotland, and the information contained therein was undoubtedly partly responsible for the further legislation of 1803. Conditions varied but a study of the various volumes discloses, generally, inadequate salaries and limited accommodation for the schoolmasters, few scholars in attendance, and education limited to reading, writing, and arithmetic. The salary at Dun was so small that "the heritors, minister, and principal tenants in the parish" subscribed a certain sum in addition to the salary "in order to make up a tolerable living for/

Brechin Presbytery Records, 5 Dec., 1792. Brechin Presbytery Records, 16 October, 1793.

for the schoolmaster." In rural parishes more children attended school in winter than at any other season, simply because the winter offered them no means of employment. At Kirkden there were "few scholars" and the salary of the schoolmaster amounted to 100 merks Scots (£5: 11: 1¹/₂), and his perquisites did not exceed £3 per annum. At Menmuir there was "but one school and that but ill attended." In summer there were hardly ten scholars, and in winter the number never exceeded thirty. The salary of the schoolmaster was "extremely poor," and he occupied a "paltry house." If schoolmasters were but poorly paid in Brechin, lawyers must have flourished for its inhabitants are described as being "infected with a spirit of litigation and spend considerable sums at the law, often about mere trifles."

In 1800 Presbyteres received a letter from the clerk of the General Assembly renewing the order to send up to the next Assembly reports of all the schools and schoolmasters within their bounds. In 1801 the Presbytery of Brechin found that thirteen of their members had transmitted to the Sheriff-Depute an account of the several teachers/

Statistical Account, vol. iii, 1792, p.361. Ibid., vol.ii, 1792, p.510. Ibid., vol.V, 1793, p.150. Ibid., pp.462. The statistical account of Brechin (pp.457-63) was written by Mr. Andrew Bruce.

teachers within their respective parishes, and that the following parochial schoolmasters were qualified to Government according to law: Brechin, Craig, Lochlee, Farnell, Dun, Menmuir, Stracathro, Maryton, Edzell, and Logie-Pert- which means that in 1801 only 66 per cent. of the parochial teachers within the bounds of Brechin Presbytery were qualified according to law. A parochial school in every parish was not an accomplished fact in 1800. In 1803 Parliament attempted to improve the educational system of Scotland by passing "An Act for making better Provision for the Parochial Schoolmasters, and for making further Regulations for the better Government of the Parish Schools of Scotland," 11 June, 1803. By this Act the minimum salary of £16: 13s 5d. was doubled, and the maximum salary of £22: 4s 5d. was trebled. The Act also provided that there should be a revision of salaries every twenty-five years. The superintendence of schools remained with the Church, and the Act conferred on presbyteries the right, after trial, "to acquit or pass sentence of censure, suspension, or deprivation" on a schoolmaster against whom complaint had been lodged, "which judgment shall be final, without appeal to or review by any court, civil or ecclesiastical." Thus an invidious distinction was made between schoolmasters and ministers, for while the minister had the right of appeal to a Synod or Assembly the schoolmaster had/

Brechin Presbytery Records, 1 April, 1801.

had no appeal beyond the Presbytery.

Brechin Presbytery had soon to consult the Act of 11 June, 1803. In a letter dated 12 July, 1803, the Presbytery were informed by Mr. Spence, factor to Pammure, that the Hon. Wm. Maule, and Alexander Burnett, on behalf of Sir Alexander Ramsay, had granted William Reid a presentation to the school of Edzell, then vacant by the death of the former schoolmaster, and requested the Presbytery to admit him to office as soon as possible. The Presbytery on consulting the new Act found that if the heritors and the minister of a parish, where a school was vacant, failed to elect a schoolmaster within four calendar months from the time the vacancy occurred, the Presbytery must apply to the Commissioners of Supply who had power "jure devoluto." The Presbytery did so, but the Sheriff-Substitute of the county gave it as his opinion that the school of Edzell having been vacant before the passing of the new Act, the mode of supplying that parish did not come within the Act of 1803. The Presbytery then proceeded with the trial of the presentee. Mr. Baird, schoolmaster at Montrose, at the request of the Presbytery, examined the candidate in arithmetic and book-keeping, and reported that "he judged him qualified to teach the former, and that he knew something of the latter." The Presbytery examined specimens of the candidate's handwriting/

handwriting and judged him sufficiently qualified in that branch, but on examining him in "English reading, Orthography, and the principles of English grammar found him deficient in these essential points," and therefore did not consider him "at present" qualified to be schoolmaster of Edzell.¹ Four months later he was again examined by the Presbytery, and on this occasion, he was found qualified. He was then furnished with an extract to that effect, after having signed the Confession of Faith and Formula 'coram'.

Trouble was brewing. In 1811 Brechin Presbytery were involved in a case that cost them considerable time, trouble, and expense. On 7 August, 1811, they were presented with a petition from the moderator and Kirk-session of Montrose, in which it was stated that at considerable expense they had erected a school and schoolhouse^{*} for those of the parish who were at "too great a distance to send their children to the schools in the Town of Montrose." When the schoolmaster removed to Montrose in 1806 the vacancy was advertised, but one Donald Fleming was/

¹Brechin Presbytery Records, 12 October, 1803.

²In 1816 the magistrates and Town Council of Montrose denied the right of Brechin Presbytery to examine the Burgh Schools of Montrose. The General Assembly upheld the Presbytery.

^{*}At Loanhead, two miles distant from Montrose.

was the only applicant. As the parents of the children were "anxious to have a Teacher" he was appointed, but not being altogether satisfied as to his ability the session declared he was to continue only so long as his conduct gave satisfaction to the session. Soon afterwards it was alleged that "his abilities in Arithmetic were so slender that altho' after his admission he commenced an evening school for boys & those of more advanced years the whole of them left him before the expiry of the first quarter, and he has had none since." Former masters, it was stated, conducted an evening school which was "numerously attended, principally by farm servants and other working people." The kirk-session of Montrose received numerous complaints and petitions, some of which were shown to the schoolmaster "in order that he might remove without compulsory measures being used," and that if he had any abilities such complaints might act as a stimulus. This was of no avail. The school "decreased from 60 scholars (being the general number formerly attending) to 8 or 10 scholars." Another petition was presented to the kirk-session, to which the schoolmaster was asked to reply. As a result it was resolved by the session to examine the schoolmaster and his scholars. With this end in view they appointed five of their number as a committee and requested the moderator to ask the ministers of Dun and Logie-Pert to conduct/

conduct the examination. As a result of a report which was made the petitioners ordered the schoolmaster to be dismissed from the school and schoolhouse, as appears in the Minutes of the Session of 21 Jan., 1811. He received a summons to remove, and appeared before the Sheriff disputing the authority of the plaintiffs and the jurisdiction of the sheriff, and "after sundry steps of procedure," the sheriff-substitute on 20 June, 1811, pronounced an Interlocutor as follows: "The Sheriff-Substitute having considered this process with the productions made therein, is of opinion that it is not competent for the Kirk-Session of Montrose to remove the Defender from the School & Schoolhouse of Loanhead after being placed as a schoolmaster there for some years, until it is found, by a sentence of the Presbytery that he is unqualified for the office, or has behaved in an improper manner during the time he acted as Schoolmaster, Assoizles the Defender from the process, finds expences due & appoints an account thereof to be given in." The session proved to be determined and asked the Presbytery to interpose. The Presbytery resolved that, as the schoolmaster "had not been regularly inducted into his office," he should appear before them. He ultimately compeared on 2 October, 1811, with Mr. Anthony/

Anthony Davidson, writer in Montrose, as his counsel. Mr. Davidson urged several reasons why the Presbytery should defer the examination of the schoolmaster and after all parties were heard they were removed. The Presbytery considering that the case was "at present going on in the civil court," resolved to delay the examination until the case was "disposed of by the Judge Ordinary", or until some agreement was made between the parties involved. At the same time they agreed that if no decision or agreement took place within a reasonable time they would proceed at their own instance to examine the schoolmaster, and to determine accordingly. The parties were recalled and the resolution of the Presbytery intimated to them. At the Presbytery meeting on 22 October, 1811 there was read an Interlocutor, dated 3 Oct. 1811 from the Sheriff in which "he Sists farther procedure in the case till 2nd. Seder-:unt of January next," and that in the meantime the school-:master might be examined by the Presbytery. The Presbyt-:ery took advantage of the last clause, and the report of the examination, conducted by four ministers, was read at their meeting on 27 November, 1811. It was as follows: "That they had examined Donald Fleming on English Reading, Spelling, Writing, on the principles of Religion, in Arithmetic/

Mr. Hutton, Edzell; Mr. Waugh, Menmuir, Mr. Fergusson, Maryton; and Mr. Hannah, Stracathro.

Arithmetic, as far as the Rule of Proportion, & vulgar fractions, on all which he gave them entire satisfaction, & particularly in his expertness in the above branches of Arithmetic" - the branch in which the petitioners alleged his abilities were so slender! The Presbytery unanimously approved of the report and found the schoolmaster "qualified." At the same time they appointed the moderator to admonish him "not only to be very attentive to every branch of his duty as a Schoolmaster, but also to observe towards the Kirk-Session of Montrose, & all his neighbours a peaceable, obliging, & friendly disposition." Parties again being called, the above was intimated to them, and the moderator "suitably exhorted Donald Fleming agreeably to the above."

On 2 June, 1783, Brechin Town Council appointed William Dovertie, schoolmaster of Dun, as teacher of "English writeing & Arithmetick" within the burgh of Brechin. They also instructed their Treasurer to pay him the salary formerly paid to the doctor (assistant) of Brechin Grammar School," which office is for the present abolished." In April 1788 the Council were unanimously of opinion that Brechin Grammar School was "large/

Brechin Presbytery Records: 7 August, 22 October, 27 November, 1811.

It was abolished for all time.

"large enough not only for that purpose But Also for an English School", and appointed the magistrates to divide the Grammar School after Whitsunday into two schools, a Grammar School and an English School. In 1795 Mr. Dovern is described in the Council Minute of 3 December as "Teacher of the English School", which was virtually the parochial school, as on 16 Nov., 1809, it is reported that "the magistrates, in Concurrence with the Heritors" of the parish of Brechin had elected Mr. George Alexander, schoolmaster at Murroes, as "Parochial Schoolmaster of the Town & Parish in the Room and Place of the deceased Mr. William Dovern." The Presbytery within a week received an extract of the Minutes of the meeting of the magistrates and heritors making choice of Mr. Alexander, and also "certificates of his qualifications to Government" and several recommendations/

Mr. Dovern "dressed till the last of his days in knee-breeches with buckles, long coat and broad tails, and ties in his shoes, while he carried a cane about six feet long, grasped by his hand towards the top." Black D. History of Brechin, second edition, p. 185. Mr. Black was town clerk of Brechin from 1825-1864. The first mention of the parochial school of Brechin in the Council Minutes occurs in the minute of 8 Sept., 1809, when the Council appoint the clerk to intimate by letter to the heritors of Brechin parish "the Vacancy of the Parochial School", and to request a meeting of the heritors.

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recommendations in his favour. The Presbytery appointed that he should submit to trial and sign the Confession of Faith and Formula, but "meantime allowed him to commence teaching said school." The Council of Brechin approved of the appointment and made over "in so far only as the Town have right so to do" the whole of the fees and other emoluments. The fees per quarter were fixed as follows: English and Writing, four shillings, sterling; Arithmetic, five shillings; Latin, six shillings; Mathematics, six shillings; Book-keeping per course, twenty one shollings; English grammar, five shillings; French, ten shillings and sixpence. The Council in lieu of a house and garden, allowed Mr. Alexander the sum of £10 sterling.

The

¹ Brechin Presbytery Records, 22 Nov., 1809. He compeared on 7 March, 1810, and having passed part of his trials before Dundee Presbytery, he was licensed to preach the gospel on 24 April, 1810.

² The fees had been raised in Brechin in 1801.

² Brechin Town Council Minutes, 16 Nov., 1809.

⁴ Ibid., 4 Dec. 1809.

The first mention of an examination of the schools in the Brechin Town Council Minutes occurs in the Minute of 11 March 1807, when the Council appointed the magistrates of Brechin as a committee to attend along with a committee of the Presbytery the examination of the different schools of the burgh. Nothing is reported of the examination. On 27 November 1811, Brechin Presbytery adopted the following scheme for the examination of the schools within their bounds. A committee was appointed for each parish, the minister of the parish being convener, and the number fixed for each committee was as follows:- Montrose 5; Brechin 4; Craig, Maryton, Edzell, Lethnot, Menmuir, Careston and Fern, 3 each; Farnell, Dun, Logie-Pert, Stracathro and Lochlee 2 each.

In 1816, the Forfar magistrates and town council, heritors of the landward parish, and minister "resolved to unite, for a certain period, into one seminary, the Parochial School and the two Schools established and supported by the Magistrates and Council". The patrons assigned distinct branches of education to the different teachers. The parochial/

Statutes and Regulations of the Public Schools of Forfar, 1st. July. 1816. Dundee 1816 p.5.

parochial schoolmaster was to "teach English only"; and the fees payable to him, per quarter, were:-

English	£0	-	2	-	6
Highest class of English and Elocution	0	-	3	-	6
One hour at the highest class of English, or					

revising English Grammar; provided the scholar is learning Languages, Arithmetic, or Practical Mathematics, at the same time at the other Schools 0 - 2 - 0

The fees were to be collected at the beginning of every quarter, and no other fees were to be taken by the teacher. Gratuities at Christmas, Candlemas, and Shrove-tide, or at any other period, were "strictly prohibited". In winter every scholar "shall pay one shilling of coal-money for the season."² In rural parishes it was customary for each boy to carry a peat to keep the school fires burning. From the 1st. of April to the 1st. of October, the hours of teaching were "from seven to nine o'clock morning; from ten forenoon to twelve o'clock noon; and from two to half-past four o'clock afternoon". In winter the school hours were from 9 to 12 noon, and from two to half-past four" or till dark"³. No holidays were to be allowed, "except every Saturday/

¹ Ibid., p.6. ² Ibid., p.7. ³ Ibid., p.8.

Saturday afternoon, Wednesday and Thursday of St. Peter's Fair, and the days of the May Market, St Etherine's Fair, and St. Trodwell's Fair". There was to be an annual vacation of four weeks, beginning "on the afternoon of the Saturday preceding St. James's Fair"; and the School was to be re-opened "on the fourth Monday thereafter". The parochial teacher "shall introduce as much of Dr. Bell's system as the Patrons may judge expedient". About the end of the eighteenth century Dr. Bell^{*} had introduced the Madras or monitorial system, which was then considered a great discovery; but the system has long since been discarded. The respective teachers were instructed to adopt the most approved modes of teaching, and in particular they were "to be careful in the proper classing of their pupils, according to their industry and ability, and to advance or disgrace them accordingly"². Corporal punishment, which was to be as sparing as possible, was to be inflicted "by tawse or ferula³ only, on the hand or breech, with coolness and prudence". The teachers were also to appoint censors who were in weekly rotation to call the roll and mark the absentees, and report as to the behaviour of the scholars. The patrons had power to/

¹Ibid. * See Morgan, Makers of Scottish Education, 1929. pp. 159-169. ²Statutes and Regulations, pp. 8-9. ³Ibid., p.9.

to nominate children of indigent parents to be educated gratis. Children of such parents were to "act as Janitors"¹. An annual examination, in the week previous to the vacation was to be conducted "in presence of the Presbytery, Patrons, parents of the Scholars, and others interested"². And the examinations were to be conducted solely and exclusively by the teachers themselves.

The subjects taught in the rural schools varied, and depended on the choice of the heritors. When a schoolmaster appeared before the Presbytery for examination, he produced a copy of the various branches of education required by the heritors. David Laing, having been appointed to Menmuir, appeared before Brechin Presbytery on 1 July 1818, with a note of the prescribed subjects, which were: English grammar, writing, book-keeping, arithmetic, and mensuration. The schoolmaster appointed to Dun, on the other hand, was examined in - Reading of English, orthography, arithmetic, trigonometry, geography, book-keeping, Latin, French, and the Greek New Testament. Both candidates were also examined, as was customary, in the principles of religion.³ On the first of February 1826, it was reported to Brechin Presbytery that/

¹ Ibid., p.10. ² Ibid.
 Brechin Presbytery Records. 15 June 1814.

that, after the death of the schoolmaster of Lethnot on 30 Dec., 1824, the parish had been without a legally appointed schoolmaster, and "that consequently the Heritors had lost the right of presentation". The Presbytery thereupon agreed to apply to the Commissioners of Supply. The choice of the Commissioners was not intimated to the Presbytery until nearly a year afterwards when they sustained the choice and appointed a committee to examine the presentee in English writing, arithmetic, and Latin.

In 1827 Brechin Presbytery had before them a letter from the Chairman of the Commissioners for visiting the Universities and Colleges of Scotland. The Presbytery, having carefully examined the returns from their several parishes, reported "that in Brechin and Montrose and five of the Country Parishes within the bounds of the Presbytery young men may be prepared for entering the university". This, in other words, means that instruction in Latin and Greek could be had only in five of the rural parishes, for the Presbytery at the same time unanimously agreed that the following remarks should be annexed to the schedule: "The Presbytery of Brechin beg leave to State, That one reason why so many of the Parochial Teachers within their bounds are incapable of teaching Greek & Latin is the power vested, by the last Act of Parliament relative to Parochial Schools in/
in/

in the Heritors of Parishes, to prescribe to the Presbytery what Branches are to be taught in the respective Schools. In consequence of this power many teachers have within these few years, been elected who are unacquainted with either Greek or Latin. The Presbytery therefore humbly give it as their opinion, that this clause in the Act of Parliament ought to be amended - And that it ought to be declared by law that every Parochial Schoolmaster shall before his election have attended an University at least two Sessions. Should Parochial Schoolmasters be thus required to be possessed of Superior qualifications, the Presbytery are unanimously of opinion that the present salaries of Parochial Schoolmasters ought to be augmented. As doubts have arisen with respect to the power of Presbyteries over Burgh Schoolmasters, the Presbytery likewise humbly recommend that all teachers within Burghs, whose Salaries are paid from the common good, or from mortifications shall be entitled as other Parochial Schoolmasters, and in the same manner under the superintendence of the Presbytery.

In a letter from the General Assembly, dated 30. May 1829, all clerks of Presbyteries were required to send up Returns of the examination of the schools in their respective/

Ibid., 25 September 1827.

respective bounds, in printed schedules containing the names not only of the schools examined, but of all schools not examined with the reason for such omission, to be delivered not later than the first week of the Assembly. In 1828 there were 60 scholars attending Menmuir parish school, and about 75 at Aberlemno. The parish school of Aberlemno was examined by a committee of Forfar Presbytery on 20 March, 1828, when "One boy, about six years of age attracted particular notice; when he entered school about twenty months ago, he did not know the alphabet, and already reads English correctly, repeats the answers in the Catechism with great accuracy, and is begun to the Rudiments of Latin, for which he pourtrays a good capacity".

After a long and protracted illness, which he bore with much patience, Mr. John Milne, schoolmaster at Edzell, died on 21 May 1830, in the forty ninth year of his age. He was succeeded by Mr. William Ayre of Restalrig who was chosen from a considerable number of candidates, "the greater part, for qualifications and character, would have done honour to any parochial school".²

In

¹Montrose Review. 28 March 1828.

²Ibid., 28 May and 30 July 1830.

In the Montrose Review there had appeared several letters¹ which aroused more than local interest. These, and others by the same author, were afterwards published at Montrose in January 1829, and sold at half-a-crown, under the title "Letters addressed to The Parochial Schoolmasters of Scotland by a Schoolmaster". We have reason to believe that these letters were written by James Norval of Montrose Academy.² In these letters the writer criticises some of the comparatively recent innovations in the system of teaching. He attacks the monitorial system of Bell and Lancaster³ which, he says, "has proved a complete failure purely from the inefficiency of the scheme", and that by "attempting too much it has done next to nothing at all".⁴ According to the writer, Lancaster "engrafted an/

¹The first letter is dated 30 Nov. 1827. ²"Had these letters come from the pen of some influential metropolitan doctor (teacher) they would have excited quite a sensation in the world of letters. Coming from the pen of one whose name may be 'Norval on the Grampian hills', but who professes to be nameless here, they may be shuffled aside as the lucubrations of an ignoble adversary, who has no claim to an answer". Montrose Review, 23 January 1829, quoting Edinburgh Observer.

³There has been a good deal of controversy whether Bell or Lancaster discovered the the monitorial system. Priority must be given to Bell who had worked the system in Madras before Lancaster had begun his educational work. A feeling of jealousy arose between them. The Edinburgh Review was loud in its praise of Lancaster's system, while the Quarterly, as in duty bound, decried it and extolled that of Bell. ⁴Montrose Review, 15. August. 1828. *ibid.*

an abundance of novelties" and invested Bell's system "with such a display of apparatus as was highly imposing"¹. He admits that Lancaster was a man of considerable talent and never failed to make a deep impression on his audience, and that schools for "mutual instruction" were not only very generally established throughout the kingdom, but that his system was introduced extensively on the Continent. He asserts, however, that the monitorial method "has been long on the decline, and in many places where it was generally introduced, it is almost extinct". And, further, he categorically states, "The fact is, that in almost every school conducted on this plan, that I have visited, the reading was quite intolerable"². Schools were established in Scotland on the Bell system as well as the Lancastrian model, and continued to exist till 1872. The so-called "great discovery" has long since been discarded but, as Dr. Morgan says, "it fostered habits of self-help and a feeling of responsibility"³. In some of his other Letters the Schoolmaster passes "Strictures on Professor Pillans's 'Principles of Elementary Teaching'". His ideas would not now be tolerated. He believed in frequent punishment, and/

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., 22 August 1828. ³ Makers of Scottish Education. p.166.

and that fear had a salutary effect. "I frankly confess" he says, "that this part of my duty is frequently performed, not merely without reluctance, but with positive gratification".¹ This may have been an exaggeration and mere bravado, but the Montrose schoolboys doubtless came near the truth when they commemorated his proclivities in the following rhyme -

"Cockie Norval of Montrose
Lives at the Cottage of Repose;
He whips his scholars every day,
But takes good care of the quarter's pay".

These lines strengthen the conviction that the Letters were penned by Norval.²

In October, 1830, the minister of Maryton lodged a complaint against the parochial schoolmaster of his parish. The complaint showed that for some time the schoolmaster had been addicted to drink, in consequence of/

¹ Montrose Review, 26 September 1828.
² A brief appreciation of "James Norval, M.A., Schoolmaster, Playwright, and Author" is to be found in the Aberdeen Book-Lover, vol.V. Nov. 1926. pp. 95-101. No mention is made of these Letters. Cottage or Repose, now occupied by Mr. Stormont, is opposite to, and east of the toll-house at the junction of the Hillside and Charlton roads.

of which he had frequently neglected his duty, and had been guilty of cruel and improper treatment of the scholars under his charge. The plaintiff also stated that he had repeatedly and ineffectually admonished him, and had taken every step to prevent the matter from coming before the Presbytery, but having altogether failed, he was under the disagreeable necessity of submitting the case to the Presbytery. The Presbytery resolved to "libel" the schoolmaster, and allowed the heritors to join with the minister in the libel. A libel was drawn up in the names of Sir James Carnegie of Southesk and David Carnegie of Craigo, two of the heritors, and Mr. Andrew Fergusson, minister of the parish. The schoolmaster compeared at Montrose with Messrs. Burnes and Scott, writers, as his counsel, on 23 February, 1831. The Presbytery "heard evidence till 8 o'clock", when both parties declared their proof closed. The Presbytery then adjourned to meet next day, when they "did and hereby do depose him". Neither the libel nor the evidence is entered in the Presbytery records as the Presbytery resolved that all documents in the case should be kept" in retentis". The Committee of the Synod of Angus and Mearns, appointed to revise the Brechin Presbytery records, drew attention to this omission because they/

they entertained doubts as to the regularity of the resolution which the Presbytery adopted, and on which they acted.¹

After much wrangling and bickering, which lasted some twelve months, the interested bodies of Brechin re-organized the public schools. Various schemes had been submitted by (1) the town council, who asked and received advice from Professor Pillans of Edinburgh, (2) the guildry, and (3) the heritors. An agreement was finally drawn up on 18 December, 1833:² "There shall be three separate and independent Teachers. First, the Rector of the High School ----- Secondly, the Master of the Parish School ----- and, thirdly, the master of the Burgh School". Each scholar, as in Forfar, was to pay one shilling during the winter as coal-money, and no other fees or gratuities other than those prescribed were to be taken by the teachers. All fees were payable in advance, and the quarter days were fixed/

¹ Ibid., 29 Oct., 1834. The Synod in 1735 had also disapproved of the Presbytery's action in suspending Mr. Sword, schoolmaster of Lochlee, without his being heard; for not recording his letter when absent, and petition when present; for settling a schoolmaster, neither present nor tried, on a gentleman's recommendation. Mr. Sword was deposed by the Presbytery on 20 March 1728.

² Plan of the Public Schools of Brechin. Town Council Minutes 27 December 1833.

fixed as follows: 1st September; 23rd. November; 14 February; and 8 May, terminating on 31 July, leaving the month of August for vacation. The afternoons of each quarter day and Saturday afternoons were to be half-holidays; the Martinmas and Whitsunday Tuesdays were to be holidays. No other holidays were to be granted during the year, "without prejudice to the exercise of the proper discretion of the Master in particular cases". The hours of teaching were from 9 to twelve noon, and from 2 to 5 p.m., or to dusk during winter.* The patrons of each school reserved the right to nominate two poor children to be educated gratis. The branches of education in the parochial school were the same as those of the burgh school of Brechin.

*
 "Will it be believed that a great mass of the pupils attending our Public Schools (Brechin) are confined, with scarcely an interval, from eight o'clock a.m., till not unfrequently nearly six p.m., - and this, too, during winter as well as summer; a confinement little, if at all, less than that of children in spinning mills, and in an atmosphere scarcely less pestilential ----- The teachers have been remonstrated with in vain.----- Each seems to vie with his neighbour "in effecting the advancement of his pupils". Parens, Brechin Schools, Montrose Review, 25 Nov., 1842. Brechin had no newspaper of its own till 1848. The first issue of the Brechin Advertiser is dated, Tuesday, October 3. 1848, and not "Monday 10th. October 1848", as stated by Black, History of Brechin, 1867. p.221. A copy of the first number can be seen in the Advertiser office. A printing office had been established in Brechin in the year 1829.

Brechin: English Reading with Explanations; Recitation; English Grammar; Writing; Arithmetic; Book-keeping; Practical Mathematics, including Mensuration, Navigation, etc.; Elements of British History; and, in the Bible classes Elements of Scripture History; Religious Instruction, Catechisms etc.". The fees per quarter for "whole day scholars" were as follows: Reading, 2/6; Writing 2/6; Reading and Writing, 3/6; Arithmetic, with or without Reading and Writing, 4/6; Book-keeping and Practical Mathematics, 5/-. The fees for "partial day scholars were: Reading, one lesson per day, 1/6; Writing, one lesson per day, 1/6; Arithmetic, one hour per day, 2/-; Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, 2/6. English Grammar, Recitation, and History to be taught, one or all, for 6d. additional to above Fees". Half-day and partial day scholars were to pay, during winter, 6d. as coal-money. The three schools were housed in what is now the Mechanics' Institute. Entry to the Rector's department was by the door in the south end of the building; to the parish school by the front door; and to the burgh school by the door in St. Mary's Street, at the north end of the building.

The public schools of Arbroath were re-organized in the following year. In 1834 the directors and town council of/

of Arbroath, "after mature consideration", submitted to the public a pamphlet containing the various changes "amended and adopted on the 5th. of September 1834". The establishment "shall consist of Three Masters, who shall be independent of one another"². The status of the parochial schoolmaster was most peculiar. He was called "the first Master", and was "bound to provide an Usher, and shall himself personally, or with the aid of his Usher, teach the higher branches³ of education, leaving the plainer to be taught by his Usher, under his responsible direction and superintendence."⁴ "Each of the three masters was entitled "to charge sixpence per quarter, for each scholar, under him, during the winter half-year, as coal-money; and this along with the fees, shall be charged at the commencement of the quarter:—no gratuities shall be allowed". All the schools were to "open/

¹ Rules and Regulations of the Arbroath Academy, printed by Pat Cochran, 1834.

²Ibid., p.3.

³Latin, Greek, French, Practical and Theoretical Mathematics, Book-keeping, Ancient and Modern Geography, Chronology and History, Drawing, Navigation, English Reading and Grammar, Recitation, and Arithmetic. Ibid., p.3. "The Fees, states the pamphlet, "have been lowered by nearly one-third". p.2.

⁴Ibid., Regulation III. p.4.

"open seven hours a day on every lawful day, except holidays". And each quarter was to "consist of twelve weeks", and the first quarter to "commence at the opening of the schools after the vacation". An annual examination was to be held on the second Wednesday of July, when the summer vacation would commence and "continue till the Monday four weeks following". The only other holidays allowed were "Wednesday and Saturday afternoons,- New and Old Christmas days and New and Old new year's days".

On the 19th. of November, 1864, the Rev. Dr. Stevenson* gave evidence before the Education Commission appointed to inquire into the Schools in Scotland. In reply to the Chairman, the Duke of Argyll, he stated:- "The schools which in Arbroath were erected in competition were Free Church schools, and an effort was made to sustain these in such a way as, if possible, to undermine and reduce the original burgh and parish schools, which were united. That went on for a series of years, but was found to be unworkable, and ultimately a coalition was formed between the two, and the one set of schools was entirely removed. Of course, the set that/

* He had then been twenty-eight years a minister of the Church of Scotland; eleven years (1833-44) in Arbroath, and seventeen in South Leith.

that was removed was the new set of schools".¹ The coalition was between "the Free Church academy and the burgh school. The parish school proper had been incorporated with the burgh school, and made into a kind of grammar school. "Only one of the four masters", he stated, "was elected under the Parochial School Act, the other three were appointed by the Town Council".²

On 6 July 1831, a letter "on the business of the new Statistical account" was allowed by Brechin Presbytery to lie on the table, but on 3 October 1833, as a result of a letter from Mr. John Gordon, secretary to the Committee for publishing the Account, Brechin Presbytery recommended those members who had not sent their reports to do so as soon as possible. "The Statistical Account of Forfarshire by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the society for the benefit of the sons and daughters of the clergy", was published in 1843, a valuable source of information to the historian. The complete work is generally referred to as the New Statistical Account, to distinguish it from that published during/

¹ First Report by H.M. Commissioners. Edin., 1865. p.63.

² Ibid., p.66. The whole of Dr. Stevenson's evidence comprises pages 62-75.

during the last decade of the eighteenth century, generally known as the Old Statistical Account. In the Statistical Account of Arbroath there are interesting items illustrating the state of education in that burgh. The following table exhibits the number of persons residing in the parish, who were returned in the census of 1831, as being then at School.

Number at School.

Ages.	Males.	Females.	Total.
2 - 6	131	107	238
6 - 10	263	236	499
10 - 15	147	135	282
15 - 20	13	23	36
20 - 30	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
	556	504	1060

The above included those attending week-day schools of every description. A return was also made of the number of persons above six years of age who could neither read nor write, of which the following is an abstract:-

Number/

Ages.	Number who cannot read.			Number who cannot write.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
2 - 10	2	7	9	170	239	409
10 - 15	0	1	1	29	98	127
15 - 30	3	3	6	17	208	225
30 - 50	0	5	5	11	220	231
above 50	2	5	7	23	275	298
Total	7	21	28	250	1040	1290

(Statistical Account of Forfarshire. 1843. p.101)

One of the most noticeable features, as reported in the Statistical Account, is the inconvenient and inaccessible situation of some of the parochial schools. The parish school of Dunnichen, for instance, was originally situated at Craichy to accommodate the people on the estate of Tulloes, but these people having mostly removed "there were few children within the reach of the school." In addition the school had a cold damp floor which was very uncomfortable for the children in winter. At Kirkcaldy the parochial school was situated "in the most awkward corner of the parish that could have been chosen." and the parishioners were not alive to the benefits of education "an ordinary acquaintance with the elements of arithmetic etc., is/

Statistical Account of Forfarshire, 1843. p. 155.

is a luxury", chiefly confined to the sons of the wealthy and comparatively independent.¹ The parochial school of Cortachie and Clova was situated "near to the southern extremity of the parish".² Until about 1830 the school of Liff and Benvie was at Denmiln" at all times inconvenient", and in winter almost inaccessible;³ and the parish school of Kingoldrum was too distant for those of Pearsie where the greater number of children were.⁴ There was only one school in the parish of Aberlemno but another was "much needed in the district of Balgavies".⁵

Before the passing of The Parochial and Burgh Schoolmasters (Scotland) Act 1861, parish schoolmasters, although incompetent or infirm, could not be required to resign. They held office "as vitam aut culpam", which proved to be a great cause of inefficiency. This was particularly noted by H. M. Commissioners. who stated that "no system can be really efficient without some ready means of removing teachers, who do not, or cannot perform their duties".⁶ Parishes were deprived of educational facilities as the parishioners could not, or would not, pay two salaries/

¹Ibid., pp. 391-392.

²Ibid., p. 453. ³Ibid., p. 588.

⁴Ibid., p.619. ⁵Ibid., p.635. ⁶Second Report, 1867. p.clxxv.

salaries. In 1841 the parish schoolmaster of Eassie and Nevay gave up teaching on account of ill health but still drew his full salary. His assistant, who discharged all the duties of the office, received the schoolmaster's house and garden, and the school fees as his emoluments.¹ The parish schoolmaster of Monifieth in 1842 did not have the full salary as the heritors paid £45 yearly to the old schoolmaster, "who, from age, had become unfitted for his laborious duties".²

The Rev. Mr. Nixon, who was appointed Convener of the Free Church Education Committee in 1862, in his evidence before the Education Commission on Saturday, 3rd. December 1864, gave some insight into the state of education in Montrose:³ "Soon after being settled as a minister in Montrose (St. John's) above thirty years ago, I observed a great want of a good school in which an education might be obtained equal to what was given in an efficient parish school, and at similar rates, and I got one erected, which has ever since been numerously attended. I then succeeded in getting a large girls' school erected for/

¹ Ibid., p. 484. ² Ibid., p. 555. footnote.
³ First Report by H.M. Commissioners. Edin., 1865. p.197.

for teaching sewing and knitting, and Scripture knowledge; and it has also been very numerously attended ever since, and exceedingly useful. I subsequently took the chief part in getting large and extensive mission schools provided for a destitute district of the town, in which a large number of the poorest children are educated". On 2 April 1839, Brechin Presbytery resolved to examine the "Parochial^{*} School of St. John's" Montrose. They did so on 16 April 1839, and the report is contained in the Brechin Presbytery record of 30 April 1839. It is as follows:- "There were present 145 Scholars and it was stated to the Committee that there were 176 on the Roll. The manner in which the classes performed their exercises in reading, English Grammar and Arithmetic as also the specimens of writing that were shewn, furnished ample evidence of the assiduity of Mr. Menzies the Teacher and also of his qualifications, especially when it is borne in mind, that the School has been only a few months in existence. The Scriptures were read/

* Not a parochial school in the strict sense, but a sessional school. A sessional school in town corresponded in the main to a parish school in the country. See Second Report of H.M. Commissioners, 1867. p.li. et seq. In point of management mission schools differed little from sessional schools See *ibid.*, p. liii.

read by the more advanced Scholars - the Shorter Catechism and portions of the Psalms were repeated with accuracy - while the Junior classes, from the manner in which they answered general questions upon Bible History shewed that great pains had been bestowed upon that branch of knowledge - Mr. Hill having addressed the Teacher and the Scholars concluded by pronouncing the blessing^{*}. A system that tolerated 176 scholars at different stages to be taught by one master could not possibly be efficient.

Scottish parliaments from early times had sought to promote the cause of education. It was not until 1833, however, that Scotland received monetary assistance from the British Parliament for education. It was on the 17th. of August of that year that Parliament first voted sums of money for elementary education purposes in Great Britain. An Education Department, consisting of a Committee of the Privy Council, was established on 10 April, 1839, and in the interval the sums voted by Parliament were disbursed by the Treasury. To the Education Department was entrusted the distribution of a sum of money annually voted by Parliament for the express purpose of promoting the education of children belonging to the classes who supported themselves by/

*
The Report was signed by Mr. Nixon who got an extract of same.

by manual labour. The distribution was not made arbitrarily, but under certain rules and conditions. No grants were made unless the school was open to examination by the Inspectors appointed by Her Majesty in Council. But no school was liable to be examined by any Inspector whose appointment had not been approved of by the religious body with which the school was connected. In other words, the inspection was denominational. The only aid that was given to education consisted in providing inspection or in providing for the building of Schools. That system continued in force until 1846. From 1846 to 1861 elementary schools received grants towards teachers' salaries, and some trifling grants were made for providing books and maps for schools. Then came the Revised Code by which The Committee of Council adopted the plan of paying one gross sum to the managers of each school which was to receive grants at all; the principle of calculating the grant being the number, the attendance, and the proficiency of the scholars, and certain conditions as to efficiency which the school itself was to fulfil. The Revised Code was superseded in Scotland on 11 June 1864, so far as payments to elementary schools were concerned; but the Inspectors were directed strictly to/

to inspect and examine the schools in Scotland according to the forms and instructions of the Revised Code. Scottish education was controlled from London until 1872, in which year the Scottish Education Department was established.

The first notice of Government Inspectors of Schools in Brechin Presbytery Records occurs in the Minute of 3 May 1842, when the Rev. Mr. McCosh gave notice to the Presbytery that he was to move at a future meeting that H.M.I.S., be invited to visit the schools within their bounds. This was done on 13 December 1842 when it was agreed to invite the Inspector to visit the schools, and the Presbytery resolved to do everything in their power to co-operate with him. In 1843 the advice of Mr. Gibson, Government Inspector of Schools, was sought in connection with the establishment of a parish school in Carnoustie, towards which the Committee of Council on Education had agreed to give £100. No sooner was it known that the educational interests of the village were to be promoted than certain persons "resolved to use their utmost efforts to prevent the perpetration of so heinous a crime!"². A memorial/

¹ See Second Report of H.M. Commissioners, 1867. pp. lxxxvii lxxxix. and Rusk, Training of Teachers, The State and the Training of Teachers in Scotland. pp. 147-155.

² Montrose Review, 17 February 1843.

memorial from "the heritors of Barry" alleging that the educational wants of Carnoustie were amply provided for, was dispatched to their Lordships. A meeting was called but the memorialists evidently failed in their objections, as it is reported that their Lordships saw "no reason for altering their decision which was communicated to you by their letter of the 13th. Sept. 1842".¹

The Disruption of 1843 marks an epoch in the history of Scottish Education. It heralded and hastened the question of national education by shedding a fierce light on the throne of Presbyterian tyranny. At the Glasgow Assembly in 1843 it was reported that 360 teachers had joined the Free Church. A system of petty tyranny was enforced on those who did so. At that time the tests were still applicable to the parochial schoolmaster, by which it was necessary that they should belong to the Established Church of Scotland, and in consequence many schoolmasters who had joined the Free Church were compelled to give up their charges. It was largely on account of this that the Free Church began its Education Scheme. Mr. Macdonald of Blairgowrie undertook to raise the sum of £50,000 for the erection of Free Church schools, and so successful were his/

¹ Ibid.

his apostolic efforts that when the Assembly met in 1844 he was able to state that he had received subscriptions amounting to £52,000.¹ Already 120 schools had been opened, but considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining sites. By another year the number of schools had doubled and the sum subscribed had reached £60,000. The schools maintained by the Free Church were supported in the same way as those maintained by the General Assembly of the Established Church, and were dependent entirely on private contribution, with the aid of the Government building grant. "The actual work done by the Free Church schools," stated the Assistant Commissioners, "was quite as high as that done by the average parochial schools"². In 1860 the Free Church maintained 621 schools but after the abolition of the test clause in 1861, the number diminished. In 1865 the number was 570. The Free Church did a great deal for the education of the country, but the support of the schools was a great burden upon her resources and strength.

The most determined foe of the Free Church in Angus was/

¹In Brechin and Forfar he raised respectively £325 and nearly £300, on 29 August and 2 Sept. 1844.

²Second Report by H.M.Commissioners 1867. p.xxxvi.

was Lord Panmure. As sole heritor of Lochlee, along with the minister of the parish, he petitioned Brechin Presbytery in 1843 to libel the schoolmaster at Lochlee for having joined the Free Church. The schoolmaster appeared before the Presbytery on 21 August and agreed to resign at Martinmas. The Presbytery also resolved to inform the S.P.C.K. that their schoolmaster at the Bridge of Tarf, Glenesk, had seceded, though it was reported "that the state of the school is very much improved". The Presbytery of Arbroath met on Wednesday, 3 April 1844, when the schoolmaster of Carmyllie refused to sign the Formula but declared his willingness to sign the Confession of Faith. He was deposed. The schoolmaster of Barry did not appear and the Presbytery resolved to cite him, "pro tertio", to appear at their next meeting. Mr. Anderson, writer, Dundee, appeared for the schoolmaster on the day appointed, but the Presbytery refused to hear him unless he could prove that his client's absence arose from indisposition or some other necessary cause. A certain Mr. Muir "with evident glee" announced, against the remonstrance of some of the members, that/

Brechin Presbytery Records. 2 April 1839.

that Lord Panmure had authorised him to state that his Lordship would support and defend the Presbytery from all consequences which their procedure against schoolmasters might entail upon them.¹ The schoolmaster was deposed.. "The Lord looked for judgment, but behold oppression; for righteousness but behold a cry". In 1844 considerable controversy arose in reference to the part taken by Lord Panmure in refusing sites for Free Churches in the several parishes of which he was the chief heritor. A case which caused considerable comment was that of "Widow Gardyne", a tenant at the will of his Lordship. A wooden structure had been erected in her garden at Carmyllie for the use of those who had left the Established Church. The congregation were turned out, and the widow was ejected. So strong was his Lordship's action against the Free Church that the Press of the day commented that "The Tory Duke of Buccleuch is now the only nobleman of influence whom Lord Panmure has to keep him in countenance".²

The parish schoolmaster of Craig appeared before Brechin Presbytery on 12 March 1844, for having joined the Free Church. He stated to the Presbytery that he "could only be proceeded against by libel", but he was deposed. He/

¹Montrose Review, 19 April 1844.

²Montrose Review 23 August 1844.

He appealed to the Synod which, as was to be expected, confirmed the sentence of the Presbytery. On 3 July 1844, Arbroath Presbytery resolved to summon Mr. Steele, rector, and Mr. Webster of the English department, to answer "the very grave charge of having become members of the Free Church". Mr. Webster's case was dismissed as he had been originally elected by the directors of the Academy and his salary was paid out of the burgh funds. On being summoned for the third time Mr. Steele appeared along with Alex. S. Logan, advocate, and James Anderson, writer. Counsel stated that he wished the case delayed until he got access to the Minutes of the Town Council. The case was again called on 6 November 1844, when counsel was allowed to read an extract to this effect - "That Mr. Steele declined the jurisdiction of the Presbytery; that he held the situation of Rector of the Academy - and in that character was amenable to the Directors of the institution, but not to any ecclesiastical authority; denied the power or authority of the Presbytery to require, of their own mere pleasure, any one who had previously signed the Confession of Faith and Formula to do so again; and protested, if the Presbytery should overrule these pleas, that their judgment should/

¹ Ibid., 5 July 1844.

should be of no effect". The Presbytery unanimously agreed to depose Mr. Steele from the office of parochial schoolmaster which, by a curious arrangement, he held along with the office of rector. The case then went before a Committee of the directors of the Academy, and from their report it appeared that Mr. Steele was appointed not by the directors but by the parties responsible for the salaries attached to his anomalous position - the magistrates and parochial clergymen. Mr. Steele continued as rector but lost much in the way of emoluments through being deposed from the office of parochial schoolmaster.

Town Councils were more tolerant than Presbyteries. Brechin Town Council on 14 July 1845, resolved to invite the clergymen of all denominations to attend the examination of the public schools. At the examination in 1846 the Free Church ministers forestalled the Established ministers, one of whom stated that he had gone by appointment to the Rector's School and was about to commence with prayer when the Provost informed him that a different arrangement had been made, and called ^{upon} Mr. McCosh (who had left the Established Church) to pray. Two other members had gone to the Burgh School and found a 'dissenting' minister praying/

Ibid., 8 Nov. 1844.

praying.¹ The Presbytery then examined the Parochial School and were highly satisfied with the progress, but they were piqued in "consequence of the remarkable interference this day"². In 1849 Dr. Smith stated that he had been waited upon by a deputation from the Town Council of Montrorse as to the mode in which the public examination of the classes in the Academy was to be conducted, and that at the same time they had delivered to him in writing the arrangement upon which they had agreed. The Presbytery found that it had been arranged that the ministers of the ^{other} denominations should join with them - "an arrangement altogether inconsistent with the Ecclesiastical constitution and in which they cannot concur"³. The Presbytery agreed to take no part in the examination.

On 30 April, 1850, Brechin Presbytery adopted several resolutions "anent the attempts which are at present being made to withdraw the Parish Schools from the superintendence of the Church & to dissolve the connexion which has so long subsisted between them". The resolutions illustrating the rigour of the Presbytery are recorded as follows: "

"I. That the Parish Schools were originally designed & instituted as an integral & essential part of the frame work/

¹The same thing happened in 1850. ²Brechin Presbytery Records. 30 July. 1846. ³Ibid. 18 July. 1849.

work & constitution of the Church of Scotland, & have always been regarded as such.

II. That the Parish Schools being in respect of their character and aim, based entirely on the word of God, & designed to impart a thorough religious education, have proved in the highest degree beneficial to the people of Scotland.

III. That the Parish Schools are at present, upon the whole, in a state of great & growing efficiency.

IV. That in order however to elevate the Parish Schools to the highest efficiency it is indispensably requisite that the Salaries of the Teachers should be increased, or according to the words of the First Book of Discipline, 'made just & efficient', and a reasonable provision made for them when infirm and aged, And moreover, not only that the schools themselves should be multiplied according to the wants of the population, but that the instruction communicated should be adapted to the intellectual demands of the age in which we live.

V. That every attempt to alter these schools, in respect of their religious character, or to sever them from the connexion with the Church of Scotland of which they have always been accounted an essential part should be resisted to the utmost as a grievous national calamity".

A standing committee on Education, connected with
the/

the Church of Scotland, was first appointed in 1825, with the venerable Principal Baird as convener. The powers of the Committee were limited for many years "to the settling and maintenance of Schools in the neediest localities", by aid from the funds at their disposal, and to the promoting of elementary education in general.¹ On the application of the Rev. Mr. Arkley of Inverkeillor in 1846, the Committee made "a grant of £5 in aid of a School" at Friockheim.² The village of Friockheim and the immediate neighbourhood contained "a population of about 1400, while the parish school is distant about 5 miles". The last teacher, says the report, was obliged to leave on account of the poverty of the inhabitants, and the grant from the Education Committee was considered, with the help of fees, as likely to be sufficient to maintain a successor.³ The Committee also received an application from the teacher of the Dundee Sessional School for the renewal of the salary formerly granted. The salary had been discontinued "on account of the appointment of the teacher to the parish school/

¹ Reports of Educational Committee of General Assembly 1842-1853. p.7.

²With the bounds of Arbroath Presbytery. ³ Ibid., Report by the sub-committee appointed for the purpose of investigating and reporting on the applications for aid from the General Assembly's Education Committee. 1846. Report p.24.

school of Lunan". The school was situated in a locality miserably poor, "the scholars being children of the factory workers". The fees were "the very lowest" and the attendance was "numerous". The Sub Committee thought that if the clergyman of the parish supported "the prayer of this application", they were "bound to renew the former grant of £15 - independent of the case being one in itself urgent and necessitous". In the Thirteenth Half-Yearly Report of the Inspectors of Factories (1851), Captain Kincaid says, "At Dundee and Arbroath I have reason to believe that a very large portion of the young persons employed in the factories there can neither read nor write"², which seems to confute the statement made by Mr. Stuart in his Factory Report of 1845, "At Dundee the factory occupiers employ-³ing children maintain excellent schools for them".

A series of resolutions was drawn up by the parochial schoolmasters of Scotland on 19 September 1851⁴. A copy of these was submitted to Brechin Presbytery on 4 November/

¹Ibid., Report submitted 1846, p.21. In 1850 there were six Sessional schools in Dundee attended by 1276 children. Aberdeen had 9 attended by 1232 children. Report submitted May 1851, p.27. ²See J.H. Dawson, Statistical History of Scotland, Edin., 1857. p.457. ³Ibid., 468. ⁴Meeting held in the High School, Edinburgh.

November, when the Presbytery resolved to support any measures "to secure better remuneration".

On 4 January 1854, the Committee on Parish Schools connected with Brechin Presbytery "held a friendly conference" with the teachers under their jurisdiction. The convener in a verbal report stated that his Committee were "happy to find the teachers quite unanimous in their desire to have their schools maintained inviolably in connection with the Established Church; and that they had given to the Committee a written statement to that effect". What other course was open to men who, ex officio, were not only members but pillars of the Established Church? The convener also stated that he had received letters, and extracts from the Minutes of kirk-sessions, containing the fullest assurance that the Elders in the several parishes were all very decided in their determination to co-operate with the Church in her efforts to preserve the Parish Schools as a part of her establishment. The following resolutions were submitted and unanimously adopted:

I. That the enlightened education and godly-upbringing of the youth of Scotland are subjects of vital importance to the best and dearest interests of this Country.

II. That the Parish Schools, originated by, in connection with, and under the superintendence of the Established Church/

Church, have during a long course of years proved eminently successful in the promotion of these great and vital objects, and are at this moment in a state of unquestionable efficiency.

III. That it is the imperative duty of every office-bearer and member of this Church to endeavour to promote the welfare and practical utility of these Schools, and to maintain inviolably their connection with this Church, forming as they do an integral part of her Constitution as by law established.

IV. That it is a gratifying fact that the Schoolmasters themselves almost unanimously deprecate any separation of the Schools from the Church, or their being subjected in the manner proposed to the control of local parties, many of whom may be presumed to have no proper ideas of what constituted a good education.

V. That the opening up of the Parish Schools to so many antagonistic sects and parties, who have hitherto not scrupled to avail themselves of them as they are, besides holding out no security for the religious element, and imposing another heavy tax on the inhabitants of every parish, would necessarily create endless strifes and diversions.

VI. That the deficiency in the provisional means of education/

education in this country has been greatly exaggerated, and might be easily supplemented by the extension of the parochial system in any of the larger towns and parishes where the denominational plan hitherto pursued by Government has been found inadequate.

VII. That the Schoolmasters as body of men deserve well of the country, and ought to have their salaries now so adjusted as to maintain them in that position which both their personal acquirements and their official duties as justly demand.

VIII. That the chief arguments employed for the separation of these Schools from the Church are such, if carried out to their full extent, as must terminate in the subversion of all religious establishments whatsoever".¹

Brechin Presbytery now adopted a new plan for the examination of the schools within their bounds, a plan to which they adhered until their jurisdiction ceased, though several attempts were made to alter it. The Presbytery agreed on 13 January 1857, that their bounds should be divided into three districts to be denominated: (1) The Western, including the parishes of Farnell, Brechin, Careston/

¹ Brechin Presbytery Records, 31 January 1854.

Careston, Fern and Menmuir; (2) The Northern, including the parishes of Lethnot, Lochlee, Edzell, Stracathro, and Logie-Pert; (3) The Eastern, including the parishes of Dun, Montrose, Melville, Craig, and Maryton. The ministers in each district comprised the various committees for examining all schools, parochial or non-parochial, but it was understood that "the examination in every parish shall also be open to such other clerical friends as the Ministers shall think proper to invite". No minister was to act as convener of the committee that was to examine the schools of his particular parish; and each committee was appointed to insert in the Assembly's schedule a short statement of the condition of every school examined, parochial and non-parochial, and to transmit a copy of the same to the Presbytery. Special meetings of the Presbytery were to be held for the examination of the Public Schools in Brechin and Montrose, and the moderator for the time being, along with two other members present, was appointed to draw up the report in reference to these schools.

The Reports of the Northern and Western Districts were submitted by the conveners on 16 June 1857. The Committee of the Northern District reported that with regard to the parochial schools they found most of them "in a very flourishing/

flourishing condition", though in some cases there was "much room for improvement in respect of school accommodation and furniture". The committee drew special attention to the parish school of Stracathro where the accommodation, furniture, attendance of scholars and their general proficiency were all that could be desired. The parish school of Lochlee, on the other hand, was "very deficient" in accommodation and furniture. The Western District Committee reported that "the state of Education is generally in a most healthy condition". A very marked improvement was noted in the parish school of Menmuir, and with the exception of Careston the accommodation was "satisfactory" in all the schools. The committee of the Eastern District produced their report - a very brief one - on 4 August. They stated that in the parochial schools "the accommodation was generally good", and "the education of the pupils carefully attended to". They also reported that "the religious training of the young was a "prominent feature" in their district.

In 1858 the committee of the Western District regretted to state that the appearance made by the pupils of the parish school at Fern was not such as to call forth their commendation. There was a want of life and keenness, an indistinctness of utterance both in reading and answers, which, the Committee state, rendered the examination peculiarly

peculiarly heavy. The pupils, however, acquitted themselves well in arithmetic and geography. The schoolroom was reported to be "in a state of great disrepair and the means of ventilation peculiarly defective" - Little wonder there was "a want of life", and that the committee found the examination "peculiarly heavy". Farnell was reported to be well attended, and the pupils "generally in a fair state of training"; and the schoolroom was "ample and in thorough repair". Careston was "upon the whole satisfactory", though not without room for improvement both in accuracy and energy, and the accommodation is described as "hampered and stifling". The pupils at Menmuir acquitted themselves in a "very satisfactory and creditable manner". At the same time the committee of the Northern District reported that the parish schools with the exception of Lochlee were in "a state of prosperity". Stracathro and Edzell were "admirably taught", and Logie-Pert and Lethnot "well taught". In all the schools except Stracathro and Edzell the accommodation was very inferior, and in none of them, except Stracathro, was there "a proper supply of maps and other School apparatus". In 1859 Stracathro still merited the highest terms of approbation and was "ranked in the/

¹ Brechin Presbytery Records; Report of the Western District dated 10 May, 1858.

the first class of Schools". The committee also reported with reference to Stracathro that "A very favourable specimen of proficiency in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics was given by one pupil", and several showed an acquaintance with the elements of natural science. The teacher of the parochial school of Logie-Pert held a Government Certificate of Merit, and his school was "very good", but the accommodation "very deficient". In 1859 there were 74 on the Roll at Farnell, and the committee reported that the greater number of pupils in arithmetic "were little more than beginners". There were 65 on the roll at Fern. In their report of 1859 the committee state that His Majesty's Inspector was present with the committee at Fern, and ably assisted them in the performance of their duty. The teacher was "a man of ability and Scholarship", but was by no means happy in extracting from his scholars the knowledge they had acquired. At Careston there were 42 on the roll, but there was still a considerable lack of energy. The committee, however, were forced to make allowance for the wretched conditions under which teacher and taught laboured. The committee felt themselves emboldened to speak freely and to declare that "Anything so wretched, and so totally unsuitable for a Parish School in these days of progress and intelligence could scarcely, they imagine, be found elsewhere". Such conditions/

conditions could not but operate as a drag on the exertions of the teacher and must have been highly injurious to the health of the children. The Eastern District reported that they found the schools "generally in a state of considerable efficiency". The parochial school at Craig was pronounced "very good". The teacher "throws his whole heart into his duties", and according to report conducted his work with great animation and spirit, but had not succeeded "in breaking his pupils of their provincial accent". The accommodation at Craig was considered too limited, and there was also a deficiency of maps. The parish school at Maryton, though "somewhat better" than it had been, was yet not in so satisfactory a state as the committee wished it to be. The teacher at Dun was "getting old". and was "not so efficient as he once, probably, was". The school and school-house were new and "most commodious". The pupils are described as a "respectable class of children", but though some of them were of "more advanced age" than usual they nevertheless were "not expert in their exercises", probably, as the committee state, owing in part to/

Before the passing of The Parochial and Burgh Schoolmasters (Scotland) Act 1861, parish schoolmasters, although incompetent or infirm, could not be required to resign.

to their not being kept regularly at school". Children of farm labourers, owing to the peregrinations of their parents, still present a problem peculiar to the schoolmaster of a rural parish.

In 1860 the reports of the three committees of the Northern, Western and Eastern Districts were read and approved of, but were ordered, for some reason not stated, to be kept "in retentis". This order in connection with the reports of the examination of schools was repeated annually. In 1860 the Presbytery admired the "expertness in Arithmetic" shown in the parochial school of Brechin, but above all the examiners expressed their unqualified admiration and praise of the amount of religious knowledge imparted, "the scholars being able to tell from Memory the facts and particulars in any chapter named to them of the books of Genesis, Exodus & Numbers, etc." Out of a total of 152 scholars there were 127 present at the examination.

On 27 March 1860, a petition was lodged against the parish schoolmaster of Menmuir. The petition "Humbly Sheweth", that for some time the schoolmaster had been addicted to drunkenness, and had also been guilty of other acts/

1
Brechin Presbytery Records. 27 March 1860.

acts of an immoral and improper nature. The kirk-session of Menmuir found it necessary to deprive him of the office of session clerk and precentor, and the petitioners asked the Presbytery to serve the schoolmaster with a libel. In terms of the Act of Parliament, 43 Geo.III., cap. 54., the Presbytery allowed the charges to be inquired into by libel. In the interval it was reported to the Presbytery that the schoolmaster had been seen "in a state of evident intoxication" in the High Street and other parts of the town of Brechin. The Presbytery on the advice of counsel for prosecution refused to allow the defendant or his wife to act as a witness. The Presbytery delivered their judgment on 16 April 1861, and although all the charges were not proved the Presbytery deposed the defendant. On 25 April 1861, the Presbytery again recorded "their deep sense of the very imperfect school accommodation" of the parochial school at Careston, and resolved to put the matter before the lord on whose property it was situated and to whom the whole parish belonged, and instructed their Clerk to send an extract of their minute to directly to the/

¹ Menmuir Kirk-Session Records. 4 March 1860. ² An Act for making better Provision for the Parochial Schoolmasters, and for making further Regulations for the better Government of the Parish Schools in Scotland.(1803).

³The evidence was kept in a separate record.

the Right Hon. the Earl of Fife.

The year 1861 is memorable in the annals of Scottish Education. For many years disputes had arisen between town councils and presbyteries as to the jurisdiction of presbyteries over burgh schools, and town councils had frequently but unsuccessfully opposed presbyteries in the examination of burgh schools. As a result of a long dispute between Elgin Presbytery and Elgin Town Council, the Court of Session decided in 1861 that presbyteries had the right of superintendence not only over parochial but burgh schools as well. The Church exulted in its victory, and the General Assembly recommended that pecuniary assistance to defray the costs of litigation should be given to Elgin Presbytery for having vindicated the rights of the Church. On 8 October, 1861, Brechin Presbytery had before them an appeal from the Presbytery of Elgin asking them to assist in meeting the extrajudicial expenses incurred in the litigation undertaken on the advice of the General Assembly to establish their superintendence over, and right to examine, the public schools, parochial and non-parochial. On 24 December 1861, the minister of Stracathro was appointed to receive such contributions as members of Presbytery and others might feel inclined/

inclined to give. On 5 June 1862, it was reported that a letter had been received from the Rev. Francis Wyllie of Elgin acknowledging receipt of £6. The victory gained by the Presbytery soon proved to be but Pyrrhic, and their consequent triumph was contrary to the will of the nation. The voice of the state was heard on "An Act to alter and amend the Law relating to Parochial and Burgh Schools, and to the Test required to be taken by Schoolmasters in Scotland" (1861) By this Act the provision in the 1803 Act requiring Schoolmasters to be examined and approved by the Presbytery was repealed, and in place of the examination by the Presbytery it was enacted that:-

(1) It shall be the duty of the University Court of each University in Scotland, as soon as conveniently may be, and in no case later than two months after the passing of this Act, and thereafter from time to time, to appoint six persons to be examiners of parochial schoolmasters, three of such persons being Professors in the Faculty of Arts, and three of such persons being Professors in the Faculty of Divinity of the University -----.

(4) For the purpose of the examination of parochial schoolmasters the parochial schools in Scotland shall be and are hereby/

hereby distributed into four districts, each in connection with one of the universities. -----.

(5) Every person elected to be a parish schoolmaster under the provisions of this and the said recited Act ----- shall, before his admission to the said office, and as a condition thereof, submit himself to the trial and examination of the examiners for the district to which the parish for which he has been elected appertains, as to his fitness and qualifications for the duties of the said office; and being found qualified, the said examiners shall furnish to him a certificate to that effect subscribed by them or by a majority of their number, which certificate shall be conclusive evidence that he has passed the requisite examination, and been found qualified for the said office, and the examiners shall have power, with consent of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, to require the attendance at any such examination, for the purpose of assisting therein, of one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. The examiners appointed under this Act, giving evidence before the Education Commission (Scotland) in 1864, complained that they had no definite powers to insist on a particular standard, and were frequently "obliged to pass men" whom they would not pass if they could prevent it. The new system was/

¹ 1861. 24 and 25 Vict., cap 107. ² Education Commission (Scotland) First Report (1865) p.68.

was nevertheless maintained to be a decided improvement on the old, which was defective in not being uniform, "one Presbytery was strict, and another lax, so that there was no uniformity in it"¹. By the Act of 1861 the salaries of parochial schoolmasters were increased, the minimum to £35, and the maximum, to £70. The teacher was no longer required to sign the Confession of Faith and the Formula of the Church of Scotland, but signed a declaration that he would teach nothing contrary to the doctrine of the Church of Scotland. It appears, however, that although such was the law, the appointment of schoolmasters in the parochial schools was "almost entirely confined to members of the Established Church"². The power of dismissal for neglect of duty or inefficiency was, after consideration of H.M. Inspector's report, put into the hands of the heritors and minister of the parish; and for immorality or cruelty into the hands of the sheriff of the county.

Brechin Presbytery in discussing the Bill declared they would be relieved "from the painful duty of prosecuting Defaulters". They approved of the increased salaries though they/

¹ Ibid. p.90.

² Second Report by H.M. Commissioners. 1867. p. clxxv.

they considered the proposed increases "very inadequate". They strongly objected to the dissolution of "the union between the Church of Scotland and the Schools" the abolition of the present Tests - "the only security for the Religious character of the Schools" - and that not even evidence for the personal belief of a schoolmaster nor guarantee that the Bible or Shorter Catechism were required by the Act. On these grounds chiefly they resolved to petition Parliament. Almost the whole body of the Scottish M.P.'s were in favour of a national system. The Bill which separated the parochial schools from the Established Church passed the second reading in the House of Commons without any opposition.²

The following is a copy of the certificate granted by the University authorities of St. Andrews under the Act of 1861.

St. Andrews, 1st May 1868.

This is to certify that Mr. John Robertson was duly examined/

¹ Brechin Presbytery Records. 2 July 1861.

² First Report by H. M. Commissioners, Edin., 1865. Evidence of Rev. Dr. Taylor, clergyman of a U.P. Church in Glasgow p. 129.

examined under the Parochial and Burgh Schools Act 24 and 25 Vict., and found to be qualified for the office of schoolmaster in the parish of Auchterhouse.

(Signed) John Tulloch.

W.L.F. Fischer.

St. Andrews. 1st. May 1868.

This is to certify that Mr. John Robertson, schoolmaster elect of the parish of Auchterhouse, appeared before me this day, and having produced an extract of the minute of his election, and the requisite certificate by the examiners, subscribed the solemn declaration required in the Parochial and Burgh Schools Act 24 and 25 Vict., as to the discharge of the duties of his office.

(Signed) John Tulloch. D.D., Principal.

Though only two signatures are appended to the certificate Mr. Robertson states that he was examined by Principal Tulloch, Professor Fischer and Professor Baynes.

Little remains to be recorded between 1861 and the Act of 1872, except that there were still parishes in which the means of education were deficient, as appears from the List of Parishes or Districts in which the means of Education/

Robertson, Education: With Notices of the Schools and Schoolmasters of Auchterhouse. p.43.

Education appear to be Deficient, as indicated in the 'Statistics relative to Schools in Scotland'. Two additional schools were required in the Fergus Square and Ladyloan districts of Arbroath, and the school accommodation for the Catholics was insufficient. Diltymoss, in the parish of Carmyllie, with a population of 300 was without a school. In the parish of Edzell a new school was required at Bridge End of Dalschampy, where there was a population of about 250. The school was "held in a hovel". The registrar of Forfar said it would be desirable to have another school within the burgh. The district of Pearsie, in the parish of Kingoldrum and with a population of 87, had no school accommodation. Westwater School, in the parish of Lethnot and Navar, had 14 scholars in attendance. The school was taught only in winter, and was five miles from the parish school. There was no school in the district of Blackwater, Lintrathen parish, with a population of about 100; and there/

Second Report of H.M. Commissioners, 1867. Appendix pp. 66-75; the County of Forfar p. 70. The following parishes are included in the List: Arbroath, Carmyllie, Edzell, Forfar, Kingoldrum, Lethnott and Navar, Lintrathen, Lochlee Tannadice. The Statistics were collected by the registrars of births, deaths and marriages, under instructions from the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Schools in Scotland 1865.

there was no school in the upper district of the parish of Lochlee with a population of 59. In the List of Parishes in which there appeared to be a Surplus of Schools, no parish of Forfarshire is included.¹

On Monday, 5 December 1864, the Rev. Dr. Guthrie gave evidence before the Education Commission. With regard to parochial schools he stated: "I know country parishes where the parochial school is so situated that it cannot teach the whole children of the parish ----- In Lochlee, a parish fifteen or sixteen miles long, there is a place called Tarfside, which is situated about five miles from what was the parish school; in that small village you had a school for the Society for the Propagating of Christian Knowledge, a Free Church school, and an Episcopalian school; while between that small hamlet and Edzell there are twelve miles without a school at all, though it is a well-peopled glen"².

In Forfarshire the rural schools were examined by H. M. Inspector in the months of January, February, March April, and May. June was devoted to the villages and towns in/

¹ Ibid., p.76. Only in the six 'counties' of Aberdeen, Caithness, Dumbarton, Edinburgh, Orkney, Sutherland.

²First Report by H. M. Commissioners, Edin., 1865, p. 240. Dr. Guthrie frequently spent his holidays in Glenesk.

~~devoted to the villages and towns~~ in the centre and south of Forfarshire, and July to Dundee. Mr. Black, H.M. Inspector, in his report for 1865 says, "In regard to these months, there is no well-founded complaint. But in Montrose, Brechin, Aberdeen, Peterhead, Fraserburgh, and the villages throughout Aberdeen and Kincardine shires, in which I am employed from October to December, complaints are constantly made, and often with good reason. To these complaints I can only reply (and the answer is not a satisfactory one), that any other arrangement in my power would lead to still greater inconvenience elsewhere. The fact is that these months are not suitable for the inspection of schools in any part of my district. At the annual vacation immediately before, many of the older children, who have completed 200 attendances^{*} during the year, leave school, not to return. The younger children, after six or eight weeks' idleness, have generally forgot not a little of their humble acquirements, and, as they take some weeks to reassemble fully, there is not time to get them in to the usual working trim before the inspector arrives. The consequence would be in many cases, a serious reduction of the grant. Should the

Revised/

*
In order to be admitted to the examination by the Inspector every child had to attend 100 days, that is, make 200 attendances/

Revised Code come into full operation, I am anxious thus early to record my conviction, that the only mode of avoiding such an injustice to the schools will be to reduce, by some two months per annum, the time devoted to inspection. This would be done differently in each district according to the circumstances of the schools".

The Church continued to keep a close watch on Educational legislation. On 7 March 1871, Brechin Presbytery recorded their dissatisfaction with the Bill "to amend and extend the provisions of the Law of Scotland on the subject of Education". They considered it "revolutionary" in character and "uncalled for", although they admitted there was need for legislation to meet the needs of towns; that it entailed a great tax upon the community, particularly in the Highlands; that an elementary teacher should have at least £35, and £65 if he taught three additional subjects; and that none under seven years of age should attend school. But all the powers, petitions and prayers of Presbyteries could not prevent the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act 1872. It was overdue.

Our/

Second Report by H. M. Commissioners. 1867. p.cx.

Our parochial school system has been renowned throughout the world. It countenanced no distinctions between one class and another. Every child of every rank in life was welcomed within the parish school. The Book of Discipline — "the most interesting and, in many respects, the most important of public documents in the history of Scotland" — suggested an excellent scheme of national education, but its excellence has obscured the fact that it was but imperfectly realized. The Acts of 1872 and 1918 are but modern expressions of the ideals contained in The Book of Discipline (1560-61).

"The system", said Brougham in 1818, "is efficient as cheap-extensive as useful-permanent as salutary"². It was as deficient as "efficient"; it was "cheap" — in that it cost the State nothing. In the 19th century when families were big and wages small, the labouring classes could ill afford the humblest fees. It was "extensive", but far from completely so; it was admittedly "useful", and it was "salutary", but it was only partly and precariously "permanent". Heritors not infrequently preferred parsimony to probity/

¹Hume Brown, History of Scotland, vol. ii. p.74.

²House of Commons, 8th. May. See Rusk, Training of Teachers p. 5.

probity; and schools in rural parishes were often merely provisional and ambulatory. The system was totally inadequate, and had it not been supplemented, its failure would have been more pronounced, and the education of the people of Scotland would have been utterly deficient. "No fewer than 175 parishes, within the bounds of 39 presbyteries, where the Society's schools are erected, have no parochial schools"². Such was the report of the S.P.C.K., in 1758. And nearly a hundred years later the Education Committee of the General Assembly admit that "There are still two or three cases in which Parochial Schools are and have for years been in abeyance, from the infirmity or lunacy of the teachers"³. The system failed to meet the growing needs of the industrial centres. Thus Dr. Chalmers in 1819 published "Considerations on the System of Parochial Schools in Scotland, and on the advantages of establishing them in Large Towns". In their Report submitted in May 1843, the Education Committee of the General Assembly distinctly/

¹ E.g. S.P.C.K., Church of Scotland, Mechanics' Institutes, Infant School Societies, Societies for the education of poor and destitute children, private Adventure schools and after the Disruption, Free Church schools. ² An Account of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian knowledge, from the commencement in 1709, Edin. 1774, p.12. ³ Report submitted, May 1852. V. Presbyterian Returns, and State of Education, pp.18-19.

distinctly declare the defective state of education in Dundee, where "not less than 7,692 children, betwixt 5 and 15 years of age, are reckoned as not attending any day-school". "In the closes and wynds of Glasgow", says the Rev. Dr. Taylor in 1864, "we find that only 1 ⁱⁿ ~~and~~ 18 in one parish, 1 in 22 in another, and in a third 1 in 33 attend school".¹ In the cities and large towns the National Parochial system had no operation at all.³ In the Highlands and Islands the parochial system was totally inadequate. For instance, the parish of Ardnamurchan is ninety miles long, yet the heritors were legally justified in supporting only one school. In order to give all the children in the parish the means of education, an establishment of fifteen schools would have been required. There was only one parish school in the parish of North Uist, which is thirty miles long and fourteen broad. Thirteen other schools were necessary. South Uist is thirty-eight miles long, but it had only one parish school when eleven were required. Such was the evidence of Mr. W. J. Menzies, Inspector of the Schools in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, given/

¹ p.28. The population of Dundee in 1831 was 45,305. ² First Report by H.M. Commissioners, Edin., 1865, p.129. ³ Second Report 1867 p.XX. "Taking the City of Glasgow as a whole, little more than one-third of the children of school-age are now attending school". Ibid., p. lv.

given before the Education Committee on Saturday, 4th, February 1865.¹ The idea of a school for every parish would have been satisfactory had parishes been sub-divided in proportion to size and population. The idea of one school in a parish was essentially defective. The system was energetically defended by a Parish Schoolmaster in 1834. "The system", he writes, "is the same now as it has ever been. The same that has been the pride and the boast of Scotland,- the admiration or the envy of our neighbours for so many years. It is not a system of mushroom growth, nor of ephemeral reputation; it has stood the test, and it is stamped with the approbation of centuries"². These statements, in the light of authentic evidence, may be put down as the literary effusion of a perfervid Scot, ignorant of the educational annals of his country, and curiously blind to the defects of a system of which he was a part. It has been remarked that the players on the field often see less of the game than the spectators. In the same year the editor of the Scottish Guardian published "Scotland, a Half-Educated Nation". Again, in the same year, Professor Welsh of Edinburgh, referring to the parochial system says:-

"The/

¹First Report by H.M. Commissioners, 1865. p.380.

²Glasgow Herald, 10 February, 1834. See Rusk, Training of Teachers, pp.5-6.

"The painful discovery has been made, that Scotland, instead of being the best educated country in the world, stands comparatively low among Protestant nations; and instead of being referred to as a model and example to all other countries, must itself be reminded that it needs to learn from other lands. ----- I conceive, then, that not only has the population far outstripped the machinery for general instruction, so that it is become indispensably necessary that new schools should be erected, but that the instruction conveyed is, in many instances, of an inferior description, and that a far higher standard of qualifications for the office of teachers should be required ----- I therefore proceed to what I consider the real cause of the defective system of parochial instruction in this country, viz:- the want of professional training on the part of those who are employed as teachers".

The Rev. Dr. Easton, on 15 November 1834, delivered a discourse in Kirriemuir on the educational wants of the parish. The population of the parish was then about 7000, but there was not accommodation in the parochial school for more/

¹ Sermons by the Late Reverend David Welsh, D.D., with a Memoir by A. Dunlop, Esq., Advocate. Appendix I. pp.356 et seq. See Rusk, Training of Teachers, pp.66-67.

more than 200. He had ascertained "by an exact survey" that there were 828 receiving education, but "the far greater part of these was in private schools". He had examined all these schools again and again with a view to their improvement. He declared that in several of them moral and intellectual training, according to his ideas, was introduced; but in others he was sorry to say that "the work of education was conducted in an ignorant and slovenly manner". His opinion was that efficient teachers were not to be expected to settle in the parish ^{if} endowments were obtained for them. The conclusion that he came to was "that our parochial institutions will not be complete till we have an infant school, more endowed schools, more efficient teachers, more churches, more ministers, and more working elders".

Parents in some instances did not understand the full value of education to their children. The Education Committee of the General Assembly in their Report submitted in May 1843 state that "In some few cases, they are known to slight the education placed at their acceptance on such grounds as these, - that their children are intended for occupations to which the schools do not furnish any lessons/

¹ From a Correspondent, Montrose Review, 21 November 1834.

lessons of the least imaginable service; and that all knowledge or ability beyond the immediate demand is at least unnecessary". Inefficiency of schoolmasters and insufficient support to schools were two points frequently noted by the Committee. Comparatively few children remained at school after twelve years of age, and attendance was frequently irregular, intermittent, and spasmodic, rendering systematic progress inoperative. "Unquestionably the most powerful motive which induces parents to withdraw their children from school", state H. M. Commissioners, "is the fact, that at the age of ten or twelve, and ever earlier, children can earn wages, which add considerably to the income of the family, or can render services at home, which are indispensable to the comfort of the household. The same influence has been admitted by every person, who has discussed the question of education". The Report of the Registrar General for 1851 sums up, in a few sentences, the whole subject:- "Children of the labouring classes are employed at an early age - some permanently, others temporarily - at a rate of recompence which, though apparently trifling/

¹ Reports of Educational Committee of General Assembly (1842-53) p. 10.

² Second Report, 1867. pp. cxvi-cxvii.

trifling, is sufficient for their maintenance, and more than sufficient to induce their parents to remove them from School. It is evident that even the lowest amount of wages which the child of a labouring man will receive (from 1s. 6d. to 2s. per week) must be so great a relief to the parents as to render it almost hopeless that they can withstand the inducement, and retain the child at school in the face of such temptation". Thus, speaking generally, parents of the labouring classes, both agricultural and industrial, failed from earliest times to realize the value of education, or perhaps more truly, their lot forbade.

The position was officially recognised in 1848. From the Reports of H. M. Inspectors, and from other sources, their Lordships were aware "that even in many of the Parochial Schools of Scotland, and to a still greater extent in other schools, there existed grievous defects in the organisation of the school, in the methods of instruction, in the principles on which the discipline was founded, as well as in the absence of certain subjects of instruction now required for the well-being of society".^a

Again/

¹Ibid., p. cxix.

²Letter from Mr. Kay Shuttleworth, dated 5 May 1848. Report of Education Committee of General Assembly 1848. p.88.

Again, in the Second Report of H. M. Commissioners (1867) it is stated that the defects of elementary education were "want of organization, want of supervision by some competent central authority powerful enough to make its influence felt by every individual connected with it, and want of thoroughness in the matter of teaching". They further remark that "at present there is no competent authority to initiate, to administer or to superintend. Schools spring up where they are not required, and there are no schools where they are required. ----- The children may attend school, or they may not attend, but grow up in absolute ignorance ----- People of every class, and of every religious denomination, are agreed that Scotland is fully ripe for a national system"².

Defects in our educational system were apparent to the French Commissioners appointed in 1866 by Monsieur Victor Duruy, Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, to visit England and Scotland "pour y étudier dans son esemble et dans ses curieux détails l'organisation si peu connue de l'enseignement secondaire et de l'enseignement supérieur de/

¹p. xlv.

²Ibid., xlv.

de cette grande nation". In their "tourn e" they observed, and succinctly stated: "Il n'ya pas en  cosse une ligne de d marcation bien tranch e entre l'instruction primaire et l'enseignement secondaire"². To them "l'enseignement secondaire" was out of place in the parish school, "et ce n'est pas l  un r gime que nous d sirerons voir s' tablir en France. Ce n'est pas les G orqiques   la main qu'on laboure la terre"³. The parish school offered "une  ducation disproportionn e", which they considered was "au b n fice de quelques individus, au pr judice de la majorit "⁴.

Though our educational system had its defects, it appeared to the French Commissioners that Scotland was more advanced than England: "nous avons cru y reconna tre plus de solidit , plus de profondeur. En ce qui regarde les langues mortes, il y a peut- tre  galit  entre les deux pays; mais l' cosse montre incontestablement sa sup riorit  dans le soin avec lequel on y cultive l'histoire, la g ographie et la langue maternelle. Les sciences math matiques et physiques, longtemps d laiss es, y sont aujourd' hui suivies avec beaucoup d'assiduit  et enseign es   l'aide de/

¹De l'Enseignement Secondaire en Angleterre et en  cosse. Rapport par Mm. J. Demogeot et H. Montucci. Paris, Imprimerie Imp riale, 1868. p.i.

²Ibid., p.438. ³Ibid. p. 428. ⁴Ibid., 590.

de méthodes fort rationnelles. Si quelques détails nous ont paru susceptibles d'amélioration, on ne doit pas, d'un autre côté, perdre de vue le fait, qu' en Écosse comme en Angleterre une partie de l'instruction que nous appelons secondaire est réservée à l'université¹.

It was urged, in the course of the oral evidence which was taken before H. M. Commissioners, that the annual examination by the Presbytery was "an important and sufficient mode of testing the efficiency of the school"². Grant in his "History of the Burgh Schools" (p.143) asserts that these visits "were of incalculable value, in promoting rivalry among the scholars, discipline in the school, and a sense of responsibility in the masters". And Morgan in his recent work, "The Rise and Progress of Scottish Education", concurs with this view when he says (p.59), "there is no doubt that in their time they did much good in maintaining efficiency of instruction and discipline, a wholesome rivalry between schools, and a sense of responsibility in the masters". These statements are not altogether consistent with the views contained in the Second Report of H. M. Commissioners (1867). The Assistant-Commissioners arrived/

¹ Ibid., p. 591. ² Second Report by H.M. Commissioners, 1867 p.xxxiii.

arrived at a different conclusion. "Throughout the country," they say, "the opinion is held almost universally by teachers that the Presbytery examinations, as examinations, are useless ----- Many teachers, both in the north and south went so far as to say that as an examination the Presbytery visit was a mere farce ----- Here and there throughout the country, teachers did maintain that those examinations were efficient, but of these teachers only two can be recalled to mind whose schools were good, and they were in the same Presbytery. All, however, agreed that though not testing as an examination, the Presbytery visit was a good thing for the school, and a pretty sight for the parents". Mr. Laurie¹, the Secretary of the General Assembly's Education Scheme, and afterwards first Bell Professor of Education² at Edinburgh University, thought these examinations of "great value", but on being questioned he admitted that it was very rare indeed that there was "any expression of censure as to the condition of the school"; and he also added, "I should not say that it is an efficient examination, but that it is a salubary examination"³. Dr. Guthrie⁴ of the Free Church, and the apostle of the Ragged School/

¹ See Morgan, Makers of Scottish Education. Chap. xiii.² Second Report by H.M. Commissioners, 1867. pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.³ Ibid., cxliv. ⁴ A native of Brechin, author of Seed-Time and Harvest of Ragged Schools, 1860.

School movement, never attached any importance to the Presbytery examination. "I remember", he says, "it was a very pleasant meeting with the brethren, but that was about the amount of it"¹. The Assistant Commissioners were of the same opinion. The Commissioners came to the conclusion that the annual "complimentary visit" of the Presbytery was of "little practical value"². There were authentic cases where, for some weeks prior to the examination, the same lessons, questions, and answers were repeated again and again, so that when the teacher asked the prepared questions the children could hardly fail to answer correctly, and make a great display³.

The Presbytery examination has an important bearing on the history of education in that the reports of the Presbytery's 'visits' form our most authentic source of information with regard to the parish schools. But in the face of the evidence adduced it may be rightly asserted that the reports of Presbyteries are not altogether trustworthy in their accuracy, and that Presbyteries tended, perhaps, unwittingly, to exaggerate the merits of teacher and/

¹Second Report by H. M. Commissioners, 1867. p. cxliv.

²Ibid., cxlv.

³Ibid., cxlv.

and taught, and, to some extent, remained blind to their defects. Even a few of the clergy admitted that the examination was of little service. One Established minister gave three reasons: "the examiners were too near to the school, and too well known; they had no power to enforce anything; and they had to exercise delicacy". The examination may have been "a very pleasant meeting" to the brethren, but to teachers and pupils alike it was the most anxious and trying event in the school year. Indeed, the long examination, not to mention the preparation beforehand, created so much excitement that in some cases, as at Brechin, it was positively harmful, "as the parents complained of the continued excitement being injurious to the health of the children"².

Yet there are learned Scots who still cherish the idea that the "glory of Scotland has ever been her educational system". So writes Dr. Thomson in her recent publication, "The Parliament of Scotland, 1690-1702"³ She however rightly admits - "That so frequent enactments (1496-1639) were found necessary points to disregard of the orders of Parliament and Privy Council". Surely that in itself proves that/

¹ Ibid., xxxiv.

² Town Council Minute, 12 April 1847. ³ Part II, Chapter III. p. 144.

that the system she lauds failed to operate. Later she asserts that "when it is considered how backward Scotland was in other respects, its pre-eminence in the educational world is all the more remarkable". Why was Scotland so "backward", we may ask, when she was so pre-eminent in the educational world? "Her educational system", she adds, "was perfect of its kind, and more admirable still, it was universal in its operation"². That the scheme was excellent does not prove that it was carried out. Furthermore, though the scheme was excellent it was not without its defects. With regard to parochial education, it took no cognisance of the size, geographical features, and population of parishes. That the system "was universal in its operation" is grossly and historically inaccurate for, as we have shown, the system avowedly failed, particularly in the cities and large towns, and in the Highlands and Islands. We again repeat that the idea of one school in a parish was essentially defective. Even if every parish had a school - and it is doubtful if this were ever realized - the system would have been defective, owing to the extensive nature of some of the parishes and to the inadequate means of communication. Out of 4451 schools in the rural districts, there were/

¹Ibid., p. 146. ²Ibid.,

were 1133 parochial schools, and 910 adventure schools. That left 2408 schools supported by voluntary efforts - denominational or individual - supplying education to a very large proportion of the rural population.¹ During the controversy that preceded the passing of the Education Act of 1872 it was asserted by the opponents of a national system of education, that ample school accommodation existed in the rural parishes. The returns sent in by school boards disproved this, for there were a number of parishes where, despite the law, heritors had not provided a school, school-house or garden; and the work of education was carried out in buildings, either rented or borrowed, and generally quite unsuitable.² According to the census of 1871, there were in Scotland 629,254 children between the ages of five and thirteen; and from the returns made by school boards it was estimated that there were 511,601³ scholars on the rolls of all the schools in the country. It is clear that the parochial school system was utterly inadequate in extent to overtake the work for which it was intended, and which it ought to have discharged. Her Majesty's Commissioners recognised its weakness, and stated that/

¹Second Report by H. M. Commissioners, 1867. p.clxxvi.

²Tytler, History of Scotland (new and Enlarged edition) vol IX, p. 359. ³Ibid. p.360.

that "were it not at this moment largely supplemented, the education of the people in Scotland would be greatly defective". In his evidence before H. M. Commissioners on 26 Nov. 1864, the Rev. Dr. Begg stated: "I gather a very strong inference though I should like very much that the Commissioners should test it by actual experiment in some way or other, that we have greatly fallen from the sort of educational pre-eminence that we were supposed to occupy at one time"¹. His fears were well-founded, and his inference was right. Our educational pre-eminence was a mere supposition. A painful fact, but the truth will out: Scotland under the parochial system was only "A Half Educated Nation".

¹Second Report by H. M. Commissioners, 1867 p. xxxiv.
²First Report by H. M. Commissioners, 1865, p. 148. Dr. Begg was of the opinion that the parochial system "was never thoroughly carried into effect in Scotland, and "that at present it is more defective than ever". Ibid., p.147.

The Burgh Schools.

The history of the Burgh schools of Scotland has been amply and ably treated by H.M. Commissioners in their Report on the Burgh and Middle-Class Schools of Scotland (1868). Other standard and later works are those of Grant, Edgar, Strong, Kerr, and Morgan.* In the compilation of his "History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland" (1876), Grant acknowledges his debt to Mr. George Hay of Arbroath; Mr. Andrew Jervise of Brechin; and to Mr. John Knox, schoolmaster of Forfar, who "extracted all the school learning in the records of his burgh from 1660 to 1805." Mr. Hay is the author of "History of Arbroath" (1876), in which he outlines the history of education in Arbroath in his chapter entitled, "Schools and Schoolmasters." McBain in his work, "Arbroath: Past and Present" (1887), and Miller in "Arbroath and its Abbey" (1860) have both dealt with some of the main features of the education of the burgh. Reid in his various works has recorded certain aspects of the history of education in Forfar and its neighbour, Kirriemuir, immortalized by Sir James Barrie. Dundee and/

See bibliography.
Preface, pp. viii-ix.

and Brechin have trustworthy historians, but a reliable history of the burgh of Montrose has yet to be published. This is the more to be regretted, for few places of its size have so many important historical associations. As much of the ground connected with the Burgh schools has already been traversed, we propose merely to indicate here the march of progress and the changes in the educational system of the burghs.

Burgh schools were what we would now term Secondary schools. They owed their origin mainly to the voluntary efforts of the burghs themselves and not to any special statutory enactment. They were distinguished from Parish schools in that they were subject to the regulation and control of the burgh authorities and were supported out of the burgh funds, or by endowment. The Burgh schools, as distinct from the Parish schools, professed to teach the higher branches of education, while the Parish schools generally confined themselves to the elementary subjects. In Brechin the subjects taught in the Parish school were the same as those in what was called the Burgh School, the higher branches being restricted to the Grammar School. In some instances the Parish school discharged the function of a Burgh school as, for example, the Parish school of Arbroath. Where such an institution existed, it was officially termed a Burgh and Parochial school. The patronage/

patronage of the Burgh schools was vested in Town Councils, but the Church exercised a superintendence. It is hardly possible, however, to state where the authority of the Town Council ended or that of the Church began, or how far they were concurrent. The Church sometimes attempted to arrogate ^{to} itself the exclusive right of patronage. Thus in 1485 a dispute arose in Brechin between the Duke of Ross, son of James III, and the bishop of the diocese. Both claimed the right of presentation to the preceptory of Maisondieu, to which was attached the office of schoolmaster. The question was decided by the Crown in favour of the Duke; and in the enactment confirming his right the lieges are warned "that none of them take upon hand to make any manner of persecution or following of the said matter at the Court of Rome, since it belongs to lay patronage."

The relative importance of the burghs of Angus at this time can be gauged from an Extract contained in the Registers of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 22 September 1483. According to the Extract the following is "the taxt of the samen modifiit by the commissaris of burghis the/

the tyme of the parliament holdin at Edinburgh the
 xxi dai of Marche, with continuation of dais, the
 zer of God M. iiiilxxxiii": Dundee, £26 :13 :4;
 Montrose, £5 :6 :8; Brechin £4: -: -; Arbroath,
 £2: -: -; Forfar £1 :6 :8. Arbroath has now sur-
 :passed Montrose, and Forfar has outstripped Brechin,
 while Montrose has a population slightly greater than that
 of Forfar.

There is ample proof that Burgh schools existed
 in early times. A statute, in the reign of James IV (1494),
 ordained that barons and freeholders who were of substance
 should put their eldest sons or heirs to school, and allow
 them to remain at the Grammar school until they were
 "competently founded" and had "perfect Latin." In the
 same year the University of Aberdeen was founded. But
 though Scotland could show considerable progress in the
 reign of James IV, it still remained in a state of com-
 :parative ignorance. It is true that Scotland in the
 fifteenth century could boast of men of letters, such as,
 James IV, Douglas, Henryson, Boece, Panter, Major, and
 Dunbar; but Scottish scholars of that time acquired
 their learning chiefly in the schools on the Continent,
 particularly/

There is no reason to suppose that any of the Grammar
 schools were very important or did much more than exist
 during the century before the Reformation. See H.M.
 Commissioners Report. Burgh Schools, p.4.

particularly those of Paris. Boece and Patrick Panter were natives of Angus. The former was the first Principal of Aberdeen University, and Panter, a native of Montrose, was secretary to James IV. The correspondence of James IV with foreign courts was composed mainly by Panter who, says Hume Brown, "had acquired (in Paris) something of the purity of Latin style which had resulted from the Revival of Learning."

"Ars grammatica", which comprehended classical literature, was the principal subject of study in our early burgh schools. We have already noted that Montrose has the distinction of being the first place in Scotland where Greek was taught. Here it was that Andrew Melville, a native of Baldovie, near Montrose, George Wishart, the martyr, and James Melville, famed for his Diary, received their knowledge of Greek. With the exception of George Buchanan, Andrew Melville was the most accomplished scholar of his time. He became Principal, first of Glasgow University and afterwards of St. Andrews. Thus Angus contributed more than her share in moulding the education and religion of Scotland.

Every school of importance had its regulations. A most vivid account of the daily routine and internal arrangements of an important school is to be found in the/

the Statutes and Laws of Aberdeen Grammar School, 1553. The school day began about 7 a.m. On entering school each boy "genibus flexis solutet Christiam, optim~~um~~, maximum, humani generis authorem, et Deiparam virginem breui precatiuncula." All the boys were to speak "Latine Graecè Hebraicè Gallicè Hybernicè;" they were not to speak the vernacular, "saltem cum his qui Latine noscunt." Speaking the vernacular, lack of preparation, inattention, speaking, fidgeting, unnecessary delay "in naturae officio," and all "authores mali" were met with corporal punishment. Boys in those days were certainly as mischievous as the boys of today, probably more so. From the burgh records of Dundee it is evident that schoolmasters accompanied the scholars to church on Sundays, and were responsible for their behaviour. In 1558 "the masters of scholars doctors of the same parents of bairns being yrat, attend yt yr bairnes nor sevands by all order be in ight found playing crying or disqueting in the tyme of the preaching vnder the pain of punishment with all Rigor. And give the sds bairns or sevands be found braking any glasen windowes the parents to repair the same upon ther own expense."

A/

Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. V Statuta et Leges Ludi Literarii Grammaticorum Aberdoneasium, pp. 399-402. Ibid. pp. 399-401.
See A.J. Warden, Burgh Laws of Dundee, 1872, pp. 17-18.

A new era was opened in the history of Scotland when, in 1560, she adopted Protestantism as her religion. The old order had thus to yield to a new ecclesiastical and educational system. The educational system recommended by the Reformers is contained in the Book of Discipline (i.e. Policy), "a magnificent scheme of statesmanship for the ecclesiastical administration of Scotland, for the perfection of its education, for the relief of its poor, and for the improvement of its social organisation." The times, however, were not favourable. This is apparent from the "Abuses" contained in "The Heads and Conclusions of the Polemic of the Kirk" (1581), as found in Melvill's Diary. The Court was "godles and wicked."^a The nobility were uneducated and took no pains to have their children trained in letters, "to the grait reprotche and schame of the countrey, and thair awin grait hurt and dishonour." The middle classes thought it "unthrift" to send their children to the study of theology. As for the poor, "quhilk ar comounlie best giffen to that studie/

Morgan, Rise and Progress of Scottish Education, 1927, p. 52. For a summary of the great educational ideas underlying the scheme, see *ibid.* p. 51.

Melvill's Diary, p. 193.

Ibid. p. 190.

studie, and wharof comes maist fruict to the Kirk of Chryst, they haiff na thing to sustein tham withe of thair awin, nather is ther provision of bursars' places for them." They were thus constrained to go about the country "in swarmes, war nor Turks or Infidelles, godles and lawles." The social and economic conditions were further aggravated by the fact that the purchasing power of money had depreciated six-fold within the previous hundred years.

"The dilapidation of church property upon the eve of the Reformation", says Cosmo Innes, "is more marked in Brechin than in other dioceses." The county of Angus was strongly Protestant. Robert Edward, minister of Murroes, in his description of Angus, 1678, says that Dundee for its adherence to the truereligion, that is Protestantism, was honoured with the appellation of/

Ibid. p. 189.

Ibid. p. 191.

Ibid. p. 190.

Reg. Ep. Brechin, vol. 1. Preface, p. xviii. Brechin was one of the ten towns named in the Book of Discipline to be the seat of a "college" or high school.

of a second Geneva. Erskine of Dun, the Melvilles, the martyrs Wishart and Walter Miln, all left an enduring impress upon the destiny of their country. Erskine was appointed Superintendent of Angus and Mearns, and for his labours "in the suppressing of superstition papistrie and idolatrie and avancement and propagation of the evangell of Christ Jesus the tyme of the reformation of the religioun and in his ydent and faythfull perseverance in the samin," he received a pension of £13 :6 :8 from the King out of the preceptory of Maison-dieu (Brechtin). In the General Assembly of 1562 a complaint was lodged against Erskine because many popish priests had been admitted as readers within his diocese. As a result, Robert Cumyn, Schoolmaster in Arbroath, was deposed for infecting the youth committed to his charge with "idolatrie." Owing to the state of the country it is probable that there was a dearth of men qualified to teach, and that Erskine was obliged to rely on/

A New Description of Angus.

Burned as a heretic at St. Andrews in the year 1558; he was then 82 years of age.

To enable superintendents to defray the extraordinary expenses of travelling in the discharge of their duty, six chalders of bear, nine chalders of meal, three chalders of oats, and six hundred merks, were thought necessary as an annual stipend. McCrie, Life of Knox. p. 169. Only 5 superintendents were actually appointed.

on the priests who had been ejected from the abbeys and monasteries on their destruction. With sacrilegious avarice the nobles seized the lands, properties, and emoluments of the Old Church, thus leaving the Church of the new faith destitute. As a result of the spoliation the Reformed Church was left without the means of supporting education "to the great hurt of scullis." For many years after the Reformation it was only the strenuous efforts of the Church that kept the lamp of learning from being extinguished. Ecclesiastical records show that the Church did not fail to contribute from her scanty resources towards the sustentation of schoolmasters and poor scholars, while the State did nothing despite the frequent appeals of the General Assembly. In 1645 the Assembly enacted that no schoolmaster was to teach in a Grammar school unless he had been examined and approved by the presbytery; and it appears that burghs at this time acquiesced in the superintendence claimed by the Church.

Several chaplainries were connected with Brechin Cathedral, and prominent amongst these was that of Maisondieu, founded sometime between the years 1247/

1247 and 1267, when Albinus was bishop of the diocese. Maisondieu was the historical parent of the Grammar School of Brechin. During the preceptorship of Alexander Norrie, the chapel underwent considerable repairs at Norrie's private expense. This he agreed to waive if Sir Patrick Maule, afterwards Earl of Panmure, would "apply the fruits and rents of the said Preceptory according to the tenor of the old foundation, to the maintenance of the schoolmaster of Brechin, and of a second minister there." On 29 August, 1636, Panmure presented Robert Norrie, son of Alexander Norrie, to the Preceptory of Maisondieu, to serve "the cure of an ordinary minister in the chapel of the said Preceptory," and to exercise "the charge of a master of the Grammar School in the city of Brechin." From local records we have traced, without break, the names of all his successors. The right of presentation continued with the Earls of Panmure until 1716 when their estates were/

Albinus d. 1269; he was consecrated in 1247. In July 1267 an "isch" (exit) and entry of a road 30 ft. broad from the chapel to the town of Brechin was granted. "Fundacio de Messyndew" bears no date. See Reg. Ep. Brechin, vol. 1, pp. 4-7. Albinus is one of the witnesses to the deed.

Registrum de Panmure vol. 11, p. 321.

Ibid. pp. 321-22.

See Appendix.

were forfeited. The revenues of Maisondieu, in terms of the original grant, belonged to the preceptor of the Grammar School of Brechin until 1866 when Mr. Andrew Robertson, Preceptor of Maisondieu and Rector of Brechin High School, assigned to Brechin Town Council the whole emoluments and casualties arising from the Preceptory, and in return received £50 by half yearly instalments of £25 at the terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas.

In 1674 the Town Council of Dundee ordained that the regulations relating to the Grammar School of Dundee should be hung up in the school "on ane broad." The rules, to be observed "in all time coming," consisted of "6 Articles to wch is added that no Doctor or Janitor be presented but by the Magistrates." The following were the Instructions:

1. "That prayers be made in the English toung be the Master or Eldest Doctor each morning and evening in the week dayes and after the afternoons sermon on the Lords day, and the notts of the sermon ar to be exacted and/

"Contract between Mr. Andrew Robertson and the Town Council of Brechin 1866." The document is deposited in the Town Clerk's Office, Brechin.

Grant, History of the Burgh Schools, p. 158.
Burgh Laws of Dundee. See Warden, Burgh Laws of Dundee, 1872, pp. 61-62.

and one pairt of one psalm sung and that the schollars be examined upon the catechisme either latine or english as the Mr shall appoint.

2. That all the Schollars convene wt the Mr and Doctors in the School at 6 in the morning in summer and 7 in winter, and also after breakfast and at one of the clock after dinner.

3. That the play be seldom granted in noctim, and that upon play days the Mr or one of the Drs go furth wt the schollars to the Magdalen gear, and after 2 houres play bring them back to the school and exact one account of ther lessons.

4. That none of the Latin Schollars who have learned their constructions be permitted to speak english wtin or wtout the schoole to the Masters or any of the Con-:disciples sub poena etc., and that ther be clandestine Captors for that effect and for those that rides horses especially in time of Mercat and for those that fre-:quent the shoar boats or ships, and that the Rolle be called once every Manday for chastising the delinquents.

5. That if any be found swearing breaking the Sabbath day, rebellious to ther Masters, Trowans fm the school, fugitives fm disciplin, for the 1st fault they be publickly whiped for the 2d flogged, and for the 3d excluded the school till they find surety for ther better/

better conduct.

6. That those in the Masters classe be accustomed to harrangue upon some subject prescribed by the Master once in the month at leaste."

In those days private schools were prohibited in the burghs when they were known to compete with the Grammar schools; and the patrons of the Burgh schools were always ready to support the interests of the teachers and schools under their charge. The Burgh schools from early times until the beginning of last century enjoyed a more or less rigid protection from private adventure schools. In 1664 the schoolmaster of Forfar was compelled to resign his charge, but the Town Council, finding that he continued to teach, forbade the "whole inhabitants from putting children to him." The first Act relating to the Grammar School of Brechin to be found in the Brechin Town Council Minutes, is dated 20 April, 1674. It is as follows: "The said day the counsell for encourgment to the present scoollmaster (John Dempster) to attend his charge have ordered and ordaned in tyme coming no person or persons burgess or Inhabitant within the burgh shall sett/

See Grant, History of Burgh Schools, Chap. lll. - Protection of Schools.

Burgh Records of Forfar. See *ibid.* p. 135.

The first extant Minute is dated "17th off Apryll 1672 yeres."

sett put or keip anie off ther male children at anie scooll without or within burgh but at the Gramar Scooll ther or off or above the age off ten years and that no person shall sett anie off ther maile children to learne Latin off aine age older or younger but at the Gramar Scooll under the pyne off Twentie punds to be payed be the parent off the chyld and who teache anie such inferior scooll to be punisht and fyned at the magis-:trats pleasur iff they be within the Confynes off the town." The Act seems to have been effective as there is no recorded instance of a parent or teacher being fined. At this time the Grammar School of Brechin (Maisondieu) was "extreamlie ruinous and decayed." As Mr. John Dempster, the schoolmaster, was then "Imployed by the bishop to suplie his charge as minis-:ter," the Town Council of Brechin, considering that both offices would prove "too heavie and troublsome to discharge," enacted that Mr. James Dempster should accept the office of schoolmaster with this pro-:vision, "that the sd Mr. John satisfie the sd Mr. James for his pains and both to be during the Councils pleasure or untill the sd Mr. James be effectualie in-:staled/

Town Council Minute, dated 15 July 1674.

instaled as scoollmaster." In June of the following year Mr. John Dempster "compeired in Counsell" and produced a presentation under the hand of the Earl of Panmure, whereby the Earl presented to Mr. James Dempster the preceptory of Maisondieu and the schoolmastership of Brechin, with the casualties and emoluments thereof "during all the dayes of his lyfynd." The Town Council ratified and approved the presentation "als freely in all respects as aine scoollmaster off befor has Injoyed the samen." In August, 1682, Mr. Laurence Skinner, son of George Skinner, glover and burgess of Brechin, was appointed by the bailies and council as 'doctor' of Brechin Grammar School in succession to Mr. Alexander Fairweather, "who was entered and did serve for a quarter of ane year Immediately last past." In 1685 he was promoted to the headmastership. The appointment was for life, and he received a salary of "ane hundred and sixteen merks" to be paid at Whitsunday and Martinmas. The method of his appointment is interesting. The Council, with the "consent off the collector and deacons off the Crafts," made the nomination, determined the condition of appointment, fixed the salary and time of payment, then notified the Earl of Panmure and/

and the Bishop of Brechin (James Low) that they might obtain their Lordship's approval. Alexander Rires, who succeeded Mr. Skinner as 'doctor', was nominated by the Brechin Town Council "to serve and officiat for a year", and was to receive the salary allowed to former 'doctors' of the school, provided that "my Lord bishop at his coming to the place does approve of this choyse and no otherwayes and ordaines him to be obedient to the Mr of the scooll and obey the other Injunctions following." The "Register containing the state and condition of every burgh within the kingdom of Scotland, in the year 1692," contains a few items regarding the Burgh schools of Angus. In Dundee the total salaries of the master of the Grammar School, his two doctors, and janitor amounted to £366:13 :4 (Scots); and the writing master had a salary of £133: 6: 8 (Scots). Two bursars were also supported at St. Leonard's College towards the maintenance of whom the Burgh of Dundee contributed £144 (Scots). The salaries/

Ibid. 8 Jan. 1685.

He officiated until April 1701. He was then in such poor circumstances that he petitioned the Council who granted him £20 Scots "ffor one yeare allennarly."

Ibid. 19 February 1685. No injunctions are stated. Miscellany of the Scottish Burgh Records Society pp. 61-62.

salaries of the schoolmaster and master of the Grammar School of Montrose amounted to £306:13 :4 (Scots); and the master of the Music school received £20 (Scots). The Grammar School of Brechin is described as "ane verie old house and most now be altogether repaired, besides ane good sowme it has stood the toune yearly for many years bygone." The schoolmaster's yearly salary amounted to £77 :6 :8 (Scots) and the emoluments of the doctor totalled £23 :6 :8 (Scots). The schoolmaster and doctor of Arbroath received £46:13:4 and £24 (Scots) respectively; and in Forfar the salary of the schoolmaster amounted to £48 (Scots). It would seem that at this time the burgh authorities of Forfar supported only one schoolmaster, as no assistant or other schoolmaster is mentioned.

From the Minutes of Brechin Town Council it is evident that country children attending the Grammar School of Brechin paid higher fees than the children of the town. In 1702, if the Minutes can be trusted, the/

Ibid. p. 86.

Ibid. pp. 101-102.

Ibid. p. 123.

Ibid. 136.

the fees of Brechin Grammar School were lower than "any oyr grammar schooll." The master of the school received "only sex shillings eight pennys (Scots) mony quarterly ffor Learning Each Chyld In the toune and thirteene shillings foure pennys ffor Each Chyld in the Country qlk Is verry mean and small." The Council, considering that the fees were too low, enacted that the fees of the town children, from Hallowmas 1702, should be 13/4 instead of 6/8, and that those of the country children should be raised from 13/4 to 20/-, "provyding allways that the schooll master be obliddged to Educat and teach gratis such persons (as) shall be Recomendded by the magistrates ffor the tyme To him Representing them as poore Chyldring."

In making an appointment town councils generally adopted one of these methods: by examination; by recommendation from some competent authority, often a university professor; or by appointing a candidate after a period of probation, during which he taught in the appointed school. Town councils not being qualified to examine the scholastic abilities of the various/

Brechin Town Council Minutes, August 1702. The day of month is not stated but the Minute follows that of the 8th August and precedes that of the 31st August.

various candidates, generally submitted the candidates' work to local or neighbouring ministers or schoolmasters for examination; and when a candidate was appointed, the patrons frequently paid part of the expenses incurred by the candidate in removing to his new abode, and also granted expenses to the other candidates who had presented themselves for examination. Schoolmasters were appointed for a definite period, during the council's pleasure, or "ad vitam aut culpam." It is interesting to note that the question of tenure of office was raised in connection with Montrose Grammar School. On 10 August 1709, the Magistrates of Montrose, by an Act of their Town Council, considering the "much decayed and daily decaying condition" of the Grammar School, resolved that Mr. Robert Strachan, their schoolmaster, should not continue as such longer than Martinmas; and having intimated their resolution to him, the Magistrates, by another Act of 9 November, declared his office vacant, and ordered him to deliver up the keys of the school. The case went before the Court of Session, where, on behalf of Mr. Strachan, it was maintained that, being admitted as schoolmaster simply, and not during pleasure, he had the right to hold office "ad vitam aut culpam." It was further alleged/

Town Council, Minutes.

Ibid.

alleged that it was a great discouragement for men who were fitted for their employment to be removed summarily, without malversation, and especially in royal burghs, where the change of magistrates happened yearly, and when new magistrates had often friends to advance. He had served many years as doctor in the same school and, having given evidence of his capacity, he had been promoted.

"It was answered: That the schoolmaster is the town's servant, and not having his place for life, depends entirely upon their pleasure; and it were of very bad consequence, if it were found otherwise, because it might often happen, as in this particular case, that the school might daily decay to the great prejudice of the neighbouring gentlemen and the inhabitants within the town, who would be obliged to send their children to other places, or lose the opportunity of their education; which was the true cause of removing the suspender; and yet, if there were an absolute necessity to prove a malversation, it were a matter of great difficulty, if at all possible.

"The Lords found no necessity to condescend upon any malversation; and also, that the magistrates could not arbitrarily at their pleasure remove their schoolmaster; but that for any just and reasonable cause they/

they might; and ordained the magistrates to condescend before the Ordinary upon a just and reasonable cause for removing the suspender." On the last day of May 1710, however, Mr. Strachan demitted office, and the Council, in respect thereof, granted him £50 sterling "for helping him and his family to a way of living"

By the Act of 1706 - passed for securing the Presbyterian form of church government - schoolmasters had to subscribe the Confession of Faith. Similar Acts had been passed between 1606 and 1646, and again from 1662 to the Revolution, during which periods Episcopacy superseded Presbyterianism. After the Revolution, Jacobitism was closely associated with Episcopacy. When Thomas Paul was appointed doctor of the Grammar School of Brechin in 1704, he was evidently asked to declare his allegiance to the Crown. His declaration is recorded in the Council Minutes as follows:

" I master Thomas paull doctor of the grammer schooll of Brachine doe in the sincerity of my heart assert acknowledge and Declaire that her majtie Queen Anne Is the only Lawll Sovereaigne undoubted of this Realme alseweel de Jure That is of right as de facto ^{of the governement agst the pretended prince} That is in the possessione and exercise of Wales (now taking/

Decisions of the Court of Session from 1698 to 1718, collected by Sir Hew Dalrymple, p. 127. See Insh, School Life in Old Scotland, 1925, pp. 49-51.

Town Council Minutes.

taking upon him the title off King of this Realme) and his adherents And all other Enimies who aither by opne or secreett attempts shall disturb or disquiet her majtie in the pone (possession) and exercise yr off."

In January 1717 Mr. Paul was promoted headmaster. There had been no headmaster in Brechin since March 1716, "by and through Mr. John Petrie late School master there his being deposed from the said office by the Reverend Presbitry of Brechine." He had been dismissed "for his Episcopal leaning in the late unnatural Rebellion." As the Panmure estates were forfeited in 1716, the office of Preceptor of Maison-dieu, Brechin, now became a Crown appointment. Mr. Paul was consequently presented to the office by the royal gift of King George I, given under his hand^{sn} 15 March 1717. As Mr. Paul had been "att a great deall of trouble and expence in procureing the Said gift and presentation and that he is not weell able to bear the Samen," the Council enacted that the town treasurer of Brechin should pay to Mr. Paul the sum of £40 (Scots) "to/

Town Council Minutes, 11 August, 1704.

Ibid. 28 Jan. 1717.

Brechin Presbytery Records, 15 March, 1716. Patrick Lyon, master of the Grammar School of Dundee, was also deposed for favouring the Rebellion of 1715. Dundee Burgh Records, 1 May 1716.

"to help to defray the Charges payed by him in obtaining the Said gift and presentation."

Mr. Hugh Christie, schoolmaster at Dun, was appointed as 'doctor' of Brechin Grammar School on 4 June 1739. He was appointed "ad vitam aut culpam," with this provision, that as soon as he "shall enter upon trialls for the Ministry the said office of Doctorship shall immediately become Vacant and this present Act Presentation and Call ipso facto become void null and of no effect as if the samen had never been made and (the Council) ordains the Clerk to give Extracts hereof for his Security anent the premises." The office of doctor was often a stepping-stone to the ministry. In 1742 Brechin Town Council for the "better encouragement" and for "exciteing" the schoolmaster and his 'doctor' "to the more Diligent exercise of their offices" augmented the quarter payments of "one Merks Scots," formerly appointed to be paid to the Master for each boy, to eighteen shillings Scots; and "half a Merk Scots," paid to the 'doctor' for each boy, was raised to twelve shillings. It was specially provided, however, that the schoolmaster (John Weath) shall be bound and obliged "That he shall not any time dureing his incumbency in the said office of School master neglect his said office and charge by Preaching either upon a week Day or holy Day

for/
Brechin Town Council Minutes, 7 April, 1718.
Ibid.

for any person or persons whatsoever." In 1754 Arbroath Town Council, considering that the masters of the school had in several instances neglected and left their charges, resolved that if any first master of the school showed his intention of leaving office to become a minister, he would ipso facto be discharged from the office of schoolmaster. It would thus seem that about the middle of the 18th century it was a common practice for teachers to desert the school for the church, thereby disturbing the continuity of the school and causing considerable inconvenience to the patrons. But the burghs must shoulder some responsibility as the emoluments of teachers were by no means generous.

With the Industrial Revolution came an increased demand for labour. The population rose rapidly in the towns; and many in the country sought employment in new industries. Our social, commercial, and industrial relations demanded a wider educational curriculum than that offered in the Grammar schools. The basis of education was extended and remodelled to suit the requirements of the time. Thus arose Academies, which met the demand for a more modern curriculum, including science, commercial, and practical subjects. There was also a distinct need for new buildings as many of the/

the Grammar schools were old, and unsatisfactory in providing accommodation. Academies were mostly founded towards the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. Their management was generally vested in directors, selected by the subscribers who had voluntarily been responsible for the erection of the new institutions. In 1785 the Town Council of Dundee proposed to institute an Academy, but the funds under the management of the Council were not sufficient to defray the whole expense. The Dean of the Guildry called a meeting to see if the Guildry would contribute from their funds towards the new project. The meeting highly approved and resolved to pay yearly, for the first three years, the sum of £20 sterling towards the expense of the academy. The Academy was founded in 1786, and is now merged into the High School of Dundee. About the year 1825, the increasing requirements of the town necessitated increased educational arrangements, and the Council of Dundee appointed a committee "to enquire into the State of the Academy and other Public Schools, and into the System and means of Education in the Town generally, and how these/

A.J. Warden, Burgh Laws of Dundee p. 196. By his will and testament, dated 14 Nov. 1789, James Webster bequeathed a sum, not exceeding £6000, for establishing an Academy in Dundee. For the terms of his will see History of Dundee, 1874, pp. 308-9.

these may be improved; and also as to providing of Suitable Buildings for the better accommodation of the Academy and other Schools, and to report to the Council." The result of this enquiry was an agreement whereby all the Burgh schools of Dundee should be incorporated with the Dundee Public Seminaries. The patronage, control, and management of these seminaries were vested in twenty directors, the provost and four bailies, and five other persons to be chosen by the town council, and ten persons to be chosen by the subscribers. Academies made a highly important contribution to Secondary education in Scotland. They had the advantage of having a wider and more practical course, newer and more commodious buildings, a larger staff, and better equipment. But the reaction against the classical curriculum of the Grammar schools went too far, and in course of time the Academies lost their original characteristics, and became to all intents and purposes like Grammar schools.

On 12 April 1814, the Magistrates and Town Council/

Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Dundee, 1292-1880, p. 196. The Town Council agreed to the incorporation on 20 May 1829. See *ibid.* pp. 198-202.

¹*Ibid.* p. 196.

Council of Montrose resolved that it was necessary to provide a more liberal and extended education. A subscription list was opened, and £1000 was granted from the funds of the town. On 19 September 1814, a contract amounting to £2,330 sterling, was signed by Messrs. William and Alexander Smith, builders in Montrose; and on 27 February 1815, the foundation stone of Montrose Academy was laid with full Masonic honours. The building originally contained six rooms, three on each flat, each of the rooms measuring 32 ft. long and 22 ft. wide.

In the following year (1816) the Magistrates and Town Council of Forfar, the Heritors of the landward parish, and minister, desiring to regulate the Public Schools "so as the youth of the town and neighbourhood may receive the benefit of a good education at the least expense, and in the shortest time," resolved to unite, for a certain period, the Parochial School and the two schools established and supported by the Magistrates and Council. The teachers, according to the published pamphlet, "have been, and shall on all future occasions be appointed, after the most anxious and/

For full report see Montrose Review, 3 March, 1815. Statutes and Regulations of the Public Schools of Forfar, 1st July 1816. Dundee, 1816, p. 5.

and careful enquiry into their character and qualifications." If any teacher fell sick and was unable to discharge the duties of his office, such teacher, "after the elapse of two weeks, shall provide an assistant, sufficiently qualified to supply his place." The patrons assigned separate apartments and distinct branches of education to the different teachers. The Parochial schoolmaster taught English only. One of the teachers under the patronage of the Magistrates and Council, taught writing, arithmetic, and practical mathematics; and the other, also under the patronage of the Magistrates and Council, taught Latin, Greek, and French. Montrose Academy professed a wider curriculum, as, in addition to the various branches mentioned, it included geography, astronomy, and navigation, all of which would be valuable to the youths of Montrose, many of whom adopted a sea-faring career.

Webster's Seminary, Kirriemuir, was founded by John Webster, writer, and agent of a branch of the British Linen Company. He died on 25 August, 1829; and by his will he provided means "for instituting, erecting, perpetually endowing and for regulating

a/

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid. p. 6.

a school" in Kirriemuir for instructing the youth of the town and parish in the arts and sciences, or such branches of education as his trustees thought suitable. Webster's Seminary, under the Webster Trust, was the direct result of Mr. Webster's munificence. The buildings cost £2,300, and the balance, some £5,000, was invested. The designer was Mr. James Brewster, a son of Dr. Brewster, parish minister of Craig, near Montrose. The institution was opened in November 1837 and was intended for higher education, but as there was not sufficient demand for such an education, the trustees, by virtue of the discretionary powers conferred upon them by the founder's settlement, conducted the seminary as an elementary school. After the Act of 1872 the Seminary provided for those seeking a higher education, but in a few years its status was lowered to that of an Intermediate school. The Seminary was transferred to the School Board in 1889, and at present functions, not without difficulty, as a Secondary school.

During the whole of the year 1833, Brechin Town Council, heritors, guildry, and heads of families, were at loggerheads over the re-organizing of the public schools of Brechin. It was ultimately agreed that there should/

Statistical Account of Kirriemuir, December 1833. See Statistical Account of Forfarshire, 1843. p. 187.

should be three independent teachers: a rector; a master of the parish school; and, in place of the former assistant to the parish schoolmaster, there was to be a master of a Burgh School. Thus there were three schools with one schoolmaster to each; and the three schools were contained in one building, The Council authorized the Provost and the Treasurer to pay £25 sterling towards the opening of a fund to be mortgaged with the town and the interest to be applied by the Town Council towards the payment of a salary for the master of the Burgh School. The subjects and fees of the Burgh School and Parochial School were identical; and the branches, and fees per quarter, of the Rector's Department were as follows:- French, 3 shillings; Latin, 4 shillings; Latin and French, four and sixpence; Greek, 5 shillings; Latin and Greek, 5 shillings; Geography, two shillings and sixpence; French and Geography, two shillings and sixpence; Latin and Geography, five shillings; Euclid, 5 shillings; Euclid and Latin, 5 shillings; other branches/

Plan of the Public Schools of Brechin, Brechin Town Council Minutes, 27 December 1833. Professor Pillans, whose advice was sought, recommended under the circumstances two independent teachers. His ideal plan, however, was to subordinate all the teachers to the rector. Letter dated Edinburgh 20 February 1833, embodied in Council Minute 21 March 1833.

branches including combinations of the above, six shillings and sixpence. All fees were to be paid in advance.

In the following year (1834) Arbroath followed the example of Brechin in re-organizing its public schools. In that year the Directors and Town Council of Arbroath issued a printed pamphlet entitled "Rules and Regulations of the Arbroath Academy, with Tables of Fees as amended and adopted on the 5th of September, 1834." The establishment, states the pamphlet, "shall consist of Three Masters, who shall be independent of one another: a master of the "classical and mathematical department and general school;" a master of the "commercial department;" and a master of the "English department." It is rather curious that the first master, who was in charge of the classical and mathematical department as well as the general school, held "the rank of Parish Schoolmaster." He was "bound to provide an Usher," and was to teach personally, or with the aid of his usher, the higher branches of education, leaving the "plainer" to be taught by his usher, under his responsible direction and superintendence. The subjects which the Parish schoolmaster taught/

taught were as follows: Latin, Greek, Practical and Theoretical Mathematics, Algebra, French, Ancient and Modern Geography, Chronology and History, Drawing, Navigation; and in the general school, English Reading and Recitation, Writing, Arithmetic, and English Grammar. None of the masters was permitted to teach any branch of education other than those assigned to his department. The first master was to arrange his hours of teaching so that his pupils might have it in their power to attend the departments of the second and third masters; and in the event of any difference arising among the masters on this point, the Patrons were to be the arbitrators.

The tendency during the first half of the 19th century, to make each teacher independent aroused considerable controversy throughout Scotland, and until the Act of 1872 the educational machinery was of a very heterogeneous character. There was no uniformity or organization. And as it was with the schools so it was with the departments in the schools. The Burgh schools, which might be expected to be Secondary, combined Infant, Elementary, and Secondary education. The confusion of schools seems to have reached its worst in the early decades of last century. "Sometimes, in the same class-room/

Ibid. p. 3.

Ibid. p. 5.

class-room, and taught by the same master, there are boys and girls of 15 and 16 years of age, reading, it may be, Homer and Virgil, and Racine, and alongside of them infants under 6 years of age learning their letters and the multiplication table, and young men of 18 and 20, who, according to age, ought to be in the universities." Dundee High School, which absorbed the Academy, and English School, contained no less than eight distinct departments: classical, mathematical, commercial, writing and arithmetic, English, French, German, drawing and painting. But the system of co-ordinate authority was found to be unsatisfactory, and frequently caused strife among the teachers themselves when they vied with each other over the question of fees. It was maintained "by excellent authority", on behalf of the 'independent' teacher system, that the fact of each master being supreme in his own department produced a perfect or almost perfect state of discipline in his own classes; and this was attributed to the complete absence of any power of appeal on the part of the pupil. Professor Pillans of Edinburgh, in a letter dated 20 February 1833, stated/

Third Report of H.M. Commissioners. Burgh Schools 1868, p. 109.

The schools established, with the consent of the burgh, by adventure teachers were often so termed; they were restricted to the elementary branches.

Endowed Schools Commission, Third Report vol. 1, p. 413.

stated his views regarding school management when his advice was sought regarding the Public Schools of Brechin. The following is an excerpt of the letter: "To raise the character of the Institution, and have some security that the system of practical teaching shall be both enlightened and effectual, it is of primary importance to hold out such encouragement as may attract persons of great acquirement, zeal and ability. So great indeed do I conceive the advantage to be of having a man of that description at the head of such an Establishment, to give a tone to the whole and infuse vigour and energy into all the members, that, if any alteration were to be made in the Provost's plan, it ought rather, in my opinion, to be to make all the teachers subordinate to one Rector and to raise his emoluments considerably above those of the rest." The system recommended by Pillans is now universal in Scotland. Dr. Donaldson, rector of the High School of Edinburgh and afterwards Principal of St. Andrews University, was in favour of a limited exercise of the headmaster's authority. "It should be the rector's right and business," he said, "to see that all regulations of the committee of management are/

Embodied in Minute of Brechin Town Council of 21 March, 1833.

are honestly carried out." H.M. Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Burgh Schools found that those schools in which the masters had co-ordinate power were by no means the best schools in Scotland; and remarked that in several of the most important of them, such as Dundee High School, it was contemplated by the managers to give up the system of co-ordinate authority. And the Commissioners further added that, "In such schools as Hamilton and Inverness Academies, where the change had been made, the result was unmistakably beneficial." In the case of Forfar Academy, Dr. Donaldson of Edinburgh High School, was called upon to settle a dispute between the masters. There had been a "deadly quarrel" between the masters about fees, and they were actually fighting for their livelihood. Nor was Forfar an exception, for the same state of affairs existed "in a great number of the middle-class schools," where, owing to the want of endowments, and to the fact that they had no regular salaries, but had to rely upon the fees, "the institutions get broken up, as it were, into different parties, and they are not in a healthy state." In the struggle for existence the interests of the masters often/

Third Report of H.M. Commissioners, Burgh Schools p.97.
Ibid. pp. 97-98.

Dr. Donaldson in his evidence before H.M. Commissioners Third Report, Endowed Schools, p. 103.

often clashed, especially when one master had a large class and another had not. The cause of the dispute in Forfar may be found in the "Rapport" of J. Demogeot and H. Montucci, the French Commissioners: "A Forfar, dont l'école de grammaire est une burgh school, sans être paroissiale, la municipalité en nomme les deux maîtres: le premier a un traitement de 30 livres sterling, l'autre n'en avait pas en 1835, parce qu'il était aussi secrétaire de la session (session clerk) les émoluments de cette charge, joints à la rétribution scolaire, devant suffire pour les deux fonctions."

There was in Scotland a distinct lack of uniformity in departments. The French Commissioners with regard to Montrose Academy and other similar institutions remarked: "Nous avons vu qu'à Montrose, par exemple, les mathématiques et les langues anciennes sont réunies entre les mêmes mains, et qu'il en est de même de l'écriture et de l'arithmétique. Ce système de cumuler deux et même trois matières d'enseignement entre les mains d'un seul professeur est assez commun en Écosse: il existait autrefois même à Edimbourg."

The/

De l'Enseignement secondaire en Angleterre et en Écosse. Paris. 1868. p. 449.

Title of a teacher in a Secondary school.

Ibid. p. 544.

The following statistics further reveal the lack of uniformity and the great diversity that existed in the Burgh Schools.

Burghs.	Schools.	Scholars on Roll learning.													
		Total Scholars on Roll	Greek.	Latin.	French.	German.	Arithmet- :ic.	Book-keep- :ing.	Mathemat- :ics.	Physics.	English.	Writing.	Drawing.	Music.	Mensuration.
(Aberdeen.	New Grammar.	272	87	247	11	-	149	-	104	-	203	75	10	-	-
(Banff.	Grammar.	136	12	38	-	-	120	-	11	-	120	119	5	-	-
(Elgin.	Academy.	137	3	40	16	2	84	6	11	65	121	74	2	20	-
(Peterhead.	Academy.	126	3	26	-	2	115	-	18	-	120	110	-	-	-
Total.		671	105	351	27	4	468	6	144	65	564	378	17	20	-
Cent. proportion			15.7	52.3	4.	0.6	69.7	0.9	21.4	9.6	84.	56.3	2.5	2.9	-
(Arbroath.	High.	327	6	56	77	19	215	11	8	-	301	223	11	-	15
(Breachin.	Burgh Par. & Gr.	237	2	38	15	-	125	-	2	-	190	144	-	-	-
(Forfar.	Burgh.	191	-	46	35	6	113	-	11	-	191	158	-	-	-
(Montrose.	Academy.	270	5	63	55	15	174	-	18	-	260	216	37	-	-
Total.		1,025	13	203	182	40	627	11	39	-	942	741	48	-	15
Cent. proportion			1.3	19.8	17.8	3.9	61.2	1.1	3.8	-	91.9	72.3	4.7	-	1.5

These returns show that in the Aberdeen group 16 per cent of the scholars were learning Greek, as against 1 per cent in the Montrose group; and 52 per cent were learning Latin in the former group, against 20 per cent in the latter. But as regards modern languages, in the Aberdeen group only 4 per cent were returned as learning French, against 18 per cent in the Montrose group. In the Aberdeen group less than 1 per cent were learning German, as against 4 per cent in the Montrose group. In Writing we find 56 per cent in the Aberdeen group, against 72 in Montrose; and in Drawing, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in the northern schools, and 5 per cent in the Montrose group.

The cause of this diversity was attributed by H.M. Commissioners to the preference of the parents for subjects of instruction which they thought would soonest pay. "Classics pay in the north-eastern counties, and modern languages do not pay; whereas in the other county a commercial is of more immediate value than a classical education. Commercial pursuits offer but few openings to a Banff or Elgin lad. There is very little trade in these counties. A limited number of banks, and a limited number of offices other than law offices, afford but a limited number of situations, and those are soon filled up. The bursary examination is almost exclusive-ly/

exclusively classical, and modern languages are not required for success in it. Sixty per cent of the marks by which a bursary can be gained are given for classics, and half of that number can be gained by writing a bit of grammatical Latin. No marks are given for modern languages, and very few for English. Hence it is that classics pay in the north-eastern counties, and modern languages do not. In the Montrose group there is a good opening in the mercantile and manufacturing offices of Arbroath and Dundee. Good handwriting is thought more valuable than Greek in those towns, and some knowledge of French or German than Latin. Classics, therefore, are at a discount, and writing and modern languages at a premium. The general result is that parents look upon education as a means to an immediate end. The great object is to get a lad placed in some situation in which he will gain pecuniary benefit, and keep himself at as early an age as possible. If he can do this by means of classics, as at Aberdeen, they will teach him classics; if by writing, they will teach him writing. If along with his writing he can pick up a little Latin and a little French, so much the better, but it is not essential. This is the view of education which is adopted by parents of the middle class in Scotland; and those subjects/

subjects of instruction which conduce to this end are most appreciated by them."

Mr. John Ross, Rector of Arbroath High School, was one of fifteen prominent educationists who were asked to give evidence before H.M. Commissioners regarding:

(1) Constitution and Management of Burgh Schools. (2) Relation of Burgh Schools to the Community. (3) Quality of Instruction. (4) Curriculum. (5) Subjects of Instruction. (6) Examinations. (7) Relation between Schools and Universities. (8) Suggestions upon Burgh and Middle-Class Schools. According to Mr. Ross the poorer classes were prevented from availing themselves of the Burgh school system "by the amount of fees." The mixed character of the school operated against the system, but this was "not altogether an evil," although a few of the higher classes sent their children "to a distance." Mr. Ross was also of the opinion that parents had "a little too much liberty generally," especially as they were "to a very great extent guided by the wishes of the children." There should be, he thought, a fixed curriculum through which all the pupils should be obliged to pass, but the nature of the curriculum/

Ibid. p. 116.

Ibid. Appendix A. pp. 214-217. Mr. Ross was formerly rector of Inverness Free Church Institution; rector of Arbroath Free Church Institution for 9 months; and rector of Arbroath High School in Feb. 1861.

curriculum would depend on the character and size of the school and the population of the particular place. In the manufacturing and commercial burghs, modern languages were rapidly taking the place of Latin. The learning of Latin, Mr. Ross averred, was "rather a tradition than a felt necessity," while the learning of modern languages was "very much a matter of fashion only." And English grammar, as then taught, he characterised as "profound trifling." He was convinced that in those schools which sent but few boys to the universities, a sound English and commercial education must form the basis of the curriculum. And, we may add, English has at long last found its rightful place as the core and centre of the Burgh or Secondary school curriculum.

We give an illustration of the gradual manner in which modern languages encroached upon Latin in the High School of Arbroath.

Session.	Number of Scholars in	
	Latin	French.
1860-61	62	66
1861-62	71	60
1862-63	71	76
1863-64	62	73
1864-65	57	75
1865-66	54	78
1867-68	54	75

In their Report on the Burgh Schools (1868) H.M. Commissioners stated that many of the smaller Burgh schools were under-mastered, and made particular mention of Arbroath, Linlithgow, and Dunfermline. In Arbroath they stated that there were "349 boys and girls in all stages of advancement in every subject" and, be it noted, "only one master to teach them." The following statistics regarding attendance and accommodation were given by the Commissioners:

Name of School.	Number in attendance.	On Roll.	Number for whom accommodation is provided.
Arbroath High School.	301	327	609
" Parochial and Burgh.	322	349	289
Brechin Burgh, Parochial, and Grammar.	217	237	256
Forfar Burgh.	169	191	300
Montrose Academy.	255	270	729
Dundee High School.	802	802	1874

It was assumed that 8 square feet were sufficient for each scholar; and Arbroath Parochial and Burgh School had the egregious distinction of being one of the six schools in Scotland in which space was inadequate for the/

the numbers on the roll. The following are given by the Commissioners as the amount of fees paid by each scholar.

Name of school.	Amount of Fees.	No. of scholars on Roll.	Average rate per scholar.
Arbroath High School	£734:9:8	327	2: 4: 11
" Parochial or Burgh	220:-:-	349	-:12: 7
Brechin Burgh, Par., and Grammar	203:-:-	237	-:17: 1
Forfar Burgh	220:-:-	191	1: 3: -
Montrose Academy	930:-:-	270	3: 8: 10
Dundee High School	2305:3:9	802	2:17: 6

The above statistics illustrate a lack of uniformity in the matter of fees, and would seem to show that the fees in Montrose were comparatively and abnormally high.

The great lack of uniformity and organisation in the Burgh schools, together with the overlapping of Burgh and Parochial schools and the mixed nature of the various departments, was a defect that could be remedied only by a national system of education, which was ultimately provided by the Education (Scotland) Act 1872.

Ibid. pp. 56, 55.

Ibid. p. 75.

Rectors of Brechin Grammar School^{*}

Alexander Norrie,	-1636.	Thomas Paul,	1716-1742.
Robert Norrie,	1636-1642.	John Weath,	1742-1743.
Laurence Skinner,	1642-1648.	Hugh Christie,	1743-1752.
David Ochterlony,	1648-1650.	John Bruce,	1752-1757.
James Ochterlony,	1650-1653.	George Stephen,	1757-1763.
Hercules Skinner,	1653-1658.	John Pirie,	1763-1772.
Thomas Skinner,	1658-1663.	William McKenzie,	1772-1777.
Thomas Skinner,	1663-1665.	William Linton,	1777-1832.
John Dempster,	1665-1675.	George Alexander,	1832-1865.
James Dempster,	1675-1685.	Andrew Roberston,	1865-1894.
Laurence Skinner,	1685-1696.	A.R. Maclean Murray,	1894-1912.
Robert Spence,	1696-1710.	James Taggart,	1912-1927.
John Petrie,	1710-1716.	David Mann,	1927-

* Became a Higher Class Public School on 11 July 1894. The first 'rector' of the school of Brechin mentioned in record was Alexander Hog (1485).

1. Early Efforts. 11. The Ragged School Movement and Schools of Industry. 111. Appendix - The "Ragged" School of Brechin.

1.

Industrial education is doubtless as old as education itself. Primitive man would teach his children, directly or indirectly, the rudiments of those various arts, such as war and the chase, by means of which he and his family existed, and on which their very life depended. Implements and instruments were required to obtain their natural wants. Thus primitive man became a craftsman. In later times we find that every Jewish child learned a trade: Jesus was a carpenter, Paul a tentmaker. Handicrafts were often, and still are, hereditary in some families. With the Greeks came the contempt for handwork. The manual arts were believed by Plato to be degrading, but the children of the artisan were to be taught, in play, the trades which they were later to follow. The Church in early times and throughout the Middle Ages dignified labour by making it an integral part of the religious life - "Labore est orare". Monasteries conforming to the Rule of St. Benedict had to be self-sufficient and self-supporting/

:supporting.

The "Rental Book of Csupar-Angus Abbey" contains interesting details regarding the appointment of masons, tilers, slaters, joiners, and smiths, towards the end of the fifteenth century. The tradesmen were bound by oath faithfully to instruct the apprentices of the monastery. In 1468 two tradesmen were appointed "for the daily and continuous carpenter work of the monastery, and for wage each to receive yearly 5 merks." They were enjoined to instruct the apprentices, "one or more assigned by the abbot," in their art of carpentry, and "they shall be faithful, both in skill and work." In 1483, John Sclater was hired as apprentice for the term of eight years: "the said John shall work according to the command of the lord abbot and officers having charge in that part at the trade of tiler" (tegulator). William Hyrdman and John Flemyng in 1485 were hired as apprentices for seven years in the art of carpentry. In addition to being faithful to the lord abbot, convent, and community, "They shall not murmur at the common and usual service in victual and other things." As wages each was to receive, for the first three years, one merk yearly, for the next two years 20 s., and for the last two years 2 merks. Many other appointments of a similar nature are to be found in the Rental Book.

In/

Rental Book pp. 304-307, Nos. 866, 869, 873.

In point of time, though not in wealth and power, the craftsman takes precedence of the merchant. But the dawn of civilization brings them commercially, but not socially, side by side. The merchants were the great people of the town and wished to have all the power in their own hands. They kept themselves apart from the craftsmen, and had a guild or society to which no one but a merchant could belong. To become a craftsman a boy had to serve as an apprentice to a master, and bind himself to serve him for a number of years. The apprentice lived in the house of his master who gave him food and clothes in return for his labour; and the apprentice became a journeyman only after he had made an article (according to his trade) which had been examined and passed by the deacon of the trade. If the article were not well made the apprentice had to serve some time longer.

In England, during the first half of the 17th century, there were established institutions which, to some extent, anticipated what in Scotland during the 19th century were called "Schools of Industry." These schools were eleemosynary rather than technical. Sir William Borlase's Free School was founded at Great Marlow in 1628, and provided for the teaching of twenty-four poor boys and twenty-four poor girls. The girls, according/

according to Borlase's will, were to learn to knit, spin, and make bone-lace. In 1642 a school was founded to teach sixteen poor girls of Lydbury North, Shropshire, to spin flax and wool in an outhouse. "In earlier times", says Watson, "the position of an apprentice seems to have had dignity, but apprenticeship eventually lost its old estimation." This was due to the association of poor, destitute children with apprenticeship. In Scotland an attempt was made in 1633 to institute a Spinning school at Peebles. The Council of Peebles remitted to a committee the question of "the taking of ane hous for the maistres and bairnes of the lytill quheill to be erectit for leirning of the young anes of this burgh." This school cannot have been much of a success for by Hallowmass, 1634, only two girls seem to have persevered through the winter months; and nothing more is recorded of the school.

To encourage Scottish industries the Estates in 1641 proposed to set up in every shire of Scotland within "ane or uther of the burghes of the schyre" what was/

¹ Foster Watson. *The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England*, London, 1909, p. xlv.

² Ibid., footnote.

³ Ibid. p. xlii.

⁴ *Scottish Educational Journal*, 7 June 1929, p. 672: *Scottish Spinning Schools*, by Irene F.M. Dean. Miss Dean's articles on these schools are to be published soon in book form.

was in reality a technical school. To this school each parish was to send, according to its economic status, one or two boys "to be bound prentises for seaven yeiris to learn all sortes of working cloth, or seyis, spinning, weaving, waaking, litting, dressing, etc.;" and each parish from which the boys came was to pay a fixed sum for their maintenance while they were at school. If parishes refused or delayed to send their boy or boys to the schools the contribution was to be levied from the parishes, and vacancies in the school were to be filled by the master. Owing to the rebellious times which afflicted Scotland during the period that followed, this ambitious scheme had unfortunately to be abandoned. The Act of 1641 was reinforced in 1645 but with little effect, for in 1661 it is on statute that "All the lawdable lawes and Statuts made be his majesties Ancestors anent manufactories for inriching of his majesties antient Kingdome, putting of poore children ydle persons and vagabonds to work for the maintenance and relieff of the Countrie of the burden of such unproffitable persones, have been hitherto rendered ineffectuall." To remedy this state of affairs there was/

Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, V, 657.

Ibid. vi, 367.

Ibid. vii. 255.

was passed the "Act stablishing Companies and Societies for making lining cloth, stuffs etc." This Act of 1661 was no more effectual than that of 1641 in establishing a system of technical education.

In the Commissioners' Report on Endowed Schools we meet an early reference to crafts in a school in Dundee. In 1658 Bailie William Roger granted an endowment to the annual value of £104 for the education and maintenance of "poor young male children within the town and paroch of Dundee, at school and crafts." In April 1718 the Town Council of Montrose appointed Mrs. Barclay of Dundee "to serve as schooll mistress for teaching white and coloured seams, pasterie work, and other things needfull for the accomplishing young girles."³ Four years later the Town Council of Brechin "takeing to their serious Consideration the great loss and Damage the youth of the sd Burgh sustained by and throu the want of and weel qualified and Skilfull Schoolmistris for instructing and teaching them in the arts of Sueing and working of leace and other accomplishments befitting the educatione of young women," authorized Katharine Spence to set up and keep a/

Ibid. 255, 256.

Third Report of Royal Commissioners on Endowed Schools (Scotland), Appendix, ii, p. 217.

Minutes of Montrose Town Council, minute dated 2 April 1718.

a public school "for instructeing and teaching Children and young women in the arts and Sciences forsd." The Council gave her a yearly salary of £30 Scots "for the sd Katharine her better encouradgement and way of liveing." The salary was to be paid "by the toun Treasurer quarterly or otherwise in the options of the Said Katharine." The Council, however, reserved the power "to reschind this present act and warrand after the expirations of one year after the date hereof at any time or terms they shall think fitt." Miss Jean Spence evidently succeeded Katharine Spence at Martinmas 1729 for she received payment from that time; and in the same Minute the "Thesaurer" is authorized to pay in to Katharine Spence Late Schoolmistress ye Bygon rests of her yearly Sellary." About the year 1735 a Mrs. Macfarlane opened a school for girls in Arbroath. In two years' time the magistrates resolved to encourage her and decided that no other person in Arbroath should be allowed to teach girls "to sew, work lace, etc., without the liberty of the Council obtained to that effect/

¹ Brechin Town Council Minute, 6 August 1722.

² Dated 7 Feb., 1730.

³ Hay, G., History of Arbroath, p. 264.

effect." Appointments of a similar nature are to be found in the records of other burghs in Scotland. In the neighbouring town of Forfar, however, a petition was presented to the council of Forfar in 1770 stating that the young girls there "are shamefully neglected and seldom or never in this town receive the proper rudiments of education, finding the loss thereof all the days of their lives." Up to the middle of the eighteenth century, and even later, sewing, knitting, and other useful arts formed in general the chief elements of girls' education, where such could be had.

A survey of the existing conditions in Scotland about the year 1738 revealed that the social and national state of the country, particularly in the Highlands and Islands, would be ameliorated if young people were taught handicrafts and trades, combined with reading and writing. With this end in view, and "considering that, by their (first) patent, they were not empowered to erect schools for the purpose of instructing the poor children in husbandry, trades, or manufactures," the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge/

See Grant, History of the Burgh Schools, pp. 527-531, and Insh, School Life in Old Scotland, pp. 17-21.
 Burgh Records of Forfar. See Grant, History of the Burgh Schools p. 531.

Knowledge "resolved to apply to his Majesty (Geo. III.) for an enlargement of their powers; and did accordingly obtain a second patent to that effect." The Society received full power and authority to cause such of the children as they thought fit "to be instructed and bred up to husbandry and housewifery."² The Society's scheme thus provided for the education of boys and girls; and their education was to be related to environment.

Perthshire was the scene of the Society's first undertaking under the second patent. In the parish of Callander there was established in 1743 a school for teaching agriculture. This new experiment after a year's trial was pronounced a total failure. About ten years later a second attempt was made to teach agriculture. In the neighbouring county of Forfarshire, a school "for instructing children in agriculture, gardening and geometry," was established in the parish of Craig, near Montrose, in February 1752, under the supervision of Robert/

An Account of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge from its commencement in 1709. Edinburgh 1774, p. 10. First patent, May 1709; second patent June 1738. First patent, Appendix pp. 54-58; Second patent, pp. 59-60.

²Second Patent.

²Proceedings of the Society under the Second Patent, p. 20.

Robert Scott, Esq., of Dunninald, and other gentlemen and farmers of the district. The Society encouraged their efforts by providing a salary of £10 sterling, £2 less than that paid by the Society to the teacher at Callander. No details of this second venture are recorded, and all that the Society Report says of the school after its establishment is contained in these words: "but no accounts thereof having been transmitted to the Society, they withdrew their encouragement." An examination of the Kirk Session records of Craig and those of Brechin Presbytery revealed no trace of this particular school. The Presbytery records, however, contain a copy of a letter from the secretary of the Society stating that by their Scheme of Schoolmasters to be employed from the first of November 1752 to the first of November 1753, they "have appointed, That John Henderson be employed as Schoolmaster at Craig in the Parish of Craig and Presbyterie of Brechin with ten Pounds Sterling from the Society." The Presbytery, on 2 September 1752, taking the said letter into deliberate consideration, "were unanimously of Opinion that the Situation of the Parish of Craig is such as does not require nor can admit/

admit of a Charity School of the Societie's Regulations and appoint their Moderator to write to the Society that this is their Opinion." Despite this decision we find that the Presbytery changed their mind or the Society ignored the opinion of the Presbytery, for "the Society had continued Patrick Henderson Schoolmaster at Craig with a Salary of ten Pounds Sterling from November Jajvij and fifty four to November Jajvij and fifty five years." The Society also informed the Presbytery that payment of salaries would stop until the Presbyteries transmitted Reports of the Visitation of Schools within their Bounds.

In 1756 salaries were granted to schoolmasters' wives who were considered qualified to teach knitting, spinning, and weaving. It is also reported that "many spinning wheels and reels were distributed; many young women have been taught to spin; and many young men have been/

It would seem that the Presbytery were satisfied that the Parish School met the requirements of the parish. From the Session Records of May 1753 we learn that many of the parents failed to pay their children's fees, and it was "intimated from the Latron" (Lectern or precentor's desk) that fees were to be paid at the beginning of each quarter. "Charity Schools" was the name applied to the schools established by the S.P.C.K under the first patent of 1709.

²John Henderson is the name given in 1752.

been instructed in various branches of trade and manufacture." No Society spinning schools were established in Forfarshire, probably because Forfarshire was then the chief seat of the linen industry; and spinning schools were established by the Society only in districts where the art was little known. But the efforts of the Society were spasmodic and unrelated. The Society nevertheless deserves all credit and praise in that it encouraged a scheme of education diametrically opposed to the tradition of the parish, and in so doing anticipated the Technical, and Advanced Division schools of our own day.

Brechin Presbytery Records, 21 Aug. 1754. Proceedings of the S.P.C.K., Second Patent, p. 22. For list of spinning schools, see p. 41.

11. The Ragged School Movement and Schools of Industry.

Another praiseworthy effort towards industrial education was made by those who associated themselves with what came to be called the Ragged School Movement. The title "Ragged" denotes the purpose of these schools; they were schools for the ragged, for those children who were poverty-stricken and destitute. It is generally agreed that John Pounds, the cripple cobbler of Portsmouth, was the founder of the first Ragged School in Britain. In his humble workshop in St. Mary Street, Portsmouth, he gathered round him waifs and strays and trained them to virtue and knowledge. He is said to have saved from ruin, before he died in 1839, no fewer than 500 children. All this he accomplished single-handed and without recompense. Virtue, truly, is its own reward.

A Ragged School Union was formed in London in 1844.¹ In the first year of its existence there were attached to it twenty-six schools, with an average attendance/

¹ "Second Annual Report of the Ragged School Union, established for the Support of Schools for the Destitute Poor. London. June 9, 1846," Quarterly Review, vol. LXXIX, Art. 1V. pp. 127-141. To this article we are indebted for the information which follows regarding the movement in London.

attendance of 2,600, and a staff of 250 teachers. Some of these schools were open only on Sunday evenings and were conducted by voluntary teachers. Others were open for two evenings of the week, others for five. Not more than two or three were open during the day. The fundamental principles of morality were inculcated, and reading, writing, and arithmetic were afterwards super-added. To encourage regular attendance one of the schools introduced a new feature. The boys who attended the school regularly were to be taught the crafts of tailoring and shoe-making on the fifth day, and the girls were likewise to be instructed in needlework.

To Scotland, however, belongs the credit of beginning the movement that led to the establishment of Ragged Schools all over Britain. Three years before the formation of the Ragged School Union in London the movement had its origin in a loft in a mean street in Aberdeen, where Sheriff Watson in 1841 established the first Ragged, or to use his term, Industrial Feeding-School. The school was for boys only and was opened on/

Autobiography and Memoir of Thomas Guthrie, D.D., vol. ii, p. 176. To Mr. Watson, Sheriff of Aberdeen, "belongs the honour of raising the Ragged School to the status of a public institution." Seed-Time and Harvest, p. 124.

on the 1st of October 1841. The success of this school led to the establishment of a similar institution for girls in 1843; and a third for boys and girls was opened on 19 May 1845. In October, 1845, William Chambers undertook a journey from Edinburgh to Aberdeen specially to inspect the Industrial Schools of Aberdeen. This visit gave the necessary publicity to the valuable social and moral worth of the Aberdeen Schools of Industry, hitherto little known outside of Aberdeen itself. In Chambers's Journal of 15 November, 1845, William Chambers wrote an article entitled, "Visit to the Aberdeen Schools of Industry," to which there is a reference in the "Fifth Report by the Committee of Management of the Aberdeen School of Industry for Boys, for 1845-6," acknowledging the debt of the committee for his publication. "Till that time," says the Report, "the Aberdeen Schools of Industry were scarcely known beyond the localities of Guestrow and Loch Street, where they are situated."

In 1841 it was discovered that in Aberdeen there were 280 children under 14 years of age known to maintain themselves by begging, and that 77, of whom only about one/

Footnote to "Aberdeen Schools of Industry," Chambers' Journal, 27 June, 1846.

one half could either read or write, were within the preceding year inmates of prisons. These startling facts led to the opening of a subscription towards the establishment of a School of Industry, in which pauper boys, from eight to fourteen years of age, might receive shelter, food, work, and education. The school was opened on the first of October, 1841. Owing to the lack of funds the number of boys admitted was limited to sixty. The schoolday began at 7 a.m., when religious instruction was given. Then followed some elementary instruction in geography and natural history until 9 a.m., when an hour was allowed for breakfast, which consisted of porridge and milk. The industrial training consisted of teasing hair for mattresses, picking oakum, and the making of nets, at which several of the boys acquired considerable efficiency. At 2 p.m. the boys received a meal which usually consisted of barley broth, and bread. From 4 to 7 p.m. the boys were instructed in the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic, after which they received supper. They were then dismissed at 8 p.m. The return to their homes, if one can call them homes, must have negatived to some extent the moral influence of the school. In the Montrose Review of 13 May, 1842, we read: "At the late Circuit Court of Justiciary held here (Aberdeen), it/

it will be recollected that Lord Moncrieff, in his address to the Provost, referred to the manifest advantages which had followed the establishment of a School of Industry for boys in this city, in the greatly diminished number of juvenile male delinquents. It is proposed to take immediate steps for the formation of a similar institution for girls. That this is very much wanted, may be ascertained from the fact that, during the month of April, no fewer than six little girls, of ages ranging from 10 to 13, have been committed to prison by the magistrates, for theft; and of these no less than five were habit and repute; while during the same period, no boys had been convicted."

A similar institution was established for girls in 1843 under the auspices of several ladies, and was superintended by a resident female teacher and assistant. In this, the second Industrial School of Aberdeen, the routine was a little more varied than that of the boys. The girls were taught sewing, cooking, and other household duties. On Sundays they attended church in garments which belonged to the institution. The girls, like the boys, were dismissed at night after the instruction and work of the day had ceased. But it was evident that an additional institution was desirable for those children, who, from various causes, could not be admitted into/

into either of these schools. Another school was accordingly opened on 19 May 1845. The authorities, taking advantage of powers in the local police act, issued instructions to seize and bring to this new School of Industry every boy and girl found begging. This school, obtaining the gratuitous use of a vacant soup-kitchen, which answered both as a cookery-school and schoolroom, was known as the Soup-Kitchen School. The hours of attendance were from 8 a.m. to 7.30 p.m. Compulsion was here, in the first instance, the primary agent of attendance, but after a little time all attended without compulsion. Here also three meals were served. The boys teased oakum and the girls sewed; and the elements of reading and writing, with religious knowledge and singing, formed the sum of their education.

The Aberdeen Schools of Industry destroyed the nursery whence a large proportion of crime and pauperism was reared. Prior to the establishment of these schools the number of juvenile vagrants in the county of Aberdeen was between 300 and 400. In the month of April 1845, the number had diminished to 105; and in April 1846 it had sunk to 14.¹ Crime was rife throughout Scotland and England/

¹ Aberdeen Schools of Industry, Chambers's Journal, 27 June, 1846.

England. At the Quarter Sessions for the West Riding of Yorkshire, held at Pontefract in April 1834, Lord Wharncliffe adverted to the great increase of crime, and said that, in addition to a more strict system of prison discipline, he had hoped that the effect of education would have tended to a decrease of crime. On the contrary, he thought that, with knowledge, persons had acquired new wants and new tastes, and that they sought to gratify them by means of the education they had received. The increase of crime was not confined to Yorkshire. At the conclusion of the Circuit Court, held at Perth in the same month, the Lord Justice Clerk addressed the Sheriffs and expressed his regret at the very heavy calendar of crime which had come before the court. He was sorry to observe, in particular, how great was the number of very serious crimes from the town of Dundee. More than one half of the cases came from that town. In reference to two murder charges, he said that "drunkenness was the evident cause of both, and on the trial of one of which it appeared that boys, even on a Sunday evening, had wandered about from house to house, and been readily supplied with spirits." He attributed/

The Constitutional and Dundee Courier, 29 April, 1834.

attributed the source of crime, in a large degree, "to the promiscuous licensing of public houses, and not withdrawing licenses from those houses wherein malpractices have occurred."

Dundee soon followed its northern rival in establishing a School of Industry. In the Montrose Review of 20 May, 1842, it is reported with regard to Dundee that "The Rev. Mr. Aitken, who very recently entered on the charge of Willison parish, has rented, within the last year, a room for a School of Industry, both day and evening, which has been most successful in bringing out the younger girls of the families of the Overgate throughout the day, and the factory girls in the evening; but which is only preparatory to the erection of a Juvenile and Industrial School within the parish, as a permanent boon to this district of Dundee." Again, in the Statistical Account of Liff and Benvie, completed in September 1842, we find among the Lochee Schools "a school of industry, under the patronage of the Countess of Camperdown, which has been in operation for a year past, and promises to be of great use to young females." The school was visited in turn by twelve ladies/

Same issue of the Constitutional and Dundee Courier.
Statistical Account of Forfarshire, 1843, p. 589.

ladies and was supported by subscription and very moderate fees.

In Aberdeen the institution of Industrial Schools was the work of a few benevolent persons inspired by the persevering efforts of Sheriff Watson, but the support of the schools was always a matter of difficulty. This cannot be said of Dundee. "Without regard to sect or party," says Chambers, "almost every person possessing the means has entered warmly into the enterprise, and subscribed for its support. Already the annual subscriptions for its support amount to £500."

The directors of the Dundee Industrial School established in December 1846, engaged the services of a master and mistress from Aberdeen, and obtained a lease of an old warehouse, with a courtyard, for their school. Both sexes were admitted but they were taught separately. Only during meals did the boys and girls assemble together. By January 1847, sixty-five boys and forty-one girls had been admitted. The girls, through the benevolence of some ladies, wore uniform checked pinafores/

Two Days in Dundee, Chambers' Journal, 13 March 1847. Chambers deals only with the school established in 1846 and makes no reference to these earlier efforts.

pinafores which gave them a more respectable appearance than the boys who, mostly bare-footed, were clad in rags. The scholars attended voluntarily, there being little need of compulsion owing to the offer of shelter, warmth and food. It was found necessary, however, to exercise great caution as to admissions, for parents were depraved enough to desert their children, or send them out to beg in order that they might be taken to the Industrial School. The school-day began at 8.30 a.m. and closed, as at Aberdeen, at 8.p.m. Three meals were also served. Breakfast consisted of porridge and treacle; dinner of barley broth, and bread; and before dismissal each child received a piece of bread. The preparation of oakum was the work of the boys, and the girls were employed in knitting, sewing, and other feminine duties.

As early as 1842 an effort to check juvenile delinquency/

A book was kept with particulars of all applications. Extract "Dec. 13, 1846. William B - , 13 years old, applied. Father dead. Boy was working at Mr. Edwards's mill; had left it, being taken away by his mother in summer, because he was on half-time, and has been wandering about the town and country since. He left the work because he got only one shilling weekly. Case refused." Footnote to "Two Days in Dundee" by W(illiam) C(hambers), Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, March 13, 1847.

delinquency was made at Montrose. With this end in view, Provost Paton presided at a public meeting held in the Town Hall of Montrose on 21 November 1842. Notwithstanding the existence of various schools which afforded instruction gratuitously or at reduced fees, it was found expedient to form an Education Society to promote the education of poor, neglected, or deserted children belonging to, and resident in, the town and parish of Montrose. Each person, subscribing 2/6, or more, per annum to the funds of the Society became ipso facto a member; and each person subscribing 5/- or more was entitled to recommend one poor child to be sent to school at the expense of the Society. The management of the Society consisted of a president, vice-president, treasurer, secretary, and a committee of twenty-four directors, including the ministers who were members. The directors were formed into six district sub-committees to seek out children who were eligible to receive the benefits of the Society. The children were supplied not only with books and slates but with clothes, when they could not go to school for want of them. Each child admitted by a district committee received a ticket, signed by the convener of the committee, to be given to one or other/

Montrose, Arbroath and Brechin Review, 25 Nov. 1842. The Resolutions agreed to are to be found in the same issue of the Review.

other of the teachers approved of by the Directors. This ticket entitled the teacher to the regulation fee at the end of the quarter. The convener of each district committee kept a book in which he inserted the names, ages, parentage of the children, and the period they were maintained at school. The directors decided which schools the children were to attend, and paid the same fee to whatever school the children were sent. The Society, it will be seen, had no school of its own. The total number of children of the poorest classes not attending any school, and without means necessary to attend school, was found to be 217. The directors found that many children were unable to attend for want of clothes and, particularly, for lack of shoes. The Town Council of Montrose gave £10 to the Society. Owing to lack of funds, however, the Committee restricted the number of children to be educated to 100. The Society suffered financially, as at this time there was also an appeal for subscriptions towards the establishment of two schools/

¹ Montrose Review, 10 Feb. 1843. The population of Montrose in 1811 was 8,955; in 1821, 10,338; in 1831, 12,055. Statistical Account of Forfarshire, 1843, p. 278.

² The Council seem to have given £10 annually for in the Burgh Records for the years 1867-69 we find amongst the items of expenditure £10 annually towards the Society.

schools under the management of the Parish Church Session and St. John's Session. In November, 1842, there is a record of a Feu Charter granted to the Kirk Session of St. John's of a piece of ground "as sites for St. John's Parish School and St. John's Female School, or School of Industry," the Council in each instance being the superior of the feus. It is worthy of note that the respective sites are now occupied by Southesk School, still known as the Sessional School, and by North Links School.³ The Session of St. John's intimated that "for the purpose of rendering the means of Education within the Parish as complete as possible, it is intended to open, in connection with the Parish School & Female School Conducted by Miss Brown, from St. Andrews on Monday the 28th November. And in order to make the Schools available to the bulk of the working classes, the following low scale of Fees has been fixed:-

" Female School (or School of Industry)

Girls not attending the Parish School, to be taught Sewing, Knitting, etc. for 3/- per quarter.

Girls attending the Parish School, to be taught Sewing, Knitting/

The respective subscriptions are to be found in the Review of 27 Jan. 1843.

St. John's was then a quoad sacra.

Southesk School, opened 21 Nov. 1891; cost £6,400.

North Links School, opened 9 Dec. 1897; cost £18,000.

Knitting, etc., for 1/6 per quarter.

N.B. When more than one of a family shall attend this School, the first only shall pay these rates - the others one half."

Another School in Montrose which came to be called a "School of Industry" was that endowed by Miss Jean Straton. By her trust disposition of 30 Nov., 1812, she bequeathed to the Town Council of Montrose the sum of £3000 for charitable purposes, inclusive of £1000 to be specially applied for educating the poor, "to be laid out by the said Magistrates and Ministers for the Education of Poor Children of the Town, conform to a List to be yearly made up by them." The first teacher was not appointed until 1822 when Isabel Craw, residing in Ferry Street, Montrose, was to teach for a salary of £15 thirty girls - to be nominated by the Trustees - the subjects of "Reading, Sewing, Knitting, and the principles of the Christian religion, and also to assemble the Children every Sabbath evening for one hour at least for Religious Instruction." The minimum age for admission was six years, and the parents, or guardians of those admitted had to give an assurance that due attention would/

1
Montrose Review, 25 Nov. 1842.

2
The Straton funds were augmented in 1861 by the addition of the income from a bequest of £400 from William Cant.

would be paid to cleanliness and regular attendance. From 1822 to 1844 the pupils were taught in various buildings. The school is generally mentioned as "the school of industry," probably from the fact that knitting and sewing were the primary subjects taught, and that the girls of the poorer classes at this time were not intended to be educated beyond the requirements necessary for domestic service.

On 24 June, 1845, Brechin Presbytery had before them a proposal to form "a County Association for promoting education among the poor." The Presbytery approved, and appointed a committee to communicate with the other Presbyteries of the Synod to get their aid in forming such an association. On 15 October of the same year the Committee of Management of the Forfarshire Education Association met within the vestry of the Parish Church of Forfar. This committee, considering the best mode of obtaining subscriptions for accomplishing the objects of the Association, resolved "to appoint Sub-Collectors in the different Presbyteries within the County," and appointed sub-collectors for Brechin/

Brechin Presbytery Records of 24 June 1845. A report of the proceedings of the Committee at Forfar is to be found in the Minute of 16 Dec. 1845.

Brechin, Arbroath, Forfar, Meigle, and Dundee to receive subscriptions within their respective Presbyteries. It was "earnestly recommended to the Minister of every Parish to use all due means of procuring Subscriptions from his Heritors and Parishioners," and to put these into the hands of the sub-collectors of his Presbytery so that all the subscriptions might be completed before the annual meeting of the Association in April. In forming this Association the Presbyteries were but recognizing one of the great deficiencies in Scottish education.

In the Report submitted by the Education Committee of the General Assembly in May 1850, it is stated that in December of 1849 an association was formed of the wives and daughters of the elders throughout Scotland for promoting female industrial education. The Committee had also their attention turned to the subject of industrial schools for boys in the Highlands. Eleven of the Assembly Schools at this time were taught by females and partook "more or less of the character of Female Industrial Schools." The Committee were deeply sensible of the great national importance of such means for the instruction of/

of girls in the plain and useful departments of female industry. They regarded schools of this description as calculated "to impart to a most influential class of the rising generation habits of industry, order, and domestic economy, and to promote in a high degree not only domestic happiness, but social prosperity and religious principles among many thousands of future generations."

William Chambers, writing in March, 1847, tells us that in "Edinburgh, Glasgow, and numberless other populous towns, in which you can scarcely move a dozen yards without being beset by a child in tatters begging for halfpence, and who lives as much by stealing as mendicacy - in such towns, I say, the talk about getting up Schools of Industry has been an interrupted clatter during the last fifteen months. Men in authority have gone about half frantic, talking of what they would do in the way of rescuing poor houseless infants from a life of crime and wretchedness. But the misfortune is they never do it." In 1842 Mr. Smith, the governor of Edinburgh prison, had laid before the Inspectors of Prisons a proposal to establish/

Ibid. pp. 11-12.

Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, 13 March, 1847: Article, "Two Days in Dundee."

establish an industrial school for the juvenile delinquents of Edinburgh. Three years later he printed a circular calling the attention of the Edinburgh ministers and magistrates to the lamentable fact that 740 children under 14 years of age had been committed to prison during the three previous years; and of that number, 245 were under ten years of age. Mr. Smith was one of the pioneers of the Ragged School Movement in Edinburgh, but it was left to another to rouse the country to its duty.

The Disruption of 1843 temporarily checked the progress of the Ragged School Movement in Scotland. It is interesting to note, however, that the apostle of the Ragged School Movement was also one of the greatest agents in the establishment of the Free Church. This was no other than the Rev. Thomas Guthrie, a native of Brechin, and one of/

Autobiography and Memoir of Thomas Guthrie, D.D. vol.ii. p. 114.

"Thos. Guthrie D.D., b. Brechin 1803, d. St. Leonards, 1873. 8th son of David Guthrie, Provost of Brechin. Minister of Arbirlot 1830-37; and in Edinburgh of Old Greyfriars 1837-40; St. John's 1840-43; and Free St. John's 1843-63," Mural tablet in Brechin Cathedral. Born in Auld Neuk House where now stands Brechin Co-operative Society Building at junction of St. David St. and High St. where there is a mural tablet commemorating the birthplace. He was "licensed by the Presbytery (Brechin) to preach the Gospel" on 2 Feb. 1825, Brechin Presbytery Records.

of Forfarshire's most famous sons. Guthrie, then of Free St. John's, Edinburgh, was one of the greatest orators of his time; and no one by pen or voice, did more to further the cause of the Ragged School Movement than this

"strong-breasted, fervid-hearted man,
Who from dark dens redeemed, and haunts of sin,
The city waifs, the loose unfettered clan
With prouder triumph than when wondering Rome
Went forth, all eyes, to bring great Caesar home."

In 1847 Guthrie issued "A Plea for Ragged Schools; or, Prevention better than Cure". It consisted of a few pages which could be read in half an hour, and was sold for a humble sixpence. Yet so great was the influence of this pamphlet that its publication marks an epoch in the history of the Ragged School Movement. It was the spark that set the tinder ablaze. In a few weeks he received £700 in subscriptions, including a draft for £50 from Francis Jeffrey, recognised then as the greatest critic of the time. In a letter dated 14 March 1847, Jeffrey wrote to Guthrie: "I have long considered you and Dr. Chalmers as the two greatest benefactors/

Part of sonnet by Professor John Smart Blackie, quoted in full in Guthrie's Autobiog. and Memoir, vol. ii, p. 493. Received degree of D.D. in 1849.

benefactors of your age and country, and admired and envied you beyond all your contemporaries." The pamphlet was quoted in the leading newspapers of the day, and formed the subject of an article in the Edinburgh Review of April 1847, in which the writer states that it woke him up "as a trumpet heard at night." As Guthrie himself said: "The 'Plea' fell much like a small spark among combustibles." An interim committee was at once formed, and a room was hired in a house on Castle Hill, Edinburgh. On 22 March, 1847, a general committee of all shades of opinion drew up a constitution and rules.

"It is the object of this Association to reclaim the neglected and destitute children of Edinburgh, by affording them the benefits of a good common and Christian/

Autobiography and Memoir vol. ii. p. 118. Dr. Chalmers had established a school in the Westport of Edinburgh, within a few doors of the house of the notorious Burke. The Rev. Dr. Robertson had also instituted a Feeding-school in the Vennel, Edinburgh, c. 1845.

Seed-Time and Harvest of Ragged Schools, Appendix, No. 1, Supplement to First Plea, p. 179. The sub-title of this work is, "A Third Plea with new editions of the first and second pleas." First plea, pp. 1-54; Second plea, pp. 55-114; Third Plea pp. 115-177.

Appendix, pp. 187-189, contains the "Constitution and Rules of the Association for the Establishment of Ragged Industrial Schools for Destitute Children in Edinburgh.

Christian education and by training them to habits of industry, so as to enable them to earn an honest livelihood, and fit them for the duties of life."

The general plan upon which the schools were to be conducted was as follows:

"To give the children an allowance of food for their daily support.

To instruct them in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

To train them in habits of industry, by instructing and employing them daily in such sorts of work as are suited to their years.

To teach them the truths of the Gospel, making the Holy Scriptures the groundwork of instruction."

Closely associated with Guthrie in the early stages of the Ragged School Movement were Mr. Smith, governor of Edinburgh prison, Dr. George Bell, who acted as secretary to the Association, and Miss M. Eliot Lockhart, "who has her name graven at full length on the grateful hearts of many children saved by means of that original ragged school, which has owed so much of its success/

Received "three good meals." Guthrie's "Out of Harness" p. 12.

Ibid. 188-189.

To her Guthrie dedicated "Seed-Time and Harvest of Ragged Schools."

success to her generous, zealous, and untiring labours." The Edinburgh Association met with some opposition from the Roman Catholics and others, but Guthrie insisted on "the Bible, the whole Bible and nothing but the Bible; the Bible without note or comment - without the authoritative interpretation of priest or presbyter - as the foundation of all its religious teaching, and of its religious teaching to all." In a letter to the Hon. Fox Maule, M.P., he declared that "it is an abuse of terms to call these children either Protestant or Catholic. They are steeped in all the darkness of heathenism, and more than all its vices." Father Keenan of Dundee was bold enough to assert that he would prefer to see the children perish in the streets rather than get food, education, and God's Word in the Dundee Ragged Schools. "For Heaven's sake," he exclaimed, "let them, spotless and with unshaken faith, perish to the world, rather than live in abundance, purchased at such/

Dedication to Seed-Time and Harvest of Ragged Schools." "We constructed our scheme after the model of those in Aberdeen and Dundee." Appendix, No. 1. Supplement to First Plea p. 179.
 Autobiog. and Mem. vol. ii., p. 131.
 Ibid. p. 122.

such risk, and perish eternally!" In the Original Ragged School of Edinburgh nearly one half of the wretched outcasts were the children of nominal Roman Catholics. In Edinburgh those who believed in the principle of joint secular and separate religious instruction established a school called the United Industrial School. Before 1849 there was evidently a third Ragged School in Edinburgh for in Guthrie's Second Plea, issued on 10 January, 1849, we find:

Rev./

Out of Harness, 1867, p. 13, by Dr. Thomas Guthrie.

Ibid.

Seed-Time and Harvest of Ragged Schools, p. 61. By the end of 1847 three schools were established in Edinburgh under Guthrie's auspices: one for boys, one for girls, and one for both sexes under 10, with a total attendance of 265, Autobiog, and Mem. ii, p. 132. The superintendent of the Original Ragged School of Edinburgh was Mr. George Gibb who was, according to Guthrie, "a prince of teachers." Out of Harness, p. 12. The school was situated in Ramsay Lane, a continuation of Mound Place. On a recent visit to Edinburgh, we looked in vain for any notice marking the site of the school.

Rev. Messrs. Paul and Veitch's Ragged School	68
United Industrial School	100
The Original Ragged School (our own)	<u>210</u>
	378

Guthrie's Second Plea was published to explain the working of the system and to show its inadequacies. He asked for increased support as there were still at least 1500 children running loose in Edinburgh. By this appeal the Original Ragged School of Edinburgh benefited to the extent of £2,000. In 1851 the directors forwarded a memorial to Government which led to the appointment of a committee of the House of Commons, before which Dr. Guthrie gave evidence in February, 1853. The great desiderata were: first, Ragged schools to anticipate and prevent crime; secondly, Reformatories for those children who had become criminals. This inquiry resulted in the passing of two Acts, the first of which is generally known as Lord Palmerston's Act, and the other as Dunlop's Act. By the former, power was given to magistrates to send a criminal/

† For further particulars see evidence of superintendent in First Report by H.M. Commissioners, 1865, pp. 253-57. "We have tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, turners, bag-making, box-making, and printing on a small scale, for our boys. Our girls are taught housework, cleaning, scrubbing, washing etc." Ibid. p. 253.

criminal child, if under sixteen, to a Reformatory school, while by Dunlop's Act (which applied to Scotland only) powers were conferred upon magistrates to commit to a certified Industrial school, and to detain there for five years "any young person, apparently under the age of fourteen years, found begging, or not having any home or settled place of abode or proper guardianship, and having no visible means of subsistence found wandering, though not charged with any actual offence." Under these Acts powers were given to enforce partial payment from the parents of "committed" children. By a Minute of the Privy Council of 2 June, 1856, a capitation grant of 50/- a year was allowed for every child in the certified Industrial Schools, whether committed by magistrates or not. This Minute marks another advance in the history of Ragged Schools, and gave considerable impetus to the movement. Existing Ragged schools enlarged their sphere of operations, and others were instituted.

By a strange coincidence, the S.P.C.K., in their ineffectual efforts to establish a school for teaching agriculture at Craig, anticipated by more than a hundred/

¹Guthrie, Autobiog. and Mem. ii, p. 148.

hundred years the efforts of other private persons who, in the parish of Craig, laid the foundation of what is now called Rossie Farm School. This school was opened on 4 May, 1857, under special licence granted by Sir George Grey, secretary to the Home Department. The founder was Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald of St. Martins and Rossie who was largely advised by the Earl of Southesk and Mr. Gordon Forlong, then residing in Rossie Castle. The school, prior to 1857, was, we believe, the private venture of the benevolent Colonel who wished to reclaim juvenile delinquents. Thus began Rossie Reformatory, with one exception the oldest Reformatory in Scotland. The establishment of this school may have originated with a circular communication of the General Assembly addressed to many of the landowners in Scotland in 1852. The General Assembly in addition to the ordinary course of elementary education wished to introduce "some instruction in the principles of Agriculture and to exemplify agricultural operations upon a small scale." Their object was "to promote the formation of industrial/

At present (1929) there are over 50 boys under the able supervision of Mr. James Carson. The boys, in addition to receiving an elementary education, are instructed in farm-work, gardening, and joinery.

industrial habits, as well as to afford the knowledge and skill which would be useful in the cultivation of small possessions," particularly in the Highlands and Islands.

The impetus given to the Industrial School movement by the Privy Council Minute of 2 June, 1856, was nullified by another Minute of 31 Dec., 1857. In the interests of economy the capitation grant was reduced to five shillings. Deputations were sent to Government to plead a reconsideration of the matter, but their efforts were of no avail. In 1859 Dr. Guthrie was called to plead, the result of which was the issue of his third Plea in 1860. This Plea was bound up with the two former Pleas and entitled "Seed-Time and Harvest of Ragged Schools," which earned for him the title of "the greatest living master of the pathetic." Guthrie declared that "These institutions are everywhere; and the best proof of their value lies, perhaps, in the fact that no Ragged School once opened has ever been shut up." These schools, writes the fervent doctor, "were/

Ibid. Report submitted May 1853, p. 32. Statement by the General Assembly's Educational Committee in regard to the proposed Schools of Agricultural Industry, No. 11. pp. 32-35.

The Times, 28 Sept., 1860.
Seed-Time and Harvest, pp. 123-4.

were an experiment; they are a success - a glorious success." Despite Guthrie's eloquence and fervour, Ragged Schools received another blow. Dunlop's Act was repealed at the end of 1860. On 7 August, 1861, Government passed the Industrial Schools Act whereby the 5/- grant was withdrawn. This meant that those children in Ragged Industrial Schools who had not been committed by a magistrate received no pecuniary assistance from Government. The allowance for "committed" children was increased. It seemed mistaken policy to aid Reformatories which received children who had been committed, and to withhold it from Ragged Schools, the chief object of which was to anticipate and prevent crime. As a result of a public meeting in Edinburgh, Dr. Guthrie was able to declare: "We asked £700, and, to the everlasting honour of the people of Edinburgh, we got £2,200." Government intervention also precluded the managers of the Female Industrial School of Forfar from carrying out the benevolent wishes of Dr. William Smith of Damside. By his trust disposition and settlement, dated 9th October, 1861, and recorded 24th May, 1869, he bequeathed a sum of £2,000 to the managers to enable them to admit, lodge, and support a small number of children within the Institution. As the school/

Ibid. p. 177.

Autobiog. and Memoir vol. ii. p. 157

school was in receipt of grants from the Committee of the Privy Council the managers were prevented by the 6th section of the Revised Code of 1864 from carrying out the wishes of the testator. After paying legacy duty the managers invested a sum of £1800 in the Dundee Harbour Commission at 4 per cent., and the annual revenue therefrom was kept separate from the ordinary school fund. The Female Industrial School was situated in Lour Road where "for many years" it was "a valuable auxiliary of the Burgh's educational system." The school was almost of a voluntary character, and was chiefly under the management of ladies who spared neither time nor means to advance its interests. The School "met its fate at the instance of the School Board, who found its situation a barrier to the work they had hoped to conduct within its walls." In 1866 a new Industrial Schools Act was passed. Increased facilities were given to magistrates for committing children accused of petty thefts, and vagrant children not/

Third Report of the Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire into Endowed Schools and Hospitals (Scotland), Appendix, vol. ii. p. 103.

Reid, Alan, The Royal Burgh of Forfar, 1902, p. 154.

Ibid. p. 155. The buildings were used as the premises of a private Club.

not accused of any actual crime. This improved matters but there were still many destitute and neglected children whom none of these legal enactments reached.

On 5 Feb., 1868, Morgan Hospital, now Morgan Academy, was opened. It was founded on 8 February, 1861, by John Morgan of Coates Crescent, Edinburgh, who bequeathed £73,500 to establish and endow the institution. The Hospital was to accommodate 100 boys of the working classes generally, but either of their parents must have been born in Dundee, Forfar, Montrose, or Arbroath, those born in Dundee to have preference. According to the original scheme no boy was ^{to be} admitted till he was seven years complete, or after he was nine years complete; and he was ^{to be} allowed to continue only till he was fourteen years complete. The boys were to be lodged, maintained, and educated in the Hospital where they were to receive an elementary education; and those who were nine years of age were also to receive an industrial training in one of several trades. The institution was reformed by the Balfour of Burleigh Commission, and now flourishes under the name of Morgan Academy.

During/

See Morgan's *Makers of Scottish Education*, 1929, pp. 135-140.

It will be seen that Brechin is omitted. The boys wore a tweed knickerbocker suit and Glengarry cap; in their last year they discarded knickerbockers for trousers.

During the year following the opening of Morgan Hospital, the Mars Training Ship, a floating Industrial school for juvenile delinquents, anchored in the estuary of the Tay. From 1869 to 1929 it served as a training ship for boys of whom, when it was abandoned, there were about 90. Having served its day and two generations, it left the Tay on 26 June, 1929, to be broken up at Inverkeithing.

To illustrate the social benefit and moral worth of the Ragged and Industrial school movement we quote two short extracts which, although they refer to the Original Ragged School of Edinburgh, may be applied as illustrative of the movement in general: "Contrasted with the state of matters in 1847, when the Original Ragged School was started, there is now (1872) just one juvenile committed to prison for six at that time." "The Report of the Government Inspector, given on December 31, 1873, shows that in the Original Ragged School of Edinburgh, the proportion of children who have turned out well has been between eighty and ninety per cent/

Launched as a 3rd class battleship in 1848.

Autobiog. and Memoir of Thos. Guthrie, pp. 168-9.
Guthrie, "Seed-Time and Harvest of Ragged Schools, p. 176.
The Original Ragged School of Edinburgh rescued from ruin no less than 500 children. As every criminal cost the country on an average £300, the State, before it had done with punishment, would have incurred an expense of £75,000. Guthrie, "Out of Harness," p. 19.

cent."

Thus were the promoters of the Original Ragged School of Edinburgh justified in choosing as their motto, "Prevention is better than Cure."

The "Ragged" School of Brechin.

It was not until nearly ten years after the establishment of the Montrose Education Society that a similar society was instituted in the neighbouring town of Brechin. On the 12th of February, 1851, a meeting of the inhabitants of Brechin and neighbourhood was convened by David Guthrie, Provost of Brechin, to form an Educational Society "to aid in providing education for the poor and destitute children" in Brechin and its vicinity. At the meeting it was stated by the Rev. James McCosh that a school had been instituted for the purpose above mentioned, and had functioned for some time. He also remarked that it had been very successful, being attended by — scholars;"/²

¹Minutes of the Society, p. 1.

²Ibidem. "A Ragged School under the name of the Educational Society, was commenced in February, 1851, and has done much good work since its establishment." (Black's History of Brechin, sec. ed. p. 222). "There are, farther, several schools for girls, merely, and several private schools for both boys and girls, one of which, in Market Street, is in the evenings converted into what is popularly known as a Ragged School." (ibid. p. 279) This is all he says of the above school but it was sufficient to lead us into a search for the records of the Society, which we ultimately found in the private library of the late Mr. D.H. Edwards, proprietor and editor of the Brechin Advertiser. The term "Ragged" never occurs in the Minutes of the Society.

scholars;" that without assistance it could not be continued; and that the meeting ought, in the interests of the children and the community, to give it their support. The following resolution, along with others, was unanimously adopted: "That it appears to this meeting that there are in Brechin and the neighbourhood a great number of children destitute of education in consequence of the neglect or poverty of their parents, and that it would be highly desirable, both on their own account and for the sake of the community, that education should be provided for such children."

A general committee, twenty-four in number, was appointed to make arrangements regarding the means necessary for the Society's scheme. The Committee met on the same day, and resolved to issue subscription papers containing two columns, one headed "Annual Subscriptions," the other "Donations." Three sub-committees were then formed: one for finance; another to superintend the school; and the third to secure suitable premises.

The Minutes of the Society are meagre in the extreme. A year afterwards it is recorded that the committee were unable to find suitable premises for the scholars/

¹ Ibid. p. 2.

scholars. On the motion of the Rev. Mr. Foote, the committee resolved on 15 March, 1852, to obtain information as to the means necessary for instituting an "Industrial School," and the expense of erecting a school-room "to accommodate 70 or 80 pupils." Nothing more is recorded of the school until 14 September, 1852, when it is evident that a Society school was in existence, for Mr. McArthur is to "be re-engaged as Teacher during the Season, and on the same terms as formerly." Immediately below the minute just quoted there is the following note: "See separate Minutes of the Committee of dates, 21 September, 1852, 5 January 1853, 17 March 1853, 3 November 1853." We regret that we have been unable to trace these, and the next Minute, in different handwriting, is dated 19 October, 1854, so that for two years nothing is recorded in the Minute Book. At their meeting on the 19th October, 1854, the Committee resolved to re-open the school without delay for the winter session, and that it "should be conducted as heretofore." Mr. (Robert) Craig was to be principal teacher at 8/- per week, and Mr. R. Stewart was to act as assistant at 5/- per week. We may state here that the school met only in the evenings of a period, varying from six to eight months/

months, beginning in October or November; but nowhere in the Minutes is there any definite notice of the hours of attendance. Nothing is recorded until a year later, Oct. 1, 1855, when it is interesting to note that the Right Honourable, the Earl of Southesk, was called to the Chair at the meeting of the general committee. The Committee re-engaged Mr. Craig as sole teacher at 10/- a week, including his services and the use of his school-room. Having consulted the "Lady Visitors of the Institution, the Committee decided to engage a female teacher to give instruction in sewing and knitting at 3/- per week of five evenings - an hour and a half each evening." Three months later, a sub-committee was recommended "to consult with Mr. Craig as to the propriety of lengthening the hours of the school attendance." The result of their consultation is not recorded. As was customary at the beginning of the session, the committee issued subscription papers. The appeals to the public must have met the needs of the Society, for in no year of its existence do we hear of a deficit. The balance in hand for the year ending 1856 amounted to £3 :6 :3. In October of the same year Mr. and Mrs. Craig are re-engaged, but Mrs. Craig is to assist "in teaching the female scholars in other branches besides the sewing and knitting, so far as her services can/

can be rendered available to the success of the school." Mr. and Mrs. Craig taught the Society's School until December 1861.

At the end of the Minute of 8 Nov., 1858, there is a Report - the only one of its kind in the Minutes. It is as follows:

"Report of the Brechin Educational Society's School.

The School was opened on October 5th, 1857 and closed on 29th June 1858.

The attendance during the Session has been everything that could have been expected and the progress made, very satisfactory.

There were indeed a few who were irregular, and very indifferent, but I am glad to say that a good many boys and girls, especially the latter, did beyond my expectations.

I have had no recourse to the Lady Visitor this season because the attendance was admirable.

They have been in attendance for the first three months on an average 63, for the second three months 57, of these 26 were girls and 31 boys. The next two months 29 boys and 29 girls, and for the last month there were 33."

(Signed) Robert Craig, Teacher.

Mr. and Mrs. Craig were re-appointed for the session 1859/

1859-60 at the same terms of payment, 13/- per week, including the use of the school-room, coals and gas. The committee also reserved the "power to put an end to the agreement on one month's notice to Mr. Craig" (14th Oct., 1859). Mr. and Mrs. Craig, having left Brechin, were succeeded in Dec., 1861, by the Misses Webster to whom the former had let the schoolroom. No mention is made of the payment that the ladies received. They were unwilling to accept charge of the whole school as formerly, but they were willing to take the girls from 7 to 8 o'clock in the evening. Mr. James Scott, who was willing to undertake the teaching of the boys from 8 to 9.30, was appointed, he being considered "a suitable person for the purpose." The Misses Webster and Mr. Scott comprised the staff until the end of the session in 1865. In October, 1866, the committee reported "that the school had been kept open for six months, ending on April 13, and had been attended on an average by 40 boys and 30 girls, the boys under James Scott and the girls under Miss Webster."

The next session ended on 29 March, so it is evident that the school session was now only of six months' duration. During 1857-58 it lasted fully eight months. The total expenses of the school during the session 1865-66 amounted to £19 :5/-, that is, approximately/

approximately, 16/- per week. The balance in hand for that year amounted to $1/9\frac{1}{2}$, the lowest recorded. The only legacy that the school received is mentioned in the same minute, dated 11 October 1867, when the Treasurer reports that he had received intimation from the executors of Mrs. Scott of Springfield that she had bequeathed a legacy of £5 to the Institution, "payable on 19 November next."

In October 1868, there was considerable discussion as to whether the school should be resumed that winter. On 6 November it is reported that Mr. James Hutchison of the Tenements Schools was willing to open an evening school for boys, to be held during four nights a week, if he were guaranteed a remuneration of 10/- per week for himself, and if more than 40 pupils attended, 4/- a week, additional, to enable him to pay an assistant; and each pupil attending to pay 3d per week in fees. The committee agreed, and authorized their sub-committee to pay from the funds of the Institution the weekly fees for boys found to be in necessitous circumstances. Miss Webster was also engaged to teach an evening school for girls in which she was to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, knitting, and sewing. The committee also undertook to pay the fees of the girls in necessitous circumstances/

Now called Andover.

circumstances, the fees being at the rate of 2d a week. Several ladies interested in the girls' welfare, were "to visit Miss Webster's school and to aid in promoting its efficiency" (6 Nov., 1868). The members of the general committee were also to visit the school occasionally and to advise, if necessary. The Society also paid the fees of some necessitous children attending the day school, for the committee was authorized "to continue at the day school during the summer, the nine gratuitous Scholars whom they are at present paying for." The expenses of Mr. Hutchison's school for the session 1869-70 amounted to £7 :11 :4, excluding £1 that he had paid to his assistant, towards the payment of whom the committee afterwards granted Mr. Hutchison 10/-. The expenses of Miss Webster's school amounted to £9 :17 :7, so that the total expenses of the two schools amounted to £17 :18 :11, leaving, as we find from the minute of 27 October, 1870, a credit balance of £10 :3 :10. The Misses Cruickshank succeeded Miss Webster in October 1870. Within a fortnight a special meeting of the committee was called "to consider the state of the Girls' School in consequence of the large attendance for which the School Room afforded imperfect accommodation," whereupon a sub-committee was appointed to make arrangements for increased accommodation. Both schools/

schools were in existence in 1871, and in the last recorded minute, dated 13 November, 1872, the general committee appointed two sub-committees for the boys' and girls' schools respectively, "to arrange with the Teachers for the continuation of the Evening Classes for the ensuing Session." The Act of 1872 met the educational wants of poor and destitute children, and thus relieved the Society of any further responsibility.

The Infant Schools of Forfarshire: Their Origin and
Establishment.

The Infant School movement in Scotland is intimately associated with Robert Owen, who, in a series of Essays entitled "A New View of Society", included Infant schools in his scheme of social reform. To prevent children from acquiring bad habits, and in an attempt to prohibit the prostitution of their puny bodies, as then practised in the nefarious factory system, Owen opened his institution for children at New Lanark in January 1816. Thus began the first Infant school, not only in Scotland but in Britain. New Lanark became famous throughout Europe as a place of pilgrimage for educational and social reformers. Thus Owen is now recognised as one of the "makers of Scottish education".

Three years later, mainly through the efforts of/

The universality of interest in all that concerns Owen is shown by the following list of books which appeared almost simultaneously: G.B.Lockwood, The New Harmony Movement, New York, 1905; F.Podmore, Robert Owen, A Biography, 2 vols., London, 1906; Helene Simon, Robert Owen, sein Leben und seine Bedeutung fur die Gegenwart, Jena, 1905; Edouard Dolleane, Robert Owen, Paris, 1905. Morgan, Makers of Scottish Education, 1929. pp.170-76.

of Henry Brougham, the first Infant school in London was established at Brewers Green, Westminster, with James Buchanan, Owen's first superintendent, as master. A second Infant school, with Samuel Wilderspin as superintendent, was opened at Spitalfields, London, on 24 July, 1820. To this school, David Stow, a merchant of Glasgow, paid a visit in 1820. Stow's observation of the system pursued in Wilderspin's Infant School seemed to supply to his mind "that germ of a system of education which, upon sound Christian principles and superintendence, could not fail, under the blessing of God, morally to elevate society".² Viewing with apprehension the harmful influence resulting from the conditions of life in a great city like Glasgow, Stow first engaged in Sunday School work, but not being satisfied with the results of his efforts he visited Wilderspin's school; and it was here that he found an institution which seemed to him to meet his requirements. Through his unwearied exertions the Glasgow Infant School Society was founded in 1827. A house in the Drygate, Glasgow, was converted into an Infant/

¹ See Rusk. R.R. Training of Teachers, Chapters II and III, and Morgan's Makers of Scottish Education, pp.177-189.

² Third Report of the Glasgow Educational Society's Normal Seminary, 1836. See Rusk. Training of Teachers in Scotland. p.26.

Infant school, the first teacher of which was Mr. David Caughie, a native of Stranraer. Mr. Caughie's salary was paid from 23 April, 1828. We make mention of this date because it not only fixes the opening of the Drygate School, but marks the origin of the Training of Teachers in Britain, for on the same day two teachers were enrolled as Normal students that they might acquire the method of training for adoption in two schools, then in course of erection in neighbouring parishes.¹ It is clear, however, that Stow was not the originator of Infant schools; nor can we say that he was a man of great originality. The Sunday evening school which he opened for the poor and neglected children of Glasgow was simply the product of his humanity, kindness, and religion. But we can agree with Dr. Cyril Norwood, headmaster of Harrow, when, at the celebration of the centenary of the Training of Teachers,² he said that the finest claim that could be made for Stow, or any human being, was "that our country and our generation were the better for his having lived, and that his work was most emphatically worth while".

Largely through the apostolic zeal of Samuel Wilderspin/

¹Rusk, Training of Teachers. p. 39.

²Held at Jordanhill, Glasgow, 5 September, 1928. For report of same see "Glasgow Herald", 6th. September 1928. Stow died in 1864.

Wilderspin, the Infant School movement spread throughout Scotland. In London he had accidentally met James Buchanan, the first Infant teacher of Owen's school; and it was this providential meeting which aroused his interest in the Infant School movement. In April, 1828, on the invitation of Stow, and with the permission of the London Infant School Society, he visited Glasgow. He was thus but repaying the debt he owed to Buchanan. To further the cause of the Infant School movement, Wilderspin toured all over Scotland. Witness some of the towns he visited: Glasgow, Paisley, Greenock, Rothesay, Dumbarton, Kilmarnock, Dumfries, Edinburgh, Leith, Portobello, Dalkeith, Musselburgh, Haddington, Falkirk, Perth, Aberdeen Dingwall, Elgin, Banff. For our immediate purpose it concerns us particularly that he also visited Dundee² - where he met the sheriff of Forfarshire; Forfar - where he lectured in the town-hall; Arbroath; and Montrose - where the provost and two of the clergy were favourably disposed/

Wilderspin "has learned from none; all is original sagacity and practical philosophy; while there is about him a native power of eloquence, and fascination of manner, whether he speaks or sings, which renders him the delight of all who have seen or heard him" "Scotsman" report of an exhibition held in the Waterloo Rooms, Edinburgh, 11 May 1830, quoted in "Montrose, Arbroath and Brechin Review", 14 May 1830.

² Wilderspin, *Early Discipline Illustrated*, pp.168, 184, 195.

disposed. From the above itinerary it is obvious that the missionary zeal of Wilderspin entitles him to be ranked among the pioneers of the Infant School movement.

For most of the facts concerning the origin of the Infant School movement in Scotland we are indebted to the recent research of Dr. Rusk.¹ Our most fruitful source of information regarding the Infant School movement in Forfarshire is to be found in the MS. Minute Books, and particularly the MS. Correspondence Book, of the Brechin Infant School Society, and in the newspapers of the time. But for the indefatigable efforts and methodical care of Mr. William Shiress,² the secretary of the Brechin Society during its entire existence (1835-73), many documents and much information could not have come within our reach. In our search for local MS. records we were fortunate to discover these MS. books in the private library of the late Mr. D.H. Edwards, a noted antiquarian, proprietor and editor of "The Brechin Advertiser".

Wilderspin first visited Dundee in 1829. The result/

¹ Training of Teachers in Scotland, 1928.

² See Appendix No. I.

result of his visit was the establishment of three schools on his plan. The first of these was opened in August, 1829¹, and the other two came into full operation in June 1830². But an Infant School must have been established in Broughty Ferry prior to those in Dundee: "It is believed that the School at Broughty Ferry (instituted 1826)³ was the first of these seminaries in Scotland." This claim, however, is contradicted later in the Report by the following statement: "At that period Glasgow alone of all the towns in Scotland possessed an Infant School". It is recorded, however, with reference to the Infant School at Broughty Ferry, that "The opportunity afforded the inhabitants of Dundee in it, of examining the system and noticing its many advantageous peculiarities, prepared them/

¹ Report of Committee of Maxwelltown Infant School, Dundee, 1832, Correspondence Book of Brechin Infant School Society, No.98. The date given here differs from that in a notice contained in "The Montrose, Arbroath, and Brechin Review" of Friday, 6. Nov. 1829, where it is stated that "The first Infant School (Dundee) was opened last Thursday (29. Oct.) by the Rev. Dr. Peters." We have found that the Infant Schools in Angus usually held an exhibition, some 3 or 4 weeks after the opening of an Infant School, to raise funds by means of a collection, and to advertise the nature of the work done in an Infant School. The final arrangements were probably not completed until October.

² Wilderspin also lectured on 8. March 1830, in the Thistle Hall, Union Street, Dundee: Montrose Review, 12. March 1830.

³ Report of Committee of Maxwelltown Infant School, Dundee 1832. Correspondence Book of B.I.S.S., No.98.

them for embarking with spirit and zeal in this interesting department of benevolent enterprise". From the Statistical Account of the parish of Monifieth, September 1842, we learn that an Infant School in Broughty Ferry and two female schools in the parish of Monifieth were supported wholly by Mr. Erskine of Linlathen.² Within seven years of the establishment of the Dundee Infant Schools similar seminaries were instituted in the principal towns of Forfarshire: Arbroath in 1831; Forfar in 1833; Montrose in 1834; and Brechin in 1837. Infant Schools were also established in the villages of Ferryden and Glamis in 1834 and 1836 respectively.

Previous to the institution of the Drygate School, the Glasgow Infant School Society published a Prospectus which they circulated widely throughout Scotland, so that their plan might be adopted not only in Glasgow but throughout the country, as there was no school in Scotland conducted upon the most approved method.³ This Prospectus was evidently reprinted and distributed in Brechin, for a copy, dated 10 July 1835, is to be found in the Correspondence Book of the Brechin Infant School Society. It is/

¹ Ibid. ² Statistical Account of Forfarshire, 1843 . p.555
³ Rusk, Training of Teachers, p. 29. Entry No. 1.

is one of those copies of the Prospectus which Rusk failed to find in Glasgow.¹ We were also successful in finding a copy of the handbill or circular² which Rusk thought might correspond~~ant~~ to the Prospectus just mentioned.³ As the Prospectus and Handbill have not been otherwise traced, we quote them in full (See Appendix, Nos. II and III).

The aim of Infant Schools is stated briefly in the first paragraph of the Circular, and throughout the Prospectus. Infant Schools were instituted in the interests of the young children of poor parents who, in their struggle for existence, could neither afford the means of education nor devote the time necessary for the careful rearing of a family. They were what we should now call Nursery Schools, and were intended for children of both sexes, from two to six years of age. Infant Schools were established as a preventive measure. Young children were to be protected from the risks and contamination of the streets and from the strife and contention not uncommon in their own families. The Infant School was considered a/

¹"No copy of this has been traced", Training of Teachers p.54.

²Correspondence Book of B.I.S.S., No. 101.

³Training of Teachers, p.54.

a most suitable means of protection against such evils. Though the chief aim of these schools was to provide a moral training, secular instruction was not neglected. Further, Infant schools provided amusement, and occupation equivalent to amusement. The children were made to exercise their faculties of seeing, hearing, and touching in a way that afforded them at once information and pleasure.

One can imagine some of the preliminary difficulties at the opening of an Infant School: noise, uproar, and alarm resulting from the assembling of many children of different dispositions in so confined a space as an Infant schoolroom; and the task of restoring some state of order by arresting and holding the attention of the children. It was customary, on such occasions, to get an expert to organize or assist. Among the disbursements in the "Treasurer's Account since opening of School, (Maxwelltown Infant School, Dundee) 1st June 1830 to 1st June 1832", there is the following item: "Mr. Wilderspin for organizing, £15". Again, in the "State of Funds of Forfar Infant School, from July 1833 to June 1834", we read: "Mr. Scott, Dundee, assisting at opening School, £3". And in the first Annual Report of the Directors of the Infant School of Forfar/

¹ Correspondence Book of B.I.S.S., No. 98. ² Ibid., No. 100.

Forfar¹, dated 31 June, 1834², it is stated that "The Society were, at the commencement indebted to Mr. George Scott³, the excellent Master of the School of Dundee, for assisting in organizing the school, which, with so many children entering at once, was a very arduous task".

To preserve order, the children were taught "to perform various evolutions" in which they were materially assisted by music. In a report of the second exhibition of the first Edinburgh Infant School which had been established for little more than a month, Music was shown to be a powerful auxiliary in aiding the memory, and giving to words and things a meaning different from and more forcible than that which is conveyed by the mere sound of the abstract name. "This was happily exemplified by the children singing the alphabet, the multiplication and the pence tables"⁴.

Mr. Alexander Hamilton, who was nominated by Stow, to whom the secretary of the Brechin Infant School Society had written asking him to recommend a teacher, states/

¹Ibid.

²The Secretary must have forgotten that there are only 30 days in June. ³A native of Montrose. (See Appendix No.

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⁴"Scotsman": Report of the exhibition held in the Waterloo Rooms, Edinburgh, on 11. May 1830. quoted in the Montrose, Arbroath, and Brechin Review of 14. May 1830.

states in a letter, dated 11 March, 1837, that the system he meant to follow in Brechin was the system recommended by David Stow, and carried out in the Model School of the Glasgow Educational Society. "This system", he states, "is endless in the variety of the useful knowledge it imparts to the Infant - by the development of what powers and faculties it may be possessed of, and in expanding its ideas upon every object that comes within the reach of its senses in the school, the playground, and the street, and turning these principles into active habits. It combines with it daily Bible instruction, and views children as they ought to be viewed, not merely as physical and intellectual, but as Moral Beings, not the Creatures of time only but the heirs of immortality - thus blending with what is natural all that is beneficial for Time and for Eternity".

The transformation that took place within a short period is testified by the Directors of the Forfar Infant School in their First Annual Report². At the end of the first six weeks a public examination was held. In that short period, noise and confusion "had given place to order/

¹Correspondence Book of Brechin Infant School Society, No. 79. ²Ibid. No. 100.

order, regularity, content, and happiness; and considerable progress had even been made in various lessons". The Report goes on to say that "The progress since that time has been equally satisfactory; and it may be safely said, that under no other system, in one single year, could so much useful and varied information, be communicated to so many children, and of so tender ages". On the opening day, more than 200 children were enrolled. In a number of instances, infants of four or five years who entered the school ignorant of the alphabet and of figures, were able at the end of the first session "to read the **New Testament** and enumerate a line of figures as far as trillions". In their **Second Annual Report**,¹ dated 10 July 1835, it is stated that "The Infant School system has been happily described as 'the pivot on which, in all countries, must turn the improvement of mankind'; and it has been lately remarked by the highest authority that it is calculated 'to do more to eradicate crimes, than the gallows, the convict ship, the penitentiary, the treadmill, can accomplish, even if the present discipline were so amended as to be no longer the nursery of vice'". The **Infant School**, it was claimed, had something to teach the/

¹Ibid, No. 96.

the ordinary schools, which "from their nature are exclusively occupied in teaching the knowledge of signs, or to read, write, and calculate; and it is seldom, if ever, that they profess to regulate the tempers, dispositions, and enjoyments of their pupils". They claimed, further, that great success had also been attained in repressing quarrels, improper language, and other juvenile delinquencies, which so often become habitual in children who are allowed to run about the streets. It was one of the peculiar excellencies of the Infant School system, that it provided for the natural progress of intelligence and allowed for difference of disposition and capacity. "To those who cannot speak, attractive pictures and enlivening amusements are provided; those who can calculate are presented not only with the alphabet, but with natural objects and interesting facts, of variety sufficient for all tastes; those who are more advanced are taught words in connection with things".

Sewing Schools, principally for little girls who attended the Infant Schools, were attached to the Infant Schools in Hawkhill and Wallace Feus, Dundee. The girls were taught reading and spelling, and received religious instruction. They were also taught sewing, knitting, and sampler work; and one day of the week was set apart for teaching/

teaching them to mend their clothes.¹ These Schools thus served a useful function in ministering much to the comfort and respectability of the families of the labouring classes.

The Arbroath Infant School Society, like most other similar societies, laid it down in their Rules,² 9 August 1831, that "The master shall open and close the School every day with prayer". It was also specially enjoined that both Master and Mistress should bring Scripture truth and sound moral principles to bear upon the minds of the children with a simplicity and affection suited to their tender years. The teachers were also to exercise care that all restraint and correction which discipline might require should be free from every form of violence.

In dealing with the methods employed in an Infant School we have made casual reference to the use of certain objects, and it may be appropriate here to enumerate some of the articles included in the apparatus employed. Mr. George Scott, the first teacher of the Hawkhill Infant School/

¹ Report of the Committee of the Hawkhill and Wallace Feus Infant Schools for 1835, Correspondence Book of B.I.S.S., No. 97. ²Ibid. No. 105.

School, Dundee, who assisted at the opening of the Forfar Infant School, acted as Wilderspin's agent for Scotland.

In an account rendered to the Forfar Infant School he specified the following items:-

1835.	L.	S.	D.
July. 29. Ball frame Arithmeticon, and Brass Figures	2	0	0
48 Plates of Birds and Beasts with Descriptions and Lessons on the back at 1/10	4	8	0
15 Scripture Plates at 1/10	1	7	6
27 Developing Plates and Lessons on the back at 1/9	2	7	3
4 Picture Alphabets at 1/6	0	6	0
2 Scripture " at 1/6	0	3	0
1 Lord's Prayer and 10 Commandments.	0	1	0
1 Clock Face	0	2	0
12 Scripture Texts at 1/3	0	15	0
Boxes	0	4	0
	<hr/>		
	11.	13.	9

In the Treasurer's Account of the Funds, from

July/

We found this stated in a note at the foot of the above account where it is also stated that "Mr. Scott has given up teaching and is now employed as a clerk in Dundee". He resigned "owing to the circumstances of his family". (Report of the Hawkhill and Wallace Feus Infant Schools for 1835)

July 1833 to June 1834, there is the following item: August 1833. Lessons, Arithmeticon, Brass Figures, Swing and other apparatus - £16; 8. 9.¹ And the "State of Funds of the Brechin Infant School", 22 Aug., 1837, shows: School Furniture, Picture Lessons, etc., £32. 5. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$.²

In a letter, dated 7 April, 1837, to the Secretary of the Brechin Infant School Society, Mr. Alexander Hamilton, teacher of the Gorbals Infant School, Glasgow,³ who had been appointed to a similar post in Brechin, states that he had "waited upon Messrs. Stow and Caughie, and from them he learned that the Glasgow Educational Society had furnished with complete sets of apparatus - Stromness, Kirkwall, and several other places to the extreme north and north west of Scotland; Leeds and several other places in England; West Indies, etc., at a little expense as if they had them direct from the general Depot at London".⁴ Further, according to Hamilton, Stow/

¹Correspondence Book of B.I.S.S., No. 100. ²Ibid, No.29.
³"There are at present six schools in Glasgow, and movements, it was noticed, were making for the establishment of others in Gorbals and Anderston, while in other parts of the country these interesting institutions were increasing". Glasgow Herald, 7 April, 1834. Report of Annual Examination of the Model Infant School, Glasgow, held on Monday, 31 March 1834.

⁴Correspondence Book of B.I.S.S., No. 80.

Stow remarked that although many of the articles might be got in Dundee it would probably be difficult to get a complete set - the system there differing from that followed by the Glasgow Educational Society, and many of their picture lessons differing likewise. Mr. Caughie stated that some of the Dundee teachers, upon visiting the Glasgow Schools, took away to complete their sets several picture lessons which they could not procure in Dundee or in Edinburgh. The letter also states that a complete set could be had in Glasgow at prices varying from six to fifteen guineas. The set which Hamilton used in the Gorbals School cost ten guineas¹. He includes the following as some of the items of school furniture:- Arithmeticon, 12/-; brass gonigraph 4/-; numeral frame 5/-; brass alphabet, per set, 2/-; school bell; school whistle; monitors' stools; Bible stand; pointers; swing tops.

As it was not until 1833² that Parliament voted money for educational purposes, Infant schools were until that time erected and maintained partly by private subscriptions and partly by fees. In the establishment and/

¹ Later he says "six to twelve guineas", Ibid. No.81.

² Scottish Educational Journal, 8 June, 1928. pp.660-661, R.R.Rusk. Voluntary Schools and Government Building Grants.I.

and maintenance of these schools much credit must be assigned to those ladies who showed their interest not only in instituting these establishments but in assisting considerably towards their maintenance by organizing sales of work. By such means the Dundee Infant Schools benefited to the extent of £178 from a "sale of ladies' work which took place in the Exchange Coffeeroom" on Friday, 14th October, 1831.¹ The Aberdeen Infant School Society along with various other institutions received £50 from a similar sale of work held in Aberdeen in December 1829, or early in January, 1830.² In July, 1847, a fancy fair was held in the hall of the Mechanics' Institution, Brechin, under the patronage of Lady Carnegie of Southesk, when as much money was raised as paid off the debt of the Brechin Infant School.³

From 1833 to 1839, in which year the Committee of Council/

¹"Montrose, Arbroath, and Brechin Review", Oct. 28. 1831. This sale realised £356. The other £178 was allotted to Dundee Infirmary. Notice of this sale is confirmed in "The Statistical Account of Forfarshire", 1843, p.45, but no date is given there.

²Montrose, Arbroath, and Brechin Review. 8 Jan. 1830.

³Black, D., History of Brechin, sec. ed., 1867, p.220. There is no reference to this Fair in the Minutes of the Society. Black was probably an eye-witness as he was then Treasurer of the Society. On 24 July, 1847, the Society had a balance of £15.12;7d. Lady Carnegie who took a great interest in the School died in the following year.

Council on Education was constituted, the sums voted by Parliament were disbursed by the Treasury. In a Treasury Minute, dated 3 April, 1835, My Lords, in considering applications for assistance from the Grant of Parliament "in Aid of private Subscriptions for the erection of School-houses¹ for the Education of Children of the poorer classes in certain Great Towns in Scotland", laid down the following rules:²-

- "1. That no portion of this sum be applied to any purpose whatever, except for the erection of new School-houses; and that in the definition of a School-house, the residence for masters or attendants be not included.
- "2. That no application be entertained unless a sum be raised by private contribution equal to at least one-half of the total estimated expenditure.
- "3. That the amount of private subscription be received, expended and accounted for, before any issue of public money for such school be directed.
- "4. That the applicants whose cases are favourably entertained be required to bind themselves to submit to any/

¹ 'Schools'; not the residence of the schoolmaster, as the term 'schoolhouse' now signifies. ² An MS. copy is found in the Correspondence Book of the B.I.S.S., No.20. See also Scottish Ed. Journal, 8 June 1928, p.660.

any audit of their accounts which this Board may direct, as well as to such periodical reports¹ respecting the state of their Schools, and the number of scholars educated, as may be called for".

My Lords also expressed their opinion that answers should be required to the following Queries:-

"Does the parish form part of a large town, and what is the entire population of the town of which the parish forms a part?

"Is there any provision at present existing therein for the education of the children of the poorer classes?

"How many scholars will the School-room, on behalf of which application is now made, receive, and will it be a Day-School?

"How are the annual expenses of the School to be defrayed, so that there may be a reasonable prospect of the permanence of the institution?

"What are the dimensions of the School-room, and the area allowed to each child?

"What materials will the building be composed of, and how is the property secured?

"What is the entire estimated cost of the undertaking, not including a residence for the schoolmaster or attendants?

"What/

¹ See Appendix. No. V.

"What are the means raised by the applicants to meet the first cost, after every exertion has been made?"

The following were the answers¹ submitted to the Treasury, by James Speid, Provost of Brechin, with reference to the Brechin Infant School:-

1. "The Town of Brechin forms part of the Parish of Brechin, which contains 6,508 inhabitants. The Town itself contains 5,060.
2. "None except the Parochial School.
3. "It will be a Day School, and will contain 200 Infant Scholars.
4. "The annual expenses will be defrayed chiefly by School Fees, but partly by an annual Subscription.
5. "The School Room will be 56 feet by 26 $\frac{1}{2}$, exclusive of the class room to be attached. The Area allowed to each child will be 7.42² feet.
6. "The Building will be of stone. The property will be secured in Trustees for behoof of the Subscribers, or in any other way that may be recommended by the Treasury.
7. "The entire estimated cost and exclusive of the School/

¹Correspondence Book of B.I.S.S., No.20. 8 April 1836.
²Compare Return to Government, 1864. (Appendix No.V.)

School Master's residence is - For the purchase of the ground £70 - and for the erection of the School Room and Class Room £370 - in all £440.

8. "The cumulo subscription for the erection of the School and School Master's House, amounts now to £290. 7/-, of which £160 may be allocated to the School, and £130. 7/- to the School Master's House".

After the Treasury were furnished with a certificate that the amount of the subscriptions in Brechin had been actually received, expended and accounted for, and the ground duly conveyed to Trustees, the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury authorized a Bill to be drawn upon William Sargent, Esquire, Paymaster of Civil Services, for the sum of £220 for the completion of the Brechin Infant School. (Letter dated 9 September 1837.) It is obvious from the above grant that Parliament did not construe "certain great towns" literally, for the population of Brechin was then little more than 5,000. Nor was Brechin an exception.

Prior/

Brechin Town Council. Correspondence Book, last entry. Brechin Infant School was one of the earliest schools to receive Government aid for building. The "Committee have only to add that their thanks and those of the Subscribers are due to Mr. (Pat) Chalmers, M.P., who has from the first taken a marked interest in the Institution, and to whose assiduous exertions it is chiefly owing that the grant from Government has been obtained". Minute Book, No.I. of B.I.S.S.,

Prior to the Parliamentary Grant, Infant schools were erected solely by means of public subscription. Dundee, influenced by the missionary zeal of Wilderspin in his visit of 1829, established an Infant School in the same year. The Committee of those interested in Infant education took a lease of a garden in Hawkhill for ten years from one to whom reference has already been made, Mr. George Scott, who was at the same time appointed teacher of the school. On this property they built a schoolhouse, on the following terms: that at the end of the lease, if not renewed, they were to receive the value of the buildings; and if the engagement with Mr. Scott should terminate sooner, he had a right to require the Committee to quit the premises on paying the value of the buildings, as agreed on at the expiry of the lease. Soon after Mr. Scott's resignation he sold his property, which obliged the Committee to look out for a school elsewhere. The gentleman who bought the property, however, allowed the Committee to retain possession of the school for six months, to give them time to build a new school-house. They purchased a house and garden in Park Wynd, and on this ground they built "a very large and commodious School-house/

School-house". The following gentlemen held the property as Trustees: Alexander Balfour, Patrick Scott, John Symers, John Boyd Baxter, W.G.Baxter, and Robert Gray. These gentlemen very liberally gave their security for whatever money the Committee required beyond the sum raised, and also undertook the management of the buildings. Mr. Paterson, architect, gave the plan and specifications and superintended the work gratuitously. Mr. Alex. Robertson, mason, gave the valuation of the School without charge, and Bailie Lawson furnished the new School-room with a cast iron grate.

Mr. Grant, the teacher of the Montrose Infant School, advised the Brechin Infant School Society to build a class-room in addition to the school-room. A class-room was a room for taking a class separately, either for teaching or for examination purposes. Montrose Infant School had no class-room. The school-room at Montrose measured 36 feet by 20 within the walls, and the building and fitting-up of the School etc., cost nearly £200. Mr. Grant complained that the playground was notoriously too small, as "the size of the playground including/

/ Report of the Committee of the Greenfield and Wallace Feus Infant Schools for 1836. Correspondence Book of B.I.S.S., No. 99.

including the site of the School, was a square of about 60 feet". In Forfar, the schoolroom was built by the Magistrates and Town Council, and was originally intended for the Parish school. It had been unoccupied for a good number of years when application was made for the use of it as an Infant School. According to the measurements of the Teacher, Mr. Haldane, the school-room measured 60 feet by 19, and the height between floor and ceiling, 13 feet. The Directors laid out the playground with a grass plot, flower borders, and clumps of fruit trees and shrubs, not only on account of the beauty it would add, but as an essential requisite in carrying the Infant School system into effect. In the playground healthful exercise and amusing play for scholars of every age and disposition were carefully superintended. "Nothing can be more gratifying than to see the discipline illustrated in the playground where the principle of respect for property is delightfully exemplified, in the total absence of all injury/

¹ Correspondence Book of Brechin Infant School Society, No. 2. The Montrose Infant School was instituted in the autumn of 1834. Mr. and Mrs. Grant had been the teachers of the Arbroath Infant School until then. They were appointed by the Directors of the Montrose Infant School on 15. July 1834. Montrose, Arbroath, and Brechin Review, 18. July. 1834.

injury to the fruits and flowers, and plots of ground set apart for them¹. According to the first Annual Report, 31 June 1834,² the Forfar school-room equalled any dedicated to the purpose in Scotland, and the playground, in extent and capabilities, far surpassed any that the Committee had seen or heard of. The total cost of the playground, of which the Directors were immensely proud, amounted to £17.14.8d.³

Laying out of Playground:

	L.S.D.
Trenching and planting.	7.1.10
Plants.	8.7.10
Carriage of Plants	0.9. 0
Stones.	0.11.0
Horse Work.	<u>1.5. 0</u>
Total.	<u>£17.14. 8</u>

(State of the Funds of the Forfar Infant School, from June 1834 to July 1835).

On 12 September 1834, Mr. J. A. Anderson,
Secretary of "The Infant School Society for Arbroath,
and/

¹ Second Annual Report, 10 July 1835. Correspondence Book of B.I.S.S., No. 96. ² Ibid, No. 100. See previous note regarding mistake in date.

³ The total cost of the Brechin Infant School playground, including enclosing, draining, and laying out, amounted to £34.11.0d.

and its Suburbs" intimated by handbills that the Directors of the above Society had removed the school from the old premises in Millgate, to "that Commodious and Airy Apartment in North Grimsby, formerly used as a Ware-room by Messrs. Fitchet & Sons, which has been carefully fitted up for the reception of an increased number of Scholars". The Directors, according to their bills, secured the services of a Mr. McKelvin, "an able and experienced teacher." The latter evidently succeeded Mr. Grant who had been appointed master of the Montrose Infant School.

The fees of Infant schools were low in order to make them accessible to those for whom they were intended. In the larger cities the fee for each child was, generally, 2d. weekly, but when two, or more than two members of one family attended, it was customary to make a reduction, usually one half being charged for the other members. In the Wallace Infant School, Dundee, the weekly fee of each child was 2d., payable in advance each Monday morning; and every additional child belonging to the same family paid 1d. In Forfar, Arbroath, and Brechin, the fees were considered/

/ One of these is to be found in the Correspondence Book of the Brechin Infant School Society, No. 106.

considered very low, these being $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per week. In Arbroath and Forfar the fees for two children of one family were 3d.; and 1d. extra was charged for every additional member of the family. The fees were collected every Monday morning. In Brechin the fees were payable in advance every four weeks, and when there were more than two members of one family attending, 1d. a week was charged for each additional child.

As is the master, so is the school. What, then, were the qualifications of an Infant School master? The answer is to be found in the Appendix to "Infant Training. A Dialogue explanatory of the System Adopted in the Model Infant School, Glasgow, By a Director"². There we find that "He must be a man decidedly pious - firm, yet condescending, in his manners - well informed on general subjects - not abstract in his modes of thinking, but on the contrary, lively and sensible - free also from any impediment in speech otherwise the children are certain to copy it - in his person, also, he ought to be neat and orderly/

¹ In Elgin the weekly fee was only 1d. Ibid. No.42. A long, interesting letter dated 1. June 1836 by John McKimmie, Provost of Elgin, concerning the origin and establishment of the Elgin Infant School. The weekly fee in Glamis was also 1d.

² Its later title was "Granny and Leezy". The Director was David Stow.

orderly". As late as 1832 a month's training, if carried out at the Model School, Glasgow, was regarded as adequate for any person intending to become a superintendent of an Infant School. Soon afterwards the minimum course of attendance was extended to three months - and only for those whose engagements permitted them to spend the whole school hours of each day under practical training. No Infant school could be complete without a female assistant to attend the necessities of young children, and the master was usually assisted by his wife, sister, or near relative. Mr. Caughie, the first teacher of the Drygate School, Glasgow, was assisted by Mrs. Caughie. Mr. Caughie's salary amounted to £60 per annum, with house free. According to the Report of the Hawkhill and Wallace Feus Infant Schools, Dundee, for the year 1834-35, their Teachers received the same remuneration as Mr. Caughie, as well as a free house. Mr. Grant, the master of the Montrose Infant School, received £50 per annum, but had to provide his own house. In recognition of his first year's service the Directors, on 31 July 1835, voted him a gratuity of £4, possibly towards the payment of house-rent. Mr. Grant conducted his school upon Wilderspin's system without adhering/

¹Rusk, Training of Teachers, pp.39-40.
²Correspondence Book of B.I.S.S., No. 97.

adhering closely to it. At this time there was also an Infant School in the fishing village of Ferryden, in the parish of Craig, near Montrose. This school was instituted in 1834, in which year 84 scholars under six years of age^{were} attending.¹ Douglas, in his "History of the Village of Ferryden", (1855) says: "An Infant School was built (1838) and endowed by Miss Ross of Rossie, which has always been well attended; and from the services of a suitable and pious female teacher, Miss Petrie, who still occupies the same situation, improvement was soon made by the young, and even by the adults, principally the females, who attended when they had spare time"². In the Appendix to the Third Report of Endowed Schools³ it is stated that on 3 July 1839, Miss Maria Ross of Rossie bequeathed £40 to this school towards the teacher's salary and current expenses. According to Mr. Strachan, the secretary of the Montrose Infant School Society, this same school was "remarkably well conducted and at very small expense, the salary to Miss Petrie being £25 a year only."⁴ It would appear that the Infant School movement/

¹ Statistical Account of Forfarshire, 1843. p.259. footnote.

² p.20. ³ Vol. ii. p.101. ⁴ Correspondence Book of B.I.S.S., No. 2.

movement was now spreading beyond the towns,¹ as "An infant school was opened in the village of Glammis at Whitsunday last, and is very flourishing. It is attended by about 60 scholars, who pay 1d. each per week. The schoolmistress has a salary of £25 per annum which is paid by a subscription in the parish and neighbourhood. The Trustees of the late Earl of Strathmore have generously allowed the teacher a house and garden, with playground, and have fitted up the school in the best manner for the purpose".² In the First Annual Report of the Forfar Infant School³ it is stated that the great desideratum was to have the teacher's dwelling house attached to the school and overlooking the playground. This was considered a matter of the first importance in an Infant School. The house rent paid by the Forfar Directors was £5, and the salaries of the teachers, Mr. and Mrs. Haldane,⁴ in 1835, amounted to £50 per annum. The salary paid to Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton, the first teachers/

¹In a discourse on the educational wants of the parish, delivered at Kirriemuir on Saturday, 15 Nov. 1834, Rev. Dr. Easton stated that "our parochial institutions will not be complete till we have an infant school". From a Correspondent, Montrose, Arbroath and Brechin Review, 21 Nov. 1834.

²Statistical Account of Glammis (Glamis) completed, September, 1836; Statistical Account of Forfarshire, 1843, p.350. ³Correspondence Book of B.I.S.S., No. 100.

⁴From the Montrose, Arbroath and Brechin Review of 2. Aug. 1833. we learn that Mr. and Mrs. Haldame, on appointment to Forfar, came from Dundee.

teachers in the Brechin Infant School, was, on appointment in 1837, fifty guineas per annum. On 1 January 1838, the Directors agreed to give them the rooms in the upper flat of an adjacent house free of rent.

Stringent rules were made regarding attendance. In the Rules and Regulations of the Wallace Infant School, Dundee, and in those of the Brechin Infant School, it is laid down that "If a child be necessarily absent from school, intimation must be sent to the Teacher by the parents. If the child continue absent a week without any reason being assigned, such child shall be considered as having left the School". In a note at the end of the Rules for the Forfar Infant School we find:² "Regularity of attendance is of the utmost importance to the success of the plan, and Parents are earnestly requested to pay attention to this. "The following statistics give some indication of the attendance in two of the Dundee Infant schools throughout the years 1835, 1836.

Monthly/

¹ It will be noted that Brechin was comparatively late in establishing an Infant School. This was not due to apathy on the part of the citizens but probably to the fact that while its neighbours were establishing such institutions Brechin was much concerned about the re-organizing of its public schools. Steps had been taken as early as December 1831, to establish an "Infant School on Wilderspin's plan, under very flattering auspices". (Montrose, Arbroath, and Brechin Review, 9 Dec. 1831).

²Correspondence Book of B.I.S.C., No. 95.

Monthly Average Number of Scholars.

Years-	Hawkhill School:		Sewing School;		Wallace School.		Sewing School.	
	1835	1836;	1835	1836;	1835	1836;	1835	1836:
Jan.	72	72	43	49	86	91	47	34
Feb.	85	84	50	53	108	96	58	43
Mar.	98	104	59	57	122	126	60	51
Ap.	110	121	62	54	130	167	53	56
May.	105	133	61	58	126	203	49	61
June.	108	127	60	58	146	205	43	60
July.	105	143	63	62	152	195	47	58
Aug.	82	127	56	42	151	186	37	66
Sept.	78	118	53	52	107	162	30	49
Oct.	85	110	52	58	97	156	28	57.
Nov.	82	95	58	57	100	112	36	52
Dec.	72	94	47	59	103	122	35	40

Note: After Mr. Scott sold his property in 1835, the Hawkhill School was removed to Park Wynd. In the Report for 1836, it is stated that the attendance at the Wallace School for the year 1835-36 had been more numerous and steady than during any year since its commencement. The number at the Hawkhill School had not been so great, "from the/

the disadvantageous circumstances attending the change of its locality".

On the opening day at Forfar, more than 200 scholars were enrolled. Except in the depth of winter the attendance during the first year, 1833-34, was always regular and numerous. "It is remarkable", says the First Annual Report, "that only one child attending the school has died since it was opened, and the infant alluded to, was much attached to the school, and during its illness expressed much regret at being unable to attend". During the winter of the following year an epidemic swept over Forfar. Disease, accompanied by mortality, in a manner beyond the experience of any of the Forfar inhabitants, spread into many families. From December 1834 to April 1835, in a population of upwards of 8000, there were 205 deaths of all ages, and of these 120 were children of the age of six or under. On one occasion, in the height of the epidemic, the attendance was only 33. By July 1835, the attendance had risen to 156, and the weekly average was 118.

The Brechin Infant School was opened on 26th June 1837, and on that day 110 children were enrolled. Before the/

Second Annual Report, Correspondence Book. of B.I.S.S., No. 96.

the end of the first month the number increased to 147. The Directors were somewhat disappointed that the number was not greater, but thought that once the institution was properly established, more children would attend the school. Their hopes were ultimately realized for the numbers gradually, then rapidly, increased. In 1860 there were 200 scholars in attendance, in 1863 the attendance was 236; and in 1867 it had reached 240. In 1835 the number of scholars in the Montrose Infant School was 170.

In some instances parents withdrew their children as soon as they learned the alphabet in order to place them at other schools. "Nothing can be more injudicious, as children ought in every case to be continued till the full age of six; experience having clearly shewn that the mixture of healthful exercise, innocent amusement, and diversified instruction obtained at these schools, are much better calculated than any other for children below that age, while the employment of the more advanced children as monitors, not only confirms their own acquisitions, but is essential to the diffusion of knowledge in a numerous school.

The Wallace Infant School, Dundee, was open every school day at 9.30 a.m., but instruction did not begin until 10/

First Annual Report of Forfar Infant School, Correspondence Book of B.I.S.S. No.100.

10a.m. The forenoon session during November, December and January, lasted from 10 a.m. till 1 p.m., There was then an hour's interval for dinner - which the children could bring to school if they wished. The afternoon session ended at 3.30 p.m., but the children were not allowed to leave school until 4 p.m., In Forfar, the school day began at 10 a.m. At 1 p.m., in winter, there was an hour's interval; and the school closed at 4 o'clock. In summer, there was an interval of two hours, the afternoon session beginning at 3 and ending at 5 p.m., On Saturdays the school was open from 10 to 12 noon only. In Arbroath the winter session day also began at 10 and ended at 5 p.m., with only one hour's interval, from 1 to 2 p.m., And on Saturday there was a half holiday.

In the Rules and Regulations of Infant Schools we usually find that certain hours on certain days were allotted to visitors. In the Wallace Feus Infant School, parents and visitors were allowed to visit the school every Wednesday from 10 to 1 o'clock. No mention is made of such visits in the Forfar Rules, but the public, as in Arbroath, were invited to the annual examination of the school, which was usually held in July. A collection was taken, and the children were provided with refreshments. At the first public examination in Forfar the sum of £4.1.8 was collected, and the cost of the refreshments, given/

given to the children on the opening day, and at the examination, amounted collectively to £1.17.10. In Brechin, parents and visitors were admitted every Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, from 12 to 1 o'clock - no doubt following the practice which prevailed in the Gorbals Infant School, Glasgow, from which the teacher of the Brechin Infant School came. The Gorbals School was open to visitors on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, from 12 to 1 o'clock. It was customary in Brechin to give the children a small present, usually eatables, after their efforts on the annual examination day. In Arbroath, parents and others could visit the school only on Monday and Thursday between the hours of 2 and 3 p.m.; and none were to be admitted at any other time without a written order from one of the Directors, of whom in 1831, when the school was instituted, there were 21. Two Directors attended the Arbroath Infant School on the first Monday of every month to examine the state of the school, and to admit pupils. They recorded, in a book for the purpose, the result of every inspection as well as any suggestion in regard to the School. The ladies who undertook the superintendence of the Montrose Infant School wisely limited the admission to visitors to one day in the week, Wednesday, to prevent/

prevent any unnecessary interruption in the work of the school. In Forfar a director visited the school every Monday morning to admit pupils, but in Brechin children were admitted every fourth Monday only.

A sub-Committee of the Forfar Directors, by means of returns obtained from the parents, and with the aid of the teacher, Mr. Haldane, made an analysis of the progress of the scholars, part of which they quote in their Second Annual Report, 10 July 1835. It is as follows:-

"9 aged 1 or under; 24 aged 2; 39 aged 3; 39 aged 4; 23 aged 5; 22 aged 6 and upwards. Of these 156 children, 9 could not speak; 64, from 2 to 5 years, were at the alphabet; 48, from 3 to 6 years, were at short words; 35, from 3 to 7 years, were at promisc^uous reading.²

The first reference in the Minutes of the Brechin Infant School Society to a Government Inspection is that of 18 March, 1858, the day on which their school was inspected. The Report was sent from the Education Department, Privy Council Office, Downing Street, London, and is dated 27 July 1858. It is meagre in the extreme, consisting of some seven lines. The schoolroom is pronounced "Excellent/

For the first five weeks, from 26 June (when the school was first opened) until 1 August 1837, they were admitted every Monday.

²Correspondence Book of B.I.S.S. No.96.

"excellent" and the School showed "very satisfactory evidence of faithful teaching, and kind and judicious training". In 1860 the discipline and tone, according to the Inspector's report, were "very good"; the instruction was "fair, mostly routine". The monitors were considered "as far too young to know how to teach", and a number of the older children needed "more advanced instruction than an Infant School affords". The Directors evidently acted on this advice, for in the Report of the following year, the Inspector says: "The age of the pupils has been restricted. Infant monitors have been discontinued, their place being advantageously occupied by an adult assistant". There was also less routine work and more individual questioning. On 21 October 1864, the School was inspected by John Black, Esq., H.M. Inspector, in presence of a number of Directors. In 1864 the School is described as "very tidy and orderly", and the children as active and cheerful; and the "instruction, on the whole, very fairly conducted". The last report mentioned in the Minutes was sent from the "Education Department, Whitehall, London, ^{" and is} dated 7 Dec., 1870. Here we read that "the condition of the School is quite equal to that of the average of inspected Schools. The elements of Reading and Arithmetic are well taught; the Writing might be improved. The/

The Singing is very good".

Before concluding our Chapter on the Infant Schools of Forfarshire, we should like to add three final observations. First, many ministers, teachers, and other influential persons were not in favour of the institution of infant schools. Ministers opposed the establishment of these seminaries owing to their association with the socialistic and rationalistic views of Owen.¹ Teachers in schools other than Infant schools, probably anticipating a loss in fees, considered that these institutions were unnecessary. Edinburgh had no Infant school until April 1830. At the first exhibition of the Edinburgh Infant School the Lord Justice Clerk acknowledged his agreeable surprise at the success of what he had previously regarded as doubtful. A second exhibition² was held in the Waterloo Rooms on 11 May of the same year, when Sir John Sinclair presided. He was supported by Principal Baird, Dr. Jamieson, Dr. Abercromby, and others. Sir John had had his doubts and prejudices regarding the possibility of Infant Training but the exhibition at which he presided, dispelled them. The arrangements for bodily/

¹ See Rusk, Training of Teachers, p.27. ² To satisfy the Edinburgh public that Mr. Wilderspin's presence was not essential, it was conducted by the teacher, Mr. Wright.

bodily exercise, connected with mental and moral improvement especially delighted him; and he was amused as well as instructed by the well applied admixture of diverting expedients to keep the children awake and alert.¹

Secondly, when we come to the period just prior to the Act of 1872, the necessity for good Infant Schools had increased, and along with it the necessity for properly trained schoolmistresses. "It was not without reason", writes Mr. Currie, "that one of the most ardent and judicious promoters of popular education in our day, the late Professor Pillans, was wont to express a very strong opinion on the propriety of cultivating this department of that work, and of providing means for conducting it officially"². In the same Report, Mr. Sellar, the colleague of Mr. Currie, says that "there were only eight Infant Schools in the 133 parishes selected; and of 4,177 scholars under six years of age, only 553 were attending Infant Schools, properly so called"³. The Scottish Assistant Commissioners also reported that "Parochial Schools and those on this model, are/

¹ Montrose, Arbroath, and Brechin Review, 14 May 1830. contains the "Scotsman's" report in an article entitled "Mr. Wilderspin and Infant Schools. For opposition to Infant Schools in Edinburgh and Glasgow see also Rusk's Training of Teachers, pp.51-52.

² Second Report by Her Majesty's Commissioners, Elementary Schools, 1867, p.cxxiv.

³ Ibid., cxx.

are attended by children who ought to be in Infant Schools; and what are called Infant Schools are attended by big boys and girls, who ought to be in the more advanced schools." We imagine that boys and girls who ought to have been in an Infant School went to the Parochial school for social distinction or because there was no Infant School; and that the boys and girls who ought to have been attending the Parochial school went to the Infant School because it was the only means of education their parents could afford, or because the Parochial school was not all that it might have been. The attendance in those days varied according to the fees, and the reputation and domestic circumstances of the teacher. The happy nature of the Infant School would also attract others, and thus the popularity of the Infant school would militate against its proper function.

Thirdly, we would remark that the rise and progress of infant schools were generally omitted in histories of Scottish Education; and but for their association with the origin of the Training of Teachers,² they would have been completely ignored. For this grievous omission there can be put forward no valid excuse. We have amply quoted to show/

¹Report on Burgh and Middle Class Schools, p.109.

²See Musk, Training of Teachers in Scotland. 1928.

show that the Infant School played no mean part in the education of Scottish children of humble parents, and we hope that our contribution may have brought to light some information that lay hidden under a bushel.

APPENDIX. I.

"Thereafter it was moved by Mr. D. D. Black, seconded by the Revd. James Crabb, and unanimously agreed to, That the very hearty thanks of the Trustees, Directors, and Members, of the Brechin Infant School Society, be given to William Shiress, Esquire, Dean of the Faculty of Procurators in Forfarshire, for the unwearied and laborious attention which he has bestowed on the affairs of the Institution, from its commencement in 1835 down to its termination to day in 1873; for the great trouble he took in the formation of the Society, and for his continued onerous labours, as Secretary of the Institution, for the long period of 38 years".

(Extract from Minute of 4 August 1873. Minute Book No. 3. p.73. of Brechin Infant School Society.)

On the north wall of Brechin Cathedral a mural tablet contains the following inscription: "For 52 years Solicitor in Brechin, Born in Falkirk, 1st. Jan. 1804: Died in Brechin, 21st. January 1881". Inside the Cathedral there is also a brass memorial "In loving Memory".

PROSPECTUS
of an
INFANT SCHOOL
for the
TOWN AND SUBURBS OF BRECHIN.

"It has now been ascertained by conclusive experience, that the infant mind is capable of receiving and storing up useful knowledge at a much earlier age than was formerly supposed; and it has been equally proved, that the habits which are formed in the years of infancy, have the most important influence on the future conduct of the child. It has thus become a duty upon every individual connected with children, to attend most carefully to their education and habits during their infancy. Considerable exertion has been made in most of the larger towns of the kingdom to establish a system of Infant Education. These exertions have been amply rewarded by the success which has, in general attended them, and by the progress which has been made in elementary knowledge by those infants whose parents have availed themselves of the advantages which such establishments afford. It is the object of the individuals who publish the present prospectus, to call the attention of/

of the inhabitants of Brechin to the propriety of their endeavouring to participate in these advantages, by the foundation of an Infant School in their Town.

The constitution of infants requires that they shall be treated in a manner considerably different from the youth of more advanced age. Neither their bodies nor their minds are able to undergo the labour, confinement, and discipline, necessary to enable them to enter into the course of study observed in the ordinary schools for youth. A close intermixture of amusement and exercise with instruction, is necessary to the health of the child's body and to the activity of its mind. Hence a very young child sent to an ordinary school, runs a risk of impairing its health if it is attempted to make it conform to the practice of the school, or else of injuring the discipline of the older pupils by the example of the relaxation that it may be necessary to afford it. An Infant School, where nearly the whole business is made to assume the garb of amusement, and where exercise forms a material ingredient in the occupation, is, therefore, the proper place where children of tender years can acquire education. These institutions are intended for infants of both sexes, from two to six years of age, and the course of tuition pursued in/

in them is calculated to develop^{*} the mental powers, - to form habits of obedience, regularity, and industry, - and to imbue the infant mind with such elementary knowledge, in religion, literature, and science, as may prepare the child for entering advantageously upon the course of study pursued in the parochial and other schools.

For these purposes a combination of exercise, amusement, and instruction, adapted to the tender years of children, and formed from observation of their wants, feelings and capabilities, is employed. To preserve order, the children are taught to act in a body, to march in regular form, and to perform various evolutions. In these they are materially assisted by music; and the same powerful but pleasing instrument of exciting the infant mind, is used in various other forms in an Infant School, both for instruction and for amusement. Availing themselves of the curiosity which is so early and so strongly exhibited in infantine conduct, the teachers of Infant Schools endeavour to make the children acquainted with objects, and their uses and properties, before teaching them to read and write. For this purpose they use pictures and models - enter into conversation/

^{*}This form of spelling was common then.

conversation with the children - and give them short and familiar explanations of subjects as they occur - and thus excite the children to think and examine for themselves. Care is taken frequently to vary the lessons and the mode of teaching them, in order to prevent listlessness; and not merely to combine amusement with instruction, but to make instruction assume the garb of amusement. It has been found easy, by these means, to teach the alphabet to children of two years of age, and to enable children under six, to read the New Testament; and the elementary parts of arithmetic, natural history, and other important branches of education, are taught and fixed upon the infant minds before the period at which children are usually sent to school.

Important as these advantages are, they are not the only, nor in fact the chief benefits, derived from these Institutions. The moral training of the infant is a matter of paramount importance for the neglect of which no intellectual acquirements can compensate; and the chief advantage of Infant Schools consists in the moral training which they afford. Nothing can be better adapted to rear the young mind in good dispositions and proper conduct than the machinery of Infant Schools. They not only rescue the child from idleness and bad companions, but they counteract fretfulness, - control selfishness, - modify violent and passionate/

passionate tempers,- promote a disposition to learn,- furnish the children with useful employment - and inculcate habits of cheerful and ready obedience. At the same time, the children are kept constantly in good humour, - no appearance of restraint exists,- and the instruction is conveyed in a manner so kind and agreeable, that so far from being reluctant to attend, children generally take the greatest pleasure in the school, and are not easily kept away from it.

These advantages ought to recommend Infant Schools to all classes of society. But it is not to the wealthier or middling classes who are able to procure a part of them at least by other means, so much as to the poorer class, that they are calculated to be most useful. Children from two to six years of age are found, by every day's experience, to be not too young to acquire bad habits if left to idleness and bad companionship; and the attention necessary to prevent such a result is frequently beyond the power of parents who have to gain the livelihood of their families by their industry. If not altogether beyond their power, the attention necessary to be devoted to that object is always a serious draw-back upon the time of the parent. The Infant School forms a safe receptacle and a protection from all such evils. Add to this, that with the poorer classes/

classes, the period allotted to the education of their children is too short to allow of any part of it being wasted in idleness. Much useful knowledge, it has been already stated, can be acquired before six years of age; and to children who have to devote themselves, at an early age, to laborious occupations, and who are to be, in this manner, prevented from acquiring a competent education, the amount of education to be obtained at Infant Schools must be a valuable object. At the same time, the unceasing and happy activity of the school forms an excellent preparation for the labours of practical industry.

It is intended, should it be found possible to institute an Infant School in Brechin, to defray the teacher's salary, and the current expenses of the school, chiefly by fees; but these will be kept low to make the school accessible to all. The proposed rates are three-halfpence per week for one child; threepence for two, and a penny more for every additional child from the same family. These are the only expenses to the parents, no school-books being required, except the New Testament for the more advanced classes. It is expected that these rates will nearly pay the current expenses. But in order to commence the Institution, a School-room fitted up with a gallery of seats, and furnished with lessons, figures, and other apparatus; and/

and a playground adjoining, supplied with swings and other means of play, are required. To furnish these, and a fund for guaranteeing the payment of the teacher's salary, a subscription will be required; and it is anxiously hoped that the public will contribute liberally towards the promotion of an object so interesting to all classes of the community and so important to the rising generation. In the meantime, a Public Meeting will be held in the Town Hall upon Wednesday, 29th. July current, at 12 o'clock Noon, for the purpose of adopting the measures necessary for the formation of the Institution, should it appear in the interval, that reasonable encouragement may be expected.

**

It is requested that this Prospectus be circulated among their neighbours by those to whom copies are delivered".

Brechin. July 10. 1835.

APPENDIX III.

(Handbill)

RULES AND REGULATIONS

to be observed by the

Parents of the Children admitted into the Wallace Infant
School. Dundee.

.....

"Infant Schools are intended for the reception of children from the age of two to six years, with a view of imbuing their opening minds with the knowledge of religions truth - of training them up in habits of obedience and good order, and of giving such elementary instruction as may prepare them for entering with advantage into parochial and other schools.

With the view of affording these advantages to the young, the School at Wallace has been established; and, that it may be properly conducted, the Committee have adopted the following Regulations.

Applications for admission to the school will be received the first Monday of every month, but not during the school hours. The name, age, and residence of the children, shall be inserted in a book kept in the school for/

¹ See Rusk, Training of Teachers, p.54.

for that purpose.

Each child shall pay twopence weekly, - which sum shall be paid on Monday morning.

Children labouring under any defective disease, or who have not been vaccinated, cannot be admitted.

The children must be sent to the school with their face, neck, and hands clean washed, their hair well combed, and cut short, and their clothes as clean and decent as possible. Each child is required to have a pocket-handkerchief.

Children will be admitted as soon as they can walk alone, but not above six years of age.

Parents and Visitors will be admitted every Wednesday, from 10 to 1 o'clock, to visit the school.

If a child be necessarily absent from school, intimation must be sent to the Teacher by the parents. If the child continue absent a week without any reason being assigned, such child shall be considered as having left the school.

Hours of attendance during November, December, and January, from ten to one, and from two to four o'clock. In October and February, from ten to one, and from two to half past four o'clock; and, during the other months, from ten to one, and from three to five o'clock.

Doors/

Doors open every morning, throughout the year, at half past nine o'clock, and all the children must be present before ten. In November, December and January, though the lessons be finished before half past three o'clock, yet the children shall not be required to leave the play-ground before four o'clock. In October and February, though the lessons may be finished before four o'clock, the children shall not be required to leave the play-ground before five o'clock. In other months, though the lessons be finished before five o'clock, yet the children shall not be required to leave the play-ground before six o'clock. One of the Teachers shall always superintend their manners in the play-ground. If parents wish it, any child may bring dinner, and remain within the premises during the stated intervals.

The Master shall every day open and close the school with prayer; and the Master and Mistress shall be specially enjoined, in the management of the school, to bring prominently before the little children the general principle of love to God, obedience to parents, the love of truth, and the keeping of the Sabbath; and in general, that, whilst all the exercises in and out of doors tend to strengthen/

strengthen and improve, that Scripture truths and sound moral principles be daily brought to bear upon the minds and consciences of the little children with a simplicity and affection suited to their tender years; - and, further, that all restraint or correction, which proper discipline requires, shall at all times be free from every species of violence."

At the end of the Rules for the Forfar Infant School¹ there is added the following note which is also found in the Regulations of the Brechin Infant School.³

"It has not been found necessary in Dundee and other towns for parents to carry their children to school, or to send persons with them. The children of the same neighbourhood usually go together in groups, conducted by the eldest of them; and no accidents have ever taken place."

27th. July, 1833.

¹ Correspondence Book of Brechin Infant School Society, No. 101. This is doubtless a copy of the handbill referred to by Rusk (Training of Teachers, p.54, Notes 25,26) of which no copy could be traced. ²Ibid No.95. ³Ibid. No.89.

In addition to the various references to Mr. Scott, we have found from a correspondent in a letter entitled "Infant Schools," (Montrose, Arbroath, and Brechin Review, 10th July, 1829) that Mr. Scott was a native of Montrose, and that "He is to be sent to Glasgow to be initiated into the novel method of teaching, (and who that knows his mild and affectionate disposition, and his bending mind to the infantile capacity, but must anticipate beneficent results from the Dundee Institution.)"

APPENDIX V.MEMORANDUM of RETURN made by BRECHIN INFANT
SCHOOL SOCIETY to GOVERNMENT.

Year ending 1st, August, 1864.

	£	s.	d.
<u>Income.</u> Balance in hand last year	30:	0:	7
Voluntary Contributions	18:	14:	0
School Pence	30:	0:	0
Other sources (Bank Interest)	0:	9:	6
	<u>£79:</u>	<u>4:</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Expenditure.</u>			
Salary of Teacher	£39:	0:	0
" " Assistant	15:	0:	0
Repairs	4:	4:	3½
Other Expenses	1:	9:	6
	<u>£59:</u>	<u>13:</u>	<u>9½</u>
Balance	£19:	10:	3½
Total cost per child.	0:	5:	10
Total number of children on the Books:			
Boys 97; Girls 106 -			203.
Present at ordinary attendance:			
Boys 85; Girls 85 -			170.
Dimensions of Schoolroom:			
Length/			

Length	Breadth	Height.
53 ft. 9.ins.	26 ft.	14 ft. 6 ins.

(Minute Book, (No.3) of Brechin Infant School
Society, pp.27-28)

APPENDIX. VI.

On Monday, 4 August, 1873, in terms of the Education (Scotland) Act 1872,* it was moved, seconded and unanimously resolved that the Directors and Trustees of the Brechin Infant School Society should transfer the "Buildings and grounds and the other property of the School to the School Board of the Burgh of Brechin". The School Board accepted the terms of the Directors and Trustees subject to the sanction of the Board of Education. At a meeting of the Board of Education on 4. September, 1873, the transference was sanctioned.

*The Education (Scotland) Act 1872.

"40. It shall be lawful for a school board to establish and maintain one or more infant schools for the instruction of children under seven years of age"

Minute Book, No. 3. of Brechin Infant School Society, pp.74-80: "Disposition by the Trustees of the Infant School Society, Brechin, in favour of the School Board of the Burgh of Brechin".

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2. Landward Session Records, beginning 3 March, 1644, ending 25 Dec. 1670.
3. Book of Charters.
4. Book of School Fees.

MSS. continued.

- 5. Papers relating to Little Brechin.
- 6. Account Books.
(The above records, 1-6, are deposited in the Session-House of Brechin Cathedral.)

Burgh Records of Brechin.

- 1. Minutes of Brechin Town Council: vol.i., 1672-1713; vol.ii. 1713-1759; vol.iii. 1759-1795; vol.iv. 1795-1822; vol.v. 1822-1835; vol.vi. 1835-1846; vol.vii. 1846-1864; vol.viii. 1864-1879.
- 2. Brechin Chartularies.
- 3. Various private papers belonging to the town of Brechin.
(Records 1-3 are deposited in the Town Clerk's Office.)

Presbytery Records.

- 1. Register of the Presbytery of Brechin. 1639-1661.
- 2. 1662-1681.
- 3. 1681-1688.
- 4. The Records of the United Presbyteries within the Province of Angus and Merns. 1691-1698.
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- 6. Scroll Minutes. 1701-1702.
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- 8. The Records of the Presbytery of Brechin. 1706-1710.
- 9. The Register of the Proceedings of the Presbytery of Brechin. 1710-1717.
- 10. The Register of the Actings and Proceedings of the Presbytery of Brechin. 1717-1721.
- 11. 1721-1729.
- 12. 1729-1738.
- 13. 1738-1749.
- 14. 1749-1771.
- 15. 1771-1803.
- 16. 1803-1829.
- 17. Register of the Actings and Proceedings of the Presbytery of Brechin. 1830-1841.

MSS. continued.

18. Register of the Actings and Proceedings of the Presbytery of Brechin. 1841-1855.
 19. Record of the Presbytery of Brechin. 1856-1865.
 20. 1865-1875.

(The above records, 1-20, were transferred from the East Parish Church, Brechin, to Edinburgh in 1929.)

Miscellaneous Ecclesiastical Documents. Returns by Parish Ministers to S.P.C.K., 1755. No. 190 -- Forfar Presbytery: Rescobie, Cortachie, Inverarity, Tannadice, Glammis, Kinnettles, Forfar, Dunnichen, Aberlemno, Oathlaw, Kirriemuir.

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Minute Book of the Managers of the Associate Congregation of Brechin, founded 7 Feb., 1764. (This is not the original book which seems to have gone astray, but the contents appear to have been extracted from the original records which were probably scroll books in bad repair; hence the copy to preserve the record.)

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Minute Book of the Deacons' Court of the East Free, formerly the New Church of Brechin, beginning 26 Aug. 1844, ending 28 Nov. 1866.

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