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TEACHER PREPARATION IN SCOTLAND, 1872-1920

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ABSTRACT:

This chapter examines the inauguration of the university study of Education in Scotland and its relation to teacher education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The chapter outlines moves to establish Education as a disciplinary field in higher education and the junctures at which this movement aligns with and is in tension with concurrent moves to advance teaching as a profession. Academisation and professionalisation are the twin poles of this debate. This is not a parochial or obsolete debate. The place of teacher preparation in higher education has been the focus of sustained discussion across Anglophone nations. Three examples – the inauguration of chairs and lectureships, the governance of teacher education, and deliberation on the content and purpose of a degree in Education - are used to help explain the apparent paradox between the historic place of education in Scottish culture and identity, and the relatively recent full involvement of Scotland's universities in the professional preparation of teachers. Investigating the activities of the first academic community of educationists in Scotland may help to understand continuing struggles over jurisdiction and authority in this contested and yet neglected field.

KEYWORDS:

1. Universitisation
2. Academisation
3. Professionalisation

Introduction

This chapter explores the inauguration of the university study of education in Scotland and its relation to teacher education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The term 'universitisation' refers to the movement of teacher education from monotechnic teachers' colleges to universities. Full universitisation did not take place in Scotland until the late 1990s and has been subject to reversal elsewhere in the UK. In the account presented here, attention extends beyond 'Acts and facts' to the moves through which interests were mobilised and temporary settlements achieved. Thus, universitisation is not approached as the inevitable outcome of a 'march of progress' but the result of purposive activity of educationists competing to make space for their work vis-à-vis other interests. Three illustrative cases are used to animate the politics of educational change. The first of these considers efforts to establish chairs of education in Scotland's ancient universities. The second addresses prospects for collaboration in the publicly funded national system of education between local government (Provincial Committees), the Scottish Education Department (SED) and the universities following the creation of Provincial Committees in the university seats of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St Andrews in 1905. The final case revisits debate around the aims and content of university awards for intending teachers (Literate in Arts, 1883; Edinburgh Diploma, 1886; *Baccalaureus Paedagogiae*, 1917).

The parameters of this enquiry preclude adequate attention to less visible but important issues of gender, social class, region and denomination. Attention is directed principally to the university connection. Uncertificated teachers, women teachers and elementary schoolteachers are under-represented.¹ The range of primary and secondary sources consulted includes the records of University Court and Senate, and the University Calendar and graduate rolls held by the archives and Special Collections of the universities of Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St Andrews. The correspondence of John Miller Dow Meiklejohn was accessed at St Andrews and the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Matters of governance were examined using the records of the National and Provincial Committees for the Training of Teachers held by Strathclyde University Special Collections. Correspondence of the Scottish Education Department was consulted at the National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh. The publications of the Educational Institute of Scotland were consulted at the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. It is acknowledged that the retention of the above records forms part of a process of institutionalisation that renders some aspects more visible than others.

The founding of chairs in Education

James Pillans, Professor of Humanity University of Edinburgh, was an early advocate of university involvement in teacher preparation in Scotland. Pillans sought to position Scotland within a broader Western European movement to professionalise teaching and to institutionalise and academise the study of Education. From 1834 Pillans petitioned for the creation of seminaries for teachers and lectureships in didactics at the four Scottish universities - Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and St Andrews - and the institution of a chair in Education at Edinburgh University. Pillans (1834:500) claimed 'the institution of seminaries for teachers is not only an indispensable accompaniment, but a preliminary condition, in any attempt that may be made to introduce a system of National Education.'²

Following the Education (Scotland) Act 1872, Simon Somerville Laurie, a former assistant to Pillans, was quick to see new opportunities for university involvement in training teachers for the national system of elementary education.³ Laurie's evidence to the 1872 Endowed Schools (Colebrook) Commission contained a strategy to combine university and denominational training college instruction.⁴ This ambition that was not without challenge. Any lowering of university entrance

standards to accommodate training college students would be contentious. The four universities had limited collective capacity to meet the demand for trained teachers across a national system, and many school boards preferred to staff elementary schools through the pupil-teacher system, including Edinburgh. In September 1872 Laurie wrote to Principal John Campbell Shairp of United College St Andrews to propose that the Education Committee of the Church of Scotland establish a normal school at St Andrews to teach extra-university subjects.⁵ In 1873 Shairp petitions Francis Sandford, Secretary of State for Education, and Lyon Playfair MP⁶ to request full consideration of the interests of Scotland's universities in regulations for the examination of schoolmasters.⁷ Playfair had proposed a scheme for a teachers' diploma as the 1870 Education Bill was being shaped.⁸ Principal Shairp unites with Principal Tulloch (St Mary's College, St Andrews) to travel to London to press their case. Following a series of deputations to Westminster, agreement was reached in 1876 to found inaugural Education chairs in both Edinburgh and St Andrews.⁹

The first chairs were made possible by modest endowments from the bequest of the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell. The Bell bequest had served to support the establishment of elementary schools in Scotland. When this need was overtaken by the 1872 Act a sum of £120,000 was redirected to twelve endowments of £10,000; one of which was allotted to the founding of a chair.¹⁰ Bell had bequeathed funds to the University of Edinburgh to support an occasional lectureship on his system of instruction (the Madras or monitorial system), and the trustees now sought to secure a chair.¹¹ A successful case was also made for St Andrews. Bell was born in the town and had attended United College. Following the 1843 Disruption, there were at least two denominational Training Colleges (United Free Church and Established Church of Scotland) in Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow but no similar provision had been made for the St Andrews-Dundee region.¹² The decision to further divide the £10,000 endowment- £6,000 was awarded to Edinburgh and £4,000 to St Andrews - was to have lengthy and deleterious consequences for the status and security of the first chairs in Education.

Deliberation on the role of a chair in Education at St Andrews is recorded in correspondence between John Cooke acting on behalf of the Bell Trustees and Principal Shairp between 1874 and 1876.¹³ The trustees sought a course of instruction in the 'Theory, History and Practice of Education, including the best methods of school organisation and instruction'. The trustees are clear that the proposed Chair should have the 'opportunity of giving practical instruction to his students in the art of teaching and school management'. As a condition of the endowment the trustees held the right to nominate the first chair at both universities. Control was to pass to the Crown when an anticipated supplementary endowment from Parliament was made, and to the University Court thereafter. Simon Somerville Laurie was appointed the first Chair of Education at the University of Edinburgh and held the post – for which he had long lobbied - until his retirement in 1903.¹⁴ The first professor of Education at St. Andrews was John Miller Dow Meiklejohn, who held the post until his death in 1902.

In a lecture at the Bloomsbury-based College of Preceptors in April 1872, Meiklejohn had made a case for a university course of training. He argued for a code of professional conduct, a career structure that encouraged lifelong learning, and the development of a defensible professional knowledge base.¹⁵ He was steadfast in his conviction that whilst teaching provided preparation for all professions, it was not yet a profession in terms of its own knowledge base and scientific method. In his inaugural address he spoke approvingly of German education, especially Froebel, the New Education Fellowship, children's gardens and the importance of play. He interpreted the mission of the inaugural Chair as the liberal cultivation of the teacher. In a period of increasing regulation of teachers' work in the publicly funded elementary schools, he sought 'to prevent a noble occupation from sinking into a monotonous round of dreary labour' (Meiklejohn 1876, cited in Gordon, 1980:42).¹⁶

It was a further seventeen years before the chairs founded at St Andrews and Edinburgh were followed by the first university lecturers in Education at Aberdeen and Glasgow. Joseph Ogilvie was appointed on a part-time basis in Aberdeen University in 1893, and David Ross at the University of Glasgow in 1894 (see Appendix 1). Ogilvie was formerly the Rector of the Church of Scotland Training College in Aberdeen. Ross was Principal of the Church of Scotland Training College, Glasgow. The institution of a 'Paideutic Chair' was fiercely opposed in Glasgow. The first chair in Education, held by Stanley Nisbet, was not established until 1951. The first chair in Education at Aberdeen University was John Nisbet, his brother, appointed in 1963.

The Universities have nothing to do with teachers save to give them, as citizens who seek it, higher instruction, to ascertain that they are thoroughly educated and so qualified for a degree, and thereby fit to enter on teaching as on any other profession. Method in theory, and above all in practice, no university can teach...Experience under an experienced teacher is the best preparation. (John Young, President of the Educational Institute of Scotland, 1893:5) ¹⁷

The meagre endowment and unsecured government grant, combined with ambiguity over the status of education as a university subject placed the Bell chair at St Andrews in an inauspicious position. Meiklejohn had no dedicated rooms for most of his twenty-six year tenure. Despite petitioning for a classroom in the upper storey of Divinity College, fitted to accommodate forty students as part lecture room and part model secondary school room, no dedicated teaching spaces were allocated until 1897.¹⁸ Meiklejohn often had to seek classroom accommodation in the East wing of St Salvator College.¹⁹ As Knox (1950:35) notes, for twenty years 'The professor had either to obtain the loan of a classroom or lecture in his own house (which he frequently did)'.²⁰

Difficulties in securing an adequate salary for Meiklejohn are a constant theme of his long tenure. In January 1877 a deputation to London comprised of Meiklejohn, Playfair and Shairp was formed to 'wait upon the Government and urge the propriety of carrying out their former promise of granting a sum of £200 per annum towards the better endowment of the chair of Education.'²¹ Recommendation 49 of the Scottish Universities Commission of 1878 stated that professorial salaries should be set at a minimum standard of £600 per annum. However, the Commission failed to make any special recommendation in favour of the Chair of Education at St Andrews.²² Meiklejohn initially received £160 per annum rising to £350 per annum. That Meiklejohn grew increasingly bitter is evidenced in correspondence with his publishers and a series of personal petitions to H.H. Asquith, then Liberal MP for East Fife.²³

There has been so much talk in Scotland about Education that one might have believed there an earnest attempt at explanation, consideration of the processes called educational would have been encouraged. But something worse than nothing has been done. There are no funds for books, for a museum, for apparatus; there are no funds for keeping the "professor" in existence. He is a symbol and no more. The tragic farce has been enacted of availing him to consider the subject of the education of the country in the intervals of starvation. (Letter from Meiklejohn n.d. Proposals for the endowment of chair in education. Handwritten letters, 1874-1888)²⁴

In a successful application to the Bell Trustees for temporary additional funds in 1878, Professor Knight, chair in Moral Philosophy, stressed that:

In order to maintain this position he [Meiklejohn] has at present to do work of many kinds quite alien to the purposes of the chair; and to be frequently and for long periods absent from St. Andrews, to the loss of his students and to the injury of the educational interests of the university.²⁵

Throughout his employment at St Andrews, Meiklejohn supplemented his income as a prolific writer and later publisher of school textbooks (Graves, 2008). Despite the focus on practical instruction emphasised by the Bell trustees, Meiklejohn maintained only modest classes for university men. The location of training work in Madras College and burgh schools meant that the work of the professor was not focused on practical training or certification.

The establishment of the first chairs in education at Scottish Universities is often used as a marker of difference with close neighbours. These celebrations neglect the struggle towards inauguration and the difficulties encountered throughout tenure. The inaugural chairs of 1876 sought to expand their sphere of influence in a competitive field. They worked with advocacy groups that represented the interests of the churches, organised teachers and women students. They worked against the scepticism of colleagues and negotiated intra-faculty schisms that sought to marginalise the new academics. The encroachment of professional education was resisted by Arts faculties who feared loss of income. Failure to secure adequate resource severely hindered the establishment of Education as a field of university study at St Andrews. Eventually the chair was transferred to Dundee and education was permanently withdrawn from the University Calendar. In contrast, Laurie benefited from a degree of insulation afforded by the networks to which he belonged and the expansion of private secondary schools in Edinburgh²⁶. Laurie's successor as Bell chair, Alexander Darroch, sought to secure a lasting future by reinforcing the academic credibility of education as an emerging 'science', as well as an art. In addition, the development of a national system of elementary school education advanced a training agenda that increased the level of control exerted over the professional field by government. Writing in his later years, Laurie (1892:210-11) criticised the teacher seminary (established in denominational colleges) as an institution 'that limits its scope by the horizon of examination papers imposed by outside authority, and subordinates everything to a practical aim'.²⁷ In 1905, the training of teachers became the responsibility of the Scottish Education Department (SED).

Governance of teacher education

The 1905 Regulations for the Training of Teachers established four Provincial Committees to coordinate the work of the new regional Training Centres (TCs). The Provincial Committees replaced both the church colleges and the university Local Committees. The reforms, which set the pattern of teacher training for the next sixty years, were intended to raise the educational quality of college students and the professional competence of graduates (Cruickshank, 1970). A continuing role for universities was implied in the location of the Provincial Committees in university centres (even though St Andrews was removed from major population centres). TCs were to concentrate on content that universities could not provide and there was some encouragement for university faculties of education. The universities were cautious in assuming increased responsibility for practical training under the auspices of the Provincial Committees and the SED. The example below draws on correspondence between the SED and the Aberdeen Provincial Committee to illustrate, in the case of one particular region, points of contestation in the case for university involvement in teacher education in the early twentieth century.

Between 1907 and 1908 the Aberdeen Provincial Committee, in consultation with the formidable Sir John Struthers (Secretary of the Scottish Education Department, 1904-21), gave consideration to the University providing the academic and professional elements of teacher education. The Training

Centres would attend to purely practical instruction and the organisation of teaching practice. A sub-committee for Curricula for Professional Courses was established with Robert Sellar as convenor. Sellar was a local manufacturer of agricultural implements and chair of the Gordon Schools Board. It was suggested that both parties would gain from an agreement on joint provision. The University would benefit from an increase in student numbers, income, and possibly new buildings. The Training Centre would benefit from closer association with the university and its academic climate. Correspondence between Sellar and Struthers between 30 April 1907 and 19 March 1908 records deliberation from the perspective of individuals within the emerging education state.²⁸

Principal points of contention surrounded control over the appointment (and payment) of staff, the curriculum and inspection of university courses. Sellar portrays the University as essentially motivated by pecuniary gain and unwilling to relinquish any control in an uneven partnership. In a letter to Struthers (27 May 1907) following a meeting with Professor Matthew Hay, Forensic Medicine, Sellar reports: 'The plain fact of the matter is, his object seems to be to screw as much money out of us as possible but we shall have to guard against this'. The proposed involvement of the Provincial Committee, through the Director of Studies of the Training Centre, in the approval of assistants teaching on university courses for teachers was fiercely resisted. The nomination of assistants was traditionally the prerogative of professors, with the approval of the University Court. A compromise of a joint appointment committee on behalf of the Court and Provisional Committee was also rejected. The suggested involvement of HM Inspectors of schools in the review of university courses approved by Senate, as required by the Training Regulations, was particularly unwelcome. Whilst the role of the inspectorate was positioned as 'advisory' only, Sellar reports to Struthers, 'They seem to think that it would be practically the sending down of an inspector to examine their teaching. He would "hector" the professors, find fault with them and publish their faults broadcast over Scotland' (8 June 1907). Correspondence records Sellar's growing disaffection with the university offer and his concern over ceding too much control to an unaccountable university authority. Sellars meets the suggestion in a draft Heads of Agreement between the University Court and the Aberdeen Provisional Committee for a University Teaching Committee to hold responsibility for courses and administration with antipathy.

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The Committee might be ruled by the University, at any rate the University will attempt to rule it, and in that case it would have the power of spending money without any responsibility as to the providing of it. (Letter from Sellar to Struthers, 19 June 1907)

In continuing correspondence Sellar reports that George Smith, Director of Studies and fellow member of the Aberdeen Provincial Committee, 'seems to be strongly of the opinion that once we get our feet into the University that we should be strong enough to compel them to do practically what we wanted' (letter to Struthers, 17 July 1907). Sellar takes a different stance:

I have a strong feeling that the Provincial Committee would stand in danger of being swallowed up by the University and losing its individuality. It might degenerate into a body whose principal duty was simply to 'nag' at the University for improvement or alteration. (Letter from Sellar to Struthers, 20 July 1907)

Increasingly fractious negotiations eventually lead Struthers to conclusively reject further collaboration. Numerous grounds are presented for not pursuing an enhanced role for the university. Costs would exceed existing college provision. The control of the Education Authority and Provincial Committee would be eroded. The 'uncontrolled discretion' of a university committee would not be

acceptable to the Public Accounts Committee. The SED insisted that it must retain rights over inspection.

The truth is that the professors as a body walled up in their impenetrable fortress of academic seclusion are like the Bourbons. They have learned nothing by experience and can forget nothing - of their privileges [...] in short, if we are to get a broader conception of education instilled among the teachers of the north east of Scotland – a much needed reform – the University is the last agency in the world through which we are likely to obtain it. (Letter from Struthers to Hay, 24 July 1907).

In the event, the university was conciliatory in defeat and negotiated a revised arrangement that involved a modest exchange of staff (in the areas of English and Modern Languages) between the Training Centre and the University, and no fees. It was agreed that the work of assistants at the Training Centre – i.e. not ‘university classes’ leading to a degree - would be under the control of the Provincial Committee and would be subject to inspection.

Although university faculty had representation on the four Provincial Committees, from 1905 their influence was severely curtailed with control concentrated in the hands of the Scottish Education Department. The surveillance exerted by government over the minutiae of teacher education is recorded with some disdain in the personal papers of the university men involved.

The universities have nothing to do with framing or carrying out regulations [...] even the committees are mere machines in the hands of the Department which has the entire control and superintendence of every action of the committee and of their methods of training, prescribing even the mode of hemming and stitching which has to be taught. (Principal Donaldson, University of St Andrews) ³⁰

The staff of the teacher training colleges (excluding the two remaining denominational/Catholic colleges) was regarded as a single workforce. From 1920, control over staffing was held by the powerful Central Executive Committee (CEC) of the National Committee for the Training of Teachers. The CEC met each month and had 15 members. The Committee comprised an Executive Officer, eight members drawn from the fifty-person National Committee, the chairs of each of the four existing Provisional Committees (St Andrews-Dundee, Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow), plus two teacher representatives. James Scotland, Principal of the Aberdeen College of Education, describes the Central Executive Committee as ‘a distant and uncomfortably powerful body’ with an ‘aura of aloofness’ and aged membership.³¹ Similarly, William Boyd, University of Glasgow, laments somewhat bitterly, ‘the executive was managed by a small clique who had everything arranged beforehand with me left out’ (p.320).³² William Inglis (1967:1003), reflecting on his experience as former Principal of Moray House, recalls a close and conservative network.

The members were endowed with an unusually high expectancy of life. One chairman terminated his period of service at over ninety years of age and was succeeded by a junior of eighty [...] The CEC became a club where old friendships were congenially renewed.³³

Between 1920 and 1959 the Provincial Committees were restricted to the day-to-day administration of initial teacher training and the provision of in-service courses. The Central Executive Committee

controlled finance, building, staffing, student numbers and types of courses, all subject to the approval of the ever-watchful SED.

*It was in many ways a curious body. The members of the CEC had immense power in the training of teachers in Scotland, based largely on their control over the finances of the colleges. Each college had to submit its estimates for approval, and even when that had been done, specific authority was required for the most trivial purchase. (It is possible to trace through the minutes of a provincial committee and the CEC the long and tortuous procedure required before a wheelbarrow was purchased for the college gardener) (Inglis 1967, *ibid*).³⁴*

Staffing (appointment, transfer between Training Colleges, remuneration, dismissal) and finance were strictly controlled. The Executive Officer advertised appointments and as Scotland notes, 'although applications were examined locally, the final decision rested in Edinburgh'.³⁵ Interviews for senior posts were conducted centrally. The Provincial Committees could make recommendations on staffing to the Central Executive Committee in order of preference (through 'leets') but local decisions were often over-ruled. For example, in December 1920 the post of lecturer in English in Aberdeen was filled by the applicant placed third by the Provincial Committee.³⁶ The Central Executive Committee approved any work outside college duties and could veto applications to work at universities.

In 1921 the CEC reviewed the curricula of all the colleges. The sub-committee charged with the review did not include any university or indeed college lecturers. Views were canvassed from Directors of Education, school inspectors (HMI), headteachers and the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS), plus a questionnaire to all recently qualified teachers. The findings carry a familiar refrain. The EIS again called for more intellectual content to elevate the profession. New teachers called for more teaching practice and changes to the college curriculum. Those who had recently left the colleges requested applied rather than pure psychology, and sought a reduction in the attention afforded to logic and ethics. The two-year diploma for primary schoolteachers' attracted most criticism. The programme was accused of being overloaded and superficial.³⁷

The example above shows how expansion of school education and attendant demands for a high volume of school teachers increased centralisation and eroded local influence. The establishment of committees and formal processes of consultation belie unequal partnerships dominated by the SED. Additional income from greater involvement in teacher education would not be sought at the cost of direct central control over curricula and appointments. Universities accustomed to academic self-government were protective of the degree of autonomy they enjoyed from central regulation.

University curricula and teacher education

The first academics, losing influence within the professional field to central authority, sought to consolidate hard won territory through specialist knowledge claims within the academy. The inaugural chairs consistently sought to advance a university award for intending teachers, and thus to secure education as a sustainable field of study. A schoolmaster's diploma for secondary school teachers was instituted in Edinburgh in 1886. The Universities (Scotland) Act 1889, Section 21, allowed for the inclusion of Education as a credit worthy (graduating) subject for the Ordinary MA degree. The universities exercised new powers to revise schemes of graduation in Arts. General and Special classes in Education begin to appear in the university calendar. Edinburgh Arts undergraduates could complete the schoolmasters diploma concurrently in their final undergraduate year, satisfying the practical elements within three months of graduation. Having secured a place within the undergraduate curriculum, the next move was to petition for a named degree in Education. The

following section reports intra- and inter-institutional debate on the content and purpose of a degree in Education.

Proposals for a possible Scottish degree in Education are reported in the *Educational News*, publication of the EIS, between December 1912 and July 1913.³⁸ Debate focused on whether to instigate a professional qualifying degree or an elective higher degree. The principal spokespersons in this public debate were William Boyd, lecturer in Education at Glasgow University, and James Drever and Alexander Darroch at the University of Edinburgh.³⁹ Beyond these individuals, the debate involved the General Council, Senate and Courts (governing bodies) of the respective universities. Throughout this period, the EIS - part professional association, part learned society - remained a vocal advocacy group with crosscutting membership. Beyond the university community, other stakeholders included the Training Colleges and the schools' inspectorate, Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMI). Deliberation was conducted under the panoptic gaze of the Scottish Education Department.

In a series of five articles in the *Educational News*, Boyd is bold in proposing an undergraduate professional degree along the lines of the already established Bachelor of Medicine (MB) (first awarded by Glasgow University in 1865), Bachelor of Law (BL) (first awarded 1874), and Bachelor of Science in Engineering (first awarded 1893). He notes that, 'commerce, brewing, mining, agriculture and engineering have all succeeded in making good their claims to university rank' (1912, p.1178). Counter proposals for an elective higher degree from Edinburgh and St Andrews are rejected as motivated by a desire to protect recruitment in Arts degrees, especially at the smaller university. Boyd presses for a three-year qualifying first degree and is reluctant to settle for less. He insists that deficiencies in preliminary education that had previously denied graduation for many teachers were now overcome. However, he acknowledges the need to convince prospective applicants that a degree in Education would possess the rigour and esteem associated with the Scottish MA.⁴⁰ In Boyd's scheme for a 'Bachelor of Education or Bachelor of Pedagogy' year one would entail language, science and didactics; year two psychology, history of education and didactics; and year three ethics, theory of education and experimental pedagogy⁴¹. Practical training would continue to be provided at the Training Centres under the direction of masters of method. Boyd points out that existing agriculture and engineering degrees involve 'outside training in practical elements' provided by 'extra-mural lecturers appointed by the University'.⁴² He is a strong advocate of self-government for the teaching profession.⁴³ The advancement of teacher-led enquiry is positioned as important in justifying claims to professional status. Boyd authored the draft Code of Conduct adopted by the Professional Etiquette Committee of the EIS that is reported in S.G. Hobson's (1920) text on syndicalism.

The Training Centre will never become living centres of pedagogical learning until they are set free to do their proper work in the spirit of the universities rather than of the Education Department. (Boyd, 1913:160)

In contrast to Boyd, Drever had ambitions for a prestigious graduate Faculty of Education at Edinburgh. In his 'plea for a postgraduate degree', Drever argues that students do not want to be diverted from the aim of a respected MA degree.⁴⁴ He maintains that an ordinary degree based on three years of study could not achieve parity of esteem with the MA, or successfully combine both general and professional education. Whilst Drever acknowledges that fewer candidates would seek a more prestigious postgraduate qualification, those who did so might secure posts of distinction. The operation of professional networks in a small country would enhance upward mobility. The model Faculty proposed by Drever sought individuals who aspired to become school leaders, administrators and specialists in the emergent fields of educational psychology, health and hygiene, and school administration. The graduate roll would supply the next generation of education lecturers and

researchers, securing the future of a nascent discipline. The aim here was not qualification to practise, but the education of an elite group for roles outside the classroom and the establishment of respected faculties of education offering advanced specialist courses. For Drever, the preparation of elementary schoolteachers was better conducted elsewhere.

Any degree in Education which was not a post-graduate degree could not help being a 'cheap' degree, a degree on the one hand unworthy of a great profession and on the other incapable of appealing to the universities of Scotland. (Drever, 1913:254)

Alexander Darroch's proposal for a degree in Education proceeds from a critical review of the earlier submissions of Boyd and Drever.⁴⁵ Darroch rejects Drever's call for the removal of education from the degree of Arts and for specialisation at postgraduate level. He rejects any strategy where, 'The ultimate aim is not the education and training of teachers, but the training of the expert in educational theory' (1913, p. 626). He goes on to suggest that few Scottish students could support the length of training required for the MA plus a postgraduate diploma/degree in Education. Graduation would require six or seven years attendance at university classes. Moreover, a postgraduate pathway would present the 'difficulty of finding suitable employment in the future for such experts' (ibid p.626). Equally, Darroch dismisses Boyd's call to revive the three-year Bachelor's degree to include professional training. Instead, Darroch proposed to combine professional and general education in a four-year first degree. His scheme sought to create a possible continuum for teachers' learning that would stretch from first degree through to doctoral level. In Darroch's scheme, the role of the Training Colleges would be restricted to responsibility for practical training in schools (2-3 hours per week). Darroch's proposals were influenced by the work of Teachers College, Columbia University, which was influential in a developing trans-Atlantic education network (Lawn, 2008).⁴⁶

The establishment of a four years combined university and Training College course leading to the degree of MA (or BSc) (with the Diploma of Education). Candidates who obtain the Diploma of Education to be eligible by at least one year's further study, for the degree of Bachelor of Education; which may be followed afterwards by the DPhil (Education) on the presentation and approval of a Thesis. (Darroch, 1913:627)

Within Darroch's four-year university course of study, general education was the focus of the first two years and professional education the last two years. The curriculum for year one included Latin and French; year two addressed English, History, Logic or Moral Philosophy. The focus in year three shifted to Psychology and History of Education; and year four targeted Principles of Education. Darroch suggested the development of an elective fifth year advanced course in Psychology and Education. This course would combine experimental psychology and observation in schools, with the support of local Training Colleges.

Darroch's proposal offered a third way between Boyd's vision for universal university entry to the teaching profession, and Drever's bid to create a new class of educational administrators and experts in the emerging science of education. Darroch's scheme offered a pathway for progression that might reconcile demand for large numbers of teachers, high turnover and shortages in some areas, with the ambitions of (male) secondary school teachers for higher academic status and the occupational rewards that derive from specialisation. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the developing science of education and allied fields of public administration were creating new opportunities for enterprising researchers and practitioners alike.

The debate on a degree in Education that was played out in the educational press in Scotland between 1912 and 1913 moves into formal deliberation within university structures from 1915, and is most active between 1916 and 1917. Inter-institutional and inter-faculty rivalry are evident. A settlement was achieved on a two-stage EdB/BEd degree - a second first degree for graduate teachers taken over not less than two years. Before commencing study for the EdB students needed to complete a first degree in Arts or Science and a course of Professional Training at a recognised Training Centre or College or not less than three years teaching experience. The two stages included a First (or Diploma) Stage and a Second (or Honours) Stage. The standard of the first examination corresponded to that of the special examination for the Ordinary Degree of Master of Arts. The Standards of the Final or (Honours) stage corresponded to that of the examination for subjects of the Honours Group for the degree of Master of Arts with Honours at the University. In October 1915, the Secretary of Edinburgh University Court distributed copies of Ordinance No. 16 (Institution of a Degree in the Theory, History and Practice of Education and relative Regulations) to the Scottish University Courts. In 1917, Darroch guided the institution of the Edinburgh Bachelor of Education (BEd).⁴⁷ In contrast to Glasgow and Aberdeen (both still without chairs), stage two of the Edinburgh BEd involved one year of full-time study – a move that supported Drever’s call for specialisation and extended the award beyond a ‘teacher’s degree’. Five or six graduates each year were awarded the distinctive Edinburgh BEd.

At the University of Glasgow the EdB degree was opposed by Senate (comprised of the Principal and professors of the university) but carried by the wider University Court (including members appointed from the General Council and Senate) in 1916. Responding to *Ordinance No.16 Regulations for Degrees in Education*, Senate minutes record somewhat tersely, ‘an adequate course of University study of Physiology and Hygiene should form part of the first stage of the professional curriculum for the Degree of EdB. That the Senate, while offering this suggestion, are not convinced that a separate degree in Education is necessary’.⁴⁸ Despite objection from the faculties, two days later a Draft Ordinance was remitted for consideration.⁴⁹ The final Ordinance was revised to include physiology and hygiene as one of four core courses in the Diploma stage. On 14 December a revised copy of the Ordinance was placed before Court/Senate and again in the face of opposition was approved. Copies of the Ordinance were laid before Parliament on 7 February 1917.⁵⁰ Court minutes record receipt of a letter from the Clerk of the Privy Council approving Ordinance No. 53 (Glasgow No. 16 Regulations for Degrees in Education) in May 1917. The first graduate awarded the EdB at Glasgow, George Jeffrey Aitken, received the degree with first class honours on 18 November 1922.⁵¹ Between 1922 and 1939, 82 graduates were awarded the Glasgow EdB. From a modest start of two or three graduates each year through the 1920s, the annual completion rate increases to 18 graduations in 1939. The achievements of William Boyd in leading these developments have only recently begun to be acknowledged (Brett et al., 2010).⁵²

Whilst St Andrews similarly instigated a degree pathway in Education in 1919 the route to the full degree remained dormant for decades. Initial progress was encouraging. On 10 November 1917 a draft ordinance for a Degree in Education, *Baccalaureus Paedagogiae*, was presented to Senate. On 12 March 1918 Ordinance No. 12 from St Andrews (institution of a Degree in Education, etc.) was shared with the Scottish University Courts. The Bachelor of Education (EdB) in the Faculty of Arts was established for the session 1919-20.⁵³ However, the courses for the second stage of the degree were not instituted until February 1949 and so students at St Andrews were limited to the award of University Diploma in Education until 1950.⁵⁴ Six teachers were awarded the University of St Andrews EdB and 49 were awarded Diplomas in Education at the graduation ceremony of 30th June 1950.

At the University of Aberdeen, proposals were submitted in support of both an undergraduate and postgraduate degree. Where the General Council of the University supported a postgraduate route,

the Board of Studies of Philosophy advanced papers in support of an undergraduate degree within their remit.⁵⁵ The latter met with disapprobation from the General Council on the following counts.

*i. It is viewed with disfavour by the leading Scottish Educational Bodies – the Educational Institute and the Secondary Education Association – which concur in asking for a post-graduate degree. ii. None of the other Scottish universities is moving in the direction of attempting to satisfy the demands of teachers by granting the MA degree with Honours in Education. iii. An Honours degree must be restricted to students of ability above the average and cannot be an object of ambition to the pass man. iv. From the teachers' point of view a very serious objection to the degree is that it does not connote the academic qualifications essential for those who aspire to teach in Secondary Schools.*⁵⁶

In response to objections the Faculties of Arts and Science drew attention to the proposals advanced by Boyd at the University Glasgow for granting honours in Education. Moreover it was suggested that an undergraduate degree did not preclude the concurrent development of postgraduate route for serving graduate teachers.⁵⁷ A rear guard attempt to expand education within the secure auspices of existing faculties was unsuccessful in the face of increasing popular pressure. In 1916 the Students' Representative Council joined the General Council and EIS in declaring in favour of the establishment of a postgraduate degree.⁵⁸ Agreement was reached in November 1916 on condition that an additional lecturer in education was provided, part of whose time would be spent with the Provincial Training Centre.⁵⁹

The creation of the new degree was associated with renewed calls in 1917 to establish a chair in Education at Aberdeen and to create a separate faculty of education. Such moves, 'would assist in raising the proposed degree or degrees in Education to status corresponding to that of other professional degrees in the University, for each of which a separate faculty exists'; and, perhaps rather ingenuously in regard to practical training, such a move would be 'in the interests of the teaching profession in Scotland, so large a number of which receive their training at the universities and especially in the University of Aberdeen'.⁶⁰ Whilst securing a postgraduate degree, further advance in the institutionalisation of Education as an area of university activity through a separate faculty would have to wait. The degree pathway at Aberdeen combined science and arts.⁶¹ Graduation records reveal very low participation rates. George William John Farquharson and George Murray Leys graduated in 1921, and Ian James Simpson in 1922.⁶² No further graduations appear until 1928 and only nine by 1937.

TABLE 1 HERE

In summary, recruitment to the first university courses in education was slow and not all programmes survived. Enrolments were restricted by university demands for full-time attendance (excluding serving teachers) and the requirement to hold an Honours degree (excluding primary school teachers). Boyd recalls how he started his first graduate course by convincing a single student to enrol.⁶³ The BEd/EdB programmes did not flourish until after the Second World War, when greater flexibility on entrance requirements and mode of attendance were introduced.⁶⁴ The first EdB programmes developed much more along the lines proposed by Drever, than the visions of either Darroch or Boyd. The first awards could not embed practical pedagogy within the university curriculum. Instruction in the practice of teaching was located elsewhere. The laboratory schools and Training Colleges did little to bridge the divide between the 'master of method' and the new university lecturers. Despite cross-

institutional mobility these remained divided territories. As a result, education as a field of study within universities was to remain divorced from the practices of learning to teach for many years.

Conclusion

This chapter examined moves in the institutionalisation and academisation of Education as a field of study in Scotland. The advance of educational scholarship was entangled with efforts to professionalise teaching. The proposed involvement of universities in the professional preparation of teachers was contentious. In reference to St Andrews, Knox (1950:34) observes, 'The proposal to provide professional instruction for teachers within the walls of a university, now an accepted practice, was then received with ridicule, not to say incredulity'. In a tribute to John Clarke, Herbert Grierson (1939:53), Professor of English at the University of Aberdeen, notes, 'pedagogics was regarded with considerable suspicion by the older fashioned among us and was rather unwillingly admitted into the curriculum.' Recalling the conferment of an LLD on his retirement, William Boyd at Glasgow notes the 'mean and petty and grudging' remarks of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Professor Browning.⁶⁵ Institutional traces within university archives reveal uneasy transitions, uneven progress and internecine struggles. Without recourse to disciplinary prestige and other forms of academic power, educationists faced considerable challenges in securing entry to the academic ecology.

From the outset, educationists with an active interest in teacher education needed to be persuasive political actors. They were embedded in multiple communities with numerous crosscutting affiliations. They worked across ecclesiastical, sectoral, institutional and political boundaries. In the late nineteenth century the churches had an established interest as providers of teacher education through denominational colleges.⁶⁶ The involvement of universities in teacher training was enmeshed in debates around clerical influence in the newly formed national system of schooling. Churchmen in Glasgow resisted the creation of chairs fearing the erosion of ecclesiastical influence on the school curriculum (Bell, 1990). Equally, the emergent education state was protective of its growing jurisdiction over the organisation of education.

The first educationists needed to work with male dominated teacher associations and promote the cause of women's higher education to which the future development of Education as university subject was aligned. It was not until the Scottish Universities Commissioners Ordinance of 1892 that universities were permitted to make provision for the instruction and graduation of women. University faculty - protective of their own domain and fragile resource - disputed the status of education as a university subject and the place of professional education within a liberal curriculum. Unsurprisingly efforts to strengthen the university connection were most marked at opportunities for pecuniary gain. Advocates needed to assuage internal factions and mobilise support to press the case with a London-based Education Department.⁶⁷ As state control over education developed and the churches transferred colleges to government control, teacher education was struggled over between University Courts, Provincial Committees and a Scottish Education Department keen to maintain strict control over the supply (if not the quality) of teachers for the nation's schools.

The universities and their faculty did not all embrace teacher education with the enthusiasm of the representatives of teachers or the school inspectorate. The achievements of the chairs in St Andrews and Edinburgh were precarious. The Diploma for schoolmasters instituted at Edinburgh in 1886 provided a tentative footing. Despite initially low levels of recruitment, the Diploma provided a foundation from which to build a degree. Popular opinion was mobilised through a public debate in the education press. Divisions were exposed between educationists pressing for specialisation in research and educational administration; and those seeking to raise the general and professional education of all intending teachers. The wider General Councils (including secondary schoolmaster

alumni) urged for professionalisation through the most expedient route. A higher status award (postgraduate in time) that was professionally-oriented was more likely to yield the social recognition they sought.

A degree in Education challenged the previous dominance of philosophy. This academic anti-elitism was advanced by the elite of the teaching profession. The Educational Institute of Scotland was male dominated and represented the interests of graduate teachers working in higher grade schools and the education establishment – HMI, university faculty and local administrators. The EIS did not have a strong record of lobbying to advance the interests of elementary school teachers, women teachers or Catholic teachers.

In 2011 the university basis of teacher education was proudly reaffirmed in a government commissioned review, *Teaching Scotland's Future* (Donaldson, 2011). However, as shown above, initial teacher education (ITE) was notably absent from university activity for the greater part of the twentieth century. On the centenary of the Bell chairs in 1976 there were only four chairs in Education in Scotland's universities (Bell, 1983:152). Between 1920 and the late 1990s (with the exception of Stirling University established in 1967) ITE was the responsibility of monotechnic colleges. Over the past century battle lines have been drawn and re-drawn in regard to: (i) the relative autonomy of higher education institutions from external authority; (ii) inter-institutional and inter-sectoral rivalry (between universities and colleges of education); and, (iii) occupational jurisdiction, including the relevance of different forms of knowledge to professional practice. The latter is encountered in recurrent fears of 'academicism' that fuel demands for a (re-)turn to the practical. A reflexive use of history is useful in approaching contemporary challenges. Significant recent developments include the introduction of successor qualifications that replaced the undergraduate BEd from 2014, the restructuring of university faculties (which place Schools of Education within Colleges of Social Science), and the performance of Education as a unit of assessment in the UK Research Excellence Framework, 2014 and 2020. In the first decades of the twenty-first century, education as a university subject in Scotland faces new and yet familiar trials of strength.

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Table 1 Curricula of the first degrees in Education in the Scottish Universities, 1917-1919

Edinburgh BEd	<p>Diploma stage:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Principles underlying educational theory and practice, including psychology; (2) History of education <p>The Honours stage of the Edinburgh BEd involved one year of full-time study, unlike the three other EdB programmes.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Modern Educational Systems and problems (2) Administration and Organisation of Primary and Secondary Schools (3) Advanced Psychology, including laboratory practice (4) Advanced Experimental Education
Glasgow EdB	<p>Four core courses in the Diploma stage:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) History and theory of education; (2) Principles of psychology with laboratory practice; (3) Educational methods; and (4) Physiology and hygiene. <p>The Honours stage included three courses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) the history and theory of education; (2) advanced study in Educational psychology with laboratory; and (3) Educational institutions and administration
St Andrews EdB	<p>The Diploma stage of the EdB involved three courses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) History and Theory of Education; (2) Principles of Psychology with laboratory Practice; and (3) Method i.e. administration and organisation of schools and arrangement of curricula and method of teaching special subjects. <p>The Honours stage:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) History and Theory of Education; (2) Experimental Psychology; (3) Educational Systems and Problems; and either (4) Experimental Education or Investigation (to be shown in a thesis) of Educational Problems, or (5) Methods of teaching of a subject or group of subjects.
Aberdeen EdB	<p>A broad curriculum included:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) biology with laboratory practice; (2) psychology with laboratory practice; (3) educational theory and the history of education; (4) modern educational systems and problems; and (5) experimental education.

Appendix 1: University faculty

University of Aberdeen

1893, Joseph Ogilvie (Principal of TC & part-time lecturer)

1907, John Clarke, MA (formerly Glasgow) (assisted by Norman Walker from 1923 & succeeded by him in 1925)

1921, William Wither McClelland MA, BSc BEd (additional lecturer/assistant to Clarke, later at St. Andrews-Dundee)

1925, Norman Walker (retires as Reader in Education in 1960).

University of Edinburgh

1876-1903, Simon Somerville Laurie (inaugural Bell Chair)

1903-24 Alexander Darroch (d.1924) (Chair of CEC from 1920 and Chair of Edinburgh Provincial Committee)

1925-51, Godfrey H. Thomson

University of Glasgow

1894, David Ross MA, BSc, LLD (Principal of TC, lecturer)

1899, John Adams, MA, BSc (Rector of Aberdeen TC 1890, President EIS, 1896, Professor of Education, University of London and Principal of the London Day Training College from 1902)

1902, John Clarke, MA (moves to Aberdeen)

1907, William Boyd, MA, BSc, DPhil (lecturer then Reader in Education until 1946, President of Glasgow EIS, 1916-18, convenor of EIS Research Committee 1919, EIS President 1921, part-time lecturer at Jordanhill until 1923, succeeded by R.R. Rusk)

University of St Andrews

1876, John Miller Dow Meiklejohn (inaugural Bell Chair)

1902, John Edgar (d.1922) (Former head of the Royal High School Edinburgh)

1907 The Training Centres at Dundee under James Malloch and St Andrews under John Edgar merge and James Malloch is appointed Director of Studies, 1907-1920)

1922-23, Robert R Rusk (before leaving for Jordanhill, Head of Scottish Council for Research in Education (SCRE) 1928-1958).

1923/4, chair suspended

1924/25, chair suspended

1925, William Wither McClelland (Joint chair and Director of Studies, later Executive Officer of the CEC 1941-59)

¹ The position of women school teachers in Scotland is addressed by Helen Corr, *Changes in Educational Policies in Britain, 1800-1920: How Gender Inequalities Reshaped the Teaching Profession*, Lampeter: Edwin Mellen. Jane McDermid, 'Catholic Women Teachers and Scottish Education in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *History of Education*, 38, 5 (2009) 605–620.

² James Pillans, 'Seminaries for teachers' *Edinburgh Review*, volume 59, 120, July (1834), pp. 486-502. (Strathclyde University Special Collections, GNS/9/1).

³ Laurie was Secretary to the Education Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (which he held from 1855-1905). He also held responsibility for the inspection of Dick bequest schools in the northeast of Scotland (Aberdeen, Banff and Moray) between 1856 and 1907.

⁴ PP 1873 XXVII, First report of the Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire into the endowed schools and Hospitals (Scotland), 75.

⁵ St Andrews University Minutes of Senatus, new series, volume 1 (7 November 1868-23 March 1876), p.202, 14 December 1872.

⁶ Lyon Playfair (1873) 'Universities in their relation to Professional Education'. Address to St Andrews Graduates' Association, 8 February 1873. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. Playfair was Liberal Member of Parliament for the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, 1868-1885.

⁷ Sandford was Secretary of the Education Department, 1870-1884. He who also held the post of Secretary to the Committee of Council for Education in Scotland, 1873-1892.

⁸ St Andrews University Minutes of Senatus, new series, volume one (7 November 1868-23 March 1876), p.102, 21 December 1870.

⁹ St Andrews University Minutes of Senatus, new series, volume one (7 November 1868-23 March 1876), p.294, 2 May 1874.

¹⁰ Andrew Bell, *Mutual Tuition and Moral Discipline: or Manual of Instructions for conducting schools through the agency of the scholars themselves. For the Use of Schools and Families* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1823).

¹¹ The Earl of Leven and Melville, John Walter Cook Esquire, Writer to HM Signet, Lord Kenyon, the Justice Clerk of Scotland and Bishop Walker of Edinburgh.

¹² From late 1830s intending teachers had travelled to Church of Scotland colleges in Glasgow and Edinburgh. In the mid-nineteenth century men continued to travel to the Established Church institutions in Dundas Vale, Cowcaddens, Market Street or Moray House. Catholics had to travel outside Scotland. Laurie wanted both normal training and academic education. Men in the North of Scotland tended to go straight from university into teaching with no training at all.

¹³ Proposal for the endowment of Chair in Education (St Andrews University Special Collections, UYUY232/1/2a).

¹⁴ The first Chair of Education at an English University was established in Newcastle in 1895.

¹⁵ Meiklejohn. J.M.D. (1872) Education in Profundis. *The Educational Times*, volume XXIV, no. 134, pp.27-31.

¹⁶ Meiklejohn J.M.D. Inaugural Address, St Andrew's, 1876, in *The Study of Education. A Collection of Inaugural Lectures. Volume 1. Early and Modern* ed. by Peter Gordon (London: The Woburn Press, 1980) pp. 1-42 (p.42).

¹⁷ Young, J. 'The Relations of the Schools to the Universities'. Presidential Address to the Educational Institute of Scotland at Paisley, 5 January 1893 and at Edinburgh 16 September 1863 (John Lindsay: Edinburgh, 1893) p.5.

¹⁸ Letter from Meiklejohn to Principal Donaldson, 16th March 1890 (University of St Andrews Special Collections, MS 0883a)

¹⁹ 'J.M. Thomson's notes' (1956) Dundee University Archive, Dundee Training College, UYUY232/box1/2a Jubilee).

- ²⁰ H.M. Knox, 'The Chair of Education in the University of St. Andrews', *Alumnus Chronicle*, 33, January 1950, pp.34-38, p.35.
- ²¹ St Andrews University Minutes of Senatus, new series, volume two (April 8th 1876-December 12th 1885), p.53, January 13th 1877.
- ²² Royal Commission Report 1878, volume one, p.97.
- ²³ The letter books of Chambers (DEP 341/165) and Blackwoods (DEP 341/164), held by the National Library of Scotland, record Meiklejohn's entrepreneurial work in authoring and commissioning an extensive series of school books which he actively promotes for school board requisition through professional networks (Ms.4448 ff .148-185, April 1883). Meiklejohn establishes his own publishing company based in St Andrews, then London, with Alfred Holden in 1899. Papers relating to Professor J.M.D. Meiklejohn's claim on the Treasury for unpaid salary as Professor of the theory and practice of teaching at St Andrews, Feb-July 1895 (Bodleian Library, MS. Asquith 19, folder 3).
- ²⁴ Letter from Meiklejohn n.d Proposals for the endowment of chair in education. Handwritten letters, 1874-1888 (Library Special Collections, St Andrews University, UYUY232/box1/2a).
- ²⁵ St Andrews University Minutes of Senatus, new series, volume two (April 8th 1876-December 12th 1885), p.165, 14th December 1878.
- ²⁶ Laurie held the post of Secretary to the Education Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland between 1855-1905 and was an examiner for the Dick Bequest, which awarded grants to parochial schoolmasters, between 1856-1907. He achieved a degree of success in managing competing interests – Church, college and University, public and private providers – although frequently accused of poaching students.
- ²⁷ Laurie, S.S. (1892) *The Schoolmaster and University (Day) Training Colleges*. In *Teachers Guild Addresses and the Registration of Teachers*. London: Percival (pp.202-232).
- ²⁸ Training of Teachers: Aberdeen Provincial Committee. Proposed arrangement between APC and Aberdeen University concerning teacher training, 1907-1908 (National Archives of Scotland, file ED7/2/7).
- ²⁹ *Suggested Heads of Agreement between the University Court of the University of Aberdeen and the Aberdeen Provincial Committee for the Training of Teachers Regarding the Provision of Certain Courses of Instruction*, June 1907 (National Archives of Scotland, file ED7/2/7).
- ³⁰ Principal Donaldson, University of St Andrews and chair of the St Andrew's Committee cited by Marjorie Cruickshank (1970) p.146.
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- ³² William Boyd, Life Story 1874-1962. Unpublished autobiography (DC130, University of Glasgow archive).
- ³³ William B. Inglis, 'History of Training', *Times Educational Supplement*, 24 March 1967, p.1003.
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- ³⁶ Minutes of the Aberdeen Provincial Committee, 17 December 1902, p.45-46 (MSU 1421/4/1/1/1/14 Aberdeen University Special Collections)
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- ³⁸ The publication of the Educational Institute of Scotland, later renamed the *Scottish Education Journal*.
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- ⁴⁷ Edinburgh University Calendar, 1917-18, pp.199-203 (details of the 'Theory and History of Education' course'), pp.249-255 (regulations for the BEd and Diploma in Education), and pp.799-803 (the ordinance of the University Court re. the institution of a degree in the Theory, History and Practice of Education).
- ⁴⁸ Senate rejection of need for a degree on Education, Glasgow Senatus minutes, 7 November 1916, p.196 (GB 248 GUA SEN1/1/23 University of Glasgow archives).
- ⁴⁹ Glasgow University Court Minutes, 9 November 1916, p.14 (Glasgow University archives, GB 0248GUAC).
- ⁵⁰ 15 February 1917, p.47
- ⁵¹ University of Glasgow Schedules of Graduates in Music and Education, B.Mus and Ed.B. 1923-1946. Inserted addendum to records by DPH 15/6/16. Addition of typed entry for "George Jeffrey Aitken, MA. Ed.B. Record missing. See Graduation Album p.2, Awarded EdB degree with first class honours 18th November 1922 – the first Ed.B of this University"(University of Glasgow archives, R4/3/1)
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- ⁵³ St Andrews Senatus Academicus Minutes (1 October 1919-30 September 1919) Record UY452/29.
- ⁵⁴ Minutes of Senatus Academicus (1st October 1948- 30th September 1949), p.52, 4 February 1949. Record UY452/51.
- ⁵⁵ The General Council of the University of Aberdeen first proposes that the University alone or in cooperation should take steps "to promote advanced study and research in educational subjects among students who are preparing for the profession of teaching" in 1913 (Aberdeen University Court Minutes, 29 October 1913, p.346). A proposal from the General Council for a postgraduate degree in Education is recorded in the Court Minutes of 12 May 1914. A proposed undergraduate degree proposed by the Board of Studies in Philosophy is approved by Court and the Senatus and forwarded to the General Council for consideration, Court Minutes, 9 March 1915 (p.26).
- ⁵⁶ Aberdeen University Court Minutes, 11 May 1915 (p.40-41).
- ⁵⁷ Aberdeen University Court Minutes, 14 December 1915 (p.81).
- ⁵⁸ Aberdeen University Court Minutes, 11 January 1916 (p.94).
- ⁵⁹ Aberdeen University Court Minutes, 14 November 1916 (p.141)
- ⁶⁰ Aberdeen University Court Minutes, 13 March 1917 (p.168).
- ⁶¹ Aberdeen University Special Collections Record: MSU1421/4/1/1/1/13. Aberdeen Provincial Committee for the Training of Teachers. Minutes of Meetings March 1920-March 1921 (pp.14-15).
- ⁶² University of Aberdeen Roll of Graduates 1901-1925 With supplement 1860-1900 (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen Press, 1935)
- ⁶³ Mary Brown, an assistant at the Glasgow University settlement who had trained at Jordanhill. Brown did not complete the degree and Boyd helped her obtain a teaching post in Perthshire. He recalls that Mary's attendance in a side room of the Logic class helped in the preparation of the initial set of lecture notes for the course. William Boyd Life Story, p.246. (DC130 University of Glasgow Archives).

⁶⁴ Between 1918 and 1964 (when the EdB was renamed MEd in response to the introduction of an undergraduate BEd for primary school teachers delivered in the Scottish Colleges of Education), the total number of EdB graduates was as follows: Edinburgh 920 , Aberdeen 125, Glasgow 402 and St Andrews 56 ('Bachelor of Education' *Scottish Educational Journal*, 12 March 1965, p.277).

⁶⁵ The degree of LLD is conferred on retiring professors. Boyd was the first Reader to receive the award. William Boyd 'Life Story' Unpublished manuscript (DC130 University of Glasgow Archives) p.394.

⁶⁶ For a report on the Church of Scotland, Free Church and Episcopal training colleges see *Training colleges of Scotland. Reports and papers, 1890*. Vol. XXXI, 79p. [C. 6091].

⁶⁷ The Scotch Education Department was based in London until 1922. Dover House remained the official address until the headquarters of the SED formally relocated to St Andrew's House Edinburgh in 1939.