POTATO HARVESTING IN THE LOTHIANS 1870 TO 1995

Volume II

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Doctor of Philosophy

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1995
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APPENDIX 1: A HISTORY OF POTATO GROWING IN THE LOTHIANS

EARLY CULTIVATION

The cultivation of the potato in Scotland was first recorded in the late seventeenth century.¹ By the 1720s it was still confined to gardens of the upper classes and some of the noted agricultural improvers.² Generally believed to have been first cultivated as a field crop in 1739, by 1744 it was first reported in fields in Midlothian and in 1753 or 1754 in East Lothian; no date was reported for West Lothian.³ As throughout Scotland, field cultivation increased in the following years. By the 1790s when the Statistical Account of Scotland was compiled, the parish ministers report great variation in the extent of its field expansion throughout the Lothians.⁴ The greatest cultivation was found around villages and towns or within close proximity to settlements.⁵ In Midlothian some 1200 of the 1500 acres grown throughout the county were grown within six miles of Edinburgh, concentrated in parishes such as Cramond, Corstorphine, Colinton and Duddingston.⁶ If potatoes were grown within easy reach of a village or town, they could be easily cultivated on a large scale. As they were bulky to transport, and also a cheap foodstuff, they were thus near their place of sale, and so handling costs could be minimised, and the crop could be profitable to grow. Additionally, as potatoes required large quantities of manure they could only be cultivated on a large scale where there was an abundant supply. As farms could not always provide sufficient, a quantity had to be obtained from other sources. Where farms were situated
within close proximity to centres of population such as Edinburgh, stable manure and fulzie (street sweepings and refuse) could be obtained.7

Although the acreage under the potato crop continued to increase as a result of an expanding population, shortages of grain, and the growing importance of the potato in the diet, Sir John Sinclair did not think that the potato could be considered a farm crop in 1814 as it was still grown in limited quantities for home consumption.8 However, by the 1830s the potato was well established as a field crop in the Lothians and lowland areas of Scotland, where it was incorporated into crop rotations.9 However, parish ministers writing the New Statistical Account of Scotland, especially in East Lothian, did not always report it. For that county, other sources conclude that "potatoes were little cultivated in the county," a statement which probably referred to field cultivation for commercial purposes.10

EXTENSIVE CHANGES: THE MID NINETEENTH CENTURY

During the mid nineteenth century important changes took place in the extent of the field cultivation of the potato in the Lothians, particularly in East Lothian. As a result of the severe outbreak of the fungal disease blight, Phytophthora infestans, in 1845 and 1846, it was discovered that potatoes grown in East Lothian had a "partial immunity" to the disease as the dry climate discouraged its rapid spread, which required moist, warm conditions. Additionally, in 1846 the North British Railway, which
ran from Glasgow to London, was opened.\textsuperscript{11} It brought East Lothian and the Lothians into closer contact with large centres of population, especially in England, and thus to further markets for selling the crop, thereby opening up the possibility of extending the acreage. Further expansion was also achieved in following years with the introduction of guano, a natural manure, so that a greater supply of manure was made available for growing the crop.

Statistics collected by the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland of the acreage of crops grown from 1855 to 1857 show that the most extensive acreages were found in East Lothian and Midlothian, and the smallest in West Lothian; such a pattern was to continue in following years (Table A.1.1).\textsuperscript{12} By the time the Society collected their statistics, the acreage in Midlothian and West Lothian had reached a high level, and it remained steady during following years.\textsuperscript{13} However, the situation contrasted with East Lothian and some other counties where the economic opportunities and accessibility to markets enabled cultivation to be increased further.\textsuperscript{14} As a result, the acreage in East Lothian increased from the 1850s to a level higher than in Midlothian, which had held the most extensive acreage.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Year & East Lothian & Midlothian & West Lothian \\
\hline
1855 & 4,246.75 & not available & not available \\
1856 & 6,082.5 & 6,668.5 & 2,044 \\
1857 & 5,382.75 & 5,801 & 1,666.5 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Acreage of Potatoes Grown in the Lothians, 1855 to 1857}
\end{table}

In East Lothian, the extended cultivation of the potato had a great impact on the agriculture. In 1865 R. Scot Skirving made a comment that:

The potato has, during the last decade, created almost a revolution in the agriculture of the country, has largely contributed to the rise in the value of land, has brought very considerable sums into the district, and has attracted to it a population specially devoted to its cultivation, an Irish immigration having followed the cherished root of the sister kingdom.15

The crop also played a central role in the prosperity of the county. When the grain harvest was poor, as in 1879, the money realised from the potato enabled farmers to secure some profitable returns during periods of crisis.16 Although the increased cultivation benefited the farmers, it also created problems. As a result of the large sums of money realised, there was a great demand for farms, which had the effect of increasing the rent to an "excessive pitch."17 Especially during the 1870s, increased imports of potatoes from Europe combined with overproduction throughout Scotland, created an oversupply which reduced the price of the crop and its profitability as well as the demand.18 By 1878 Wilson views potato growing with pessimism:
And now, at the end of 30 years, when a collapse has come, it is probable that, including the whole period, the losses from potato growing, direct and collateral, have after all exceeded the profits.19

Coupled with the poor prices, the disastrous harvest of 1881, which was extensively destroyed by blight in areas south of the Grampians, acted as a turning point for potato growing not only in East Lothian, but throughout the Lothians and Scotland.20 Between 1881 and 1882 the national acreage fell dramatically from 189,161 to 169,147 acres (Table A.1.2). Although it dropped in all three counties of the Lothians, it was perhaps greatest in East Lothian and West Lothian where the figures were 17.9% and 25.3% respectively. During the following years, the acreage remained at a lower level both throughout Scotland and the Lothians as a result of the agricultural depression which continued into the 1890s. It was not until 1898, when the economic situation was improving, that the acreage started to increase.21
### TABLE A.1.2. ACREAGE OF POTATOES GROWN ON FARMS OVER ONE ACRE IN SIZE IN THE LOTHIANS WITH COMPARISON OF THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL ACREAGE, 1881 TO 1905

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>East Lothian</th>
<th>Midlothian</th>
<th>West Lothian</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>9,282</td>
<td>7,392</td>
<td>3,052</td>
<td>189,161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>7,656</td>
<td>6,553</td>
<td>2,280</td>
<td>167,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>8,333</td>
<td>6,957</td>
<td>2,288</td>
<td>168,794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>8,196</td>
<td>6,737</td>
<td>2,074</td>
<td>163,847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>6,907</td>
<td>5,862</td>
<td>1,790</td>
<td>148,994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>7,123</td>
<td>5,525</td>
<td>1,859</td>
<td>149,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>7,378</td>
<td>5,458</td>
<td>1,745</td>
<td>149,839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>7,997</td>
<td>5,951</td>
<td>2,015</td>
<td>157,605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>8,085</td>
<td>5,799</td>
<td>1,858</td>
<td>154,746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>7,155</td>
<td>5,073</td>
<td>1,545</td>
<td>141,528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>7,649</td>
<td>5,190</td>
<td>1,602</td>
<td>139,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>7,742</td>
<td>4,895</td>
<td>1,730</td>
<td>139,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>7,802</td>
<td>4,876</td>
<td>1,680</td>
<td>137,244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>7,269</td>
<td>4,621</td>
<td>1,609</td>
<td>129,859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>7,809</td>
<td>4,841</td>
<td>1,704</td>
<td>134,322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>7,952</td>
<td>4,984</td>
<td>1,641</td>
<td>129,789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>7,205</td>
<td>4,542</td>
<td>1,411</td>
<td>119,940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>7,686</td>
<td>5,125</td>
<td>1,636</td>
<td>126,362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>7,465</td>
<td>5,213</td>
<td>1,726</td>
<td>126,985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>7,750</td>
<td>5,458</td>
<td>1,841</td>
<td>131,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>7,981</td>
<td>5,704</td>
<td>1,849</td>
<td>130,176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>7,855</td>
<td>5,787</td>
<td>2,010</td>
<td>129,695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>8,229</td>
<td>6,041</td>
<td>2,143</td>
<td>131,364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>9,014</td>
<td>6,711</td>
<td>2,248</td>
<td>137,735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>9,157</td>
<td>7,296</td>
<td>2,315</td>
<td>144,265</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SRO, AF39/11/1; AF39/11/2; AF39/11/3; AF39/11/4; AF39/15/1; AF39/15/2; AF39/21/1; AF39/21/2.

During the agricultural depression the acreage in the Lothians generally reflected the national one (Table A.1.2). However, the acreage did not fluctuate greatly, a trend which Scola also notes. This illustrates the relatively stable position
which the crop had established after 1882. By 1905, the acreage in East Lothian and Midlothian was almost as great as it was in 1881, even though nationally it was 23.8% lower, suggesting the importance of the crop in the two counties. However in West Lothian it remained far short of the 1881 level. After 1905, the acreage remained in a stable position until the outbreak of the First World War.23

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

During the First World War, 1914 to 1918, great changes were made to the extent of the potato acreage in the Lothians, as throughout Scotland and Britain. As there was a need to increase the production of home foodstuffs owing to shipping difficulties and the need to rely on the production of home grown supplies, the production of the potato was encouraged.24 However, an increase was not made each year either in the Lothians or throughout Scotland (Table A.1.3). Between 1914 and 1915 it decreased as a result of problems of obtaining enough labour to plant, cultivate and harvest the crop, as well as others.25 Nevertheless, an increase was made after 1916 when the task of overseeing increased food production was undertaken by Scottish government departments and the District Agricultural Committees, organised in every county in the mainland of Scotland.26 Although the acreage increased further in 1917, it was still lower than that of 1914. With further attempts to secure production in 1918, it was successfully extended.27
TABLE A.1.3. ACREAGE OF THE POTATO CROP ON FARMS OVER ONE ACRE IN SIZE IN THE LOTHIANS WITH COMPARISON OF THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL ACREAGE, 1914 TO 1918

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>East Lothian</th>
<th>Midlothian</th>
<th>West Lothian</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>7,511</td>
<td>7,511</td>
<td>2,753</td>
<td>152,318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>8,664</td>
<td>7,118</td>
<td>2,620</td>
<td>144,393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>6,790</td>
<td>6,008</td>
<td>2,183</td>
<td>130,119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>6,771</td>
<td>6,618</td>
<td>2,351</td>
<td>147,717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>8,201</td>
<td>7,536</td>
<td>2,803</td>
<td>169,497</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SRO, AF40/3/2; AF40/3/3; AF40/4/2; AF40/4/3; AF40/5/2; AF40/5/3; AF40/6/2; AF40/6/3; AF40/7/2; AF40/7/3.

INTER-WAR YEARS

Although food shortages continued after the end of the War, and it was necessary to maintain the existing crop production, the acreage under the potato crop started to fall (Table A.1.4).\(^{28}\) However, by the late 1920s other factors contributed to the national decline. The glut in the potato market in 1929, caused by immense imports of new season potatoes during the summer months, an abnormally large yielding crop, and the tendency for growers to plant high yielding varieties irrespective of their eating and keeping qualities, led to a large drop in the acreage grown throughout Scotland and Britain as a whole.\(^{29}\) Even with the stabilisation of the potato market by the introduction of the Agricultural Marketing Act in 1931 and the Potato Marketing Board in 1933 which controlled the acreage planted and the production of potatoes, the acreage fell.\(^{30}\) However, the falling
acreage was offset by a gradually increasing potato yield throughout Britain.\textsuperscript{31}

In the Lothians not all counties fitted the general pattern exactly. In 1929 the acreage in East Lothian was higher than in 1919. Overall, the acreage in Midlothian and West Lothian was maintained at the same level. However, the acreage did fall in all three counties in 1930 after the disastrous season of 1929. When the decline of the 1930s is expressed as a percentage of the acreage grown, it was greater across the Lothians, particularly in West Lothian, than it was nationally.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Date & East Lothian & Midlothian & West Lothian & Scotland \\
\hline
1919 & 7,758 & 7,040 & 2,604 & 154,596 \\
1924 & 7,678 & 6,225 & 2,340 & 138,281 \\
1929 & 8,472 & 6,486 & 2,589 & 144,770 \\
1930 & 7,141 & 5,506 & 2,207 & 123,358 \\
1931 & 7,584 & 5,549 & 2,235 & 128,102 \\
1932 & 8,497 & 6,367 & 2,612 & 148,539 \\
1933 & 8,716 & 6,587 & 2,769 & 152,513 \\
1934 & 7,894 & 5,851 & 2,531 & 139,998 \\
1935 & 7,718 & 5,496 & 2,384 & 131,596 \\
1939 & 7,874 & 5,495 & 1,944 & 135,396 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{ACREAGE OF THE POTATO CROP ON FARMS OVER ONE ACRE IN SIZE IN THE LOTHIANS WITH COMPARISON OF THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL ACREAGE, 1919 TO 1939}
\end{table}

Source: SRO, AF40/8/2; AF40/8/3; AF40/13/1; AF40/13/2; AF40/18/17; AF40/18/29; AF40/18/44; AF40/19/19; AF40/19/29; AF40/19/44; AF40/20/19; AF40/20/29; AF40/20/44; AF40/21/19; AF40/21/29; AF40/21/44; AF40/22/20; AF40/22/31; AF40/22/48; AF40/23/20; AF40/23/31; AF40/23/48; AF40/24/20; AF40/24/31; AF40/24/48; AF40/28/20; AF40/28/51; AF40/28/48.
SECOND WORLD WAR

During the Second World War, 1939 to 1945, the acreage in the Lothians, as in every county across Scotland and Britain, was increased as a result of the need to produce as much food as possible.\textsuperscript{32} As the potato produced large quantities of food per acre, great emphasis was placed on its cultivation. As in the First World War, increased production was secured through the Scottish government departments, and by local bodies, the Agricultural Executive Committees (AECs).\textsuperscript{33}

The acreage under the crop in the Lothians as throughout Scotland increased quickly throughout the War, peaking in 1944, and then falling slightly in 1945 (Table A.1.5). In the Lothians the increase was very great, reflecting the fact that in 1944 the national acreage was at its highest since the June Returns were compiled in 1866. In all three counties the acreage was above the level of 1881, and was highest in West Lothian. In the other counties it was not far above the 1881 level because of the extensive acreages grown at that time. The increase was made in all parishes, even those which were only small prior to the outbreak of war.
TABLE A.1.5. ACREAGE OF THE POTATO CROP ON FARMS OVER ONE ACRE IN SIZE IN THE LOTHIANS WITH COMPARISON OF THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL ACREAGE, 1939 TO 1945

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>East Lothian</th>
<th>Midlothian</th>
<th>West Lothian</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>7,874</td>
<td>5,495</td>
<td>1,944</td>
<td>134,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>8,094</td>
<td>5,375</td>
<td>2,442</td>
<td>157,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>9,535</td>
<td>7,340.5</td>
<td>3,620</td>
<td>189,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>9,893.5</td>
<td>7,630.25</td>
<td>4,073.5</td>
<td>218,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>10,321.5</td>
<td>8,506.5</td>
<td>4,358</td>
<td>236,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>10,430</td>
<td>8,411</td>
<td>4,305</td>
<td>239,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>10,275</td>
<td>8,087.25</td>
<td>4,062.25</td>
<td>224,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: PP 1948-9, Cmd. 7717, XI, p. 9; SRO, AF40/28/20; AF40/28/31; AF40/28/48; AF40/29/1; AF40/29/2; AF40/30; AF40/31; AF40/32; AF40/33/1; AF40/33/2; AF40/34.

POST-WAR PERIOD

Even after the end of the War, the acreage remained at a high level owing to the food crisis and the need to continue to produce as much food as possible. So serious was the food situation that food rationing continued until 1954.34 Even the potato, which had not been restricted during the War, had to be temporarily rationed in March 1948 as a result of shortages.35 As a result, the Scottish government departments continued to direct the production of potatoes and other agricultural produce. They successfully increased the acreage between 1947 and 1948, and continued to maintain it on a high level until after 1950 (Table A.1.6).36 In the Lothians the trend followed the national pattern of increase until 1949. Although the acreage in Midlothian and West
Lothian declined slightly in 1949, as it did nationally, in East Lothian it increased, but by only 84 acres.

TABLE A.1.6. ACREAGE OF THE POTATO CROP ON FARMS OVER ONE ACRE IN SIZE IN THE LOTHIANS WITH COMPARISON OF THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL ACREAGE, 1946 TO 1954

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>East Lothian</th>
<th>Midlothian</th>
<th>West Lothian</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>10,190.25</td>
<td>7,813</td>
<td>3,790</td>
<td>221,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>9,833</td>
<td>7,199.75</td>
<td>3,332</td>
<td>207,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>10,281.25</td>
<td>7,194</td>
<td>3,879</td>
<td>222,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>9,377</td>
<td>6,404</td>
<td>3,274</td>
<td>192,199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>9,461</td>
<td>6,348</td>
<td>3,218</td>
<td>189,697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>8,794</td>
<td>5,750</td>
<td>2,911</td>
<td>174,018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>8,865</td>
<td>5,509</td>
<td>2,972</td>
<td>172,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>8,731</td>
<td>5,532</td>
<td>3,045</td>
<td>174,245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>8,401.5</td>
<td>5,330.75</td>
<td>2,981.75</td>
<td>166,000</td>
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</table>

Source: SRO, AF40/35/2; AF40/35/3; AF40/35/4; AF40/36/1; AF40/36/2; AF40/36/3; AF40/36/4; AF40/37/1; AF40/37/2; AF40/37/3; AF40/37/4; AF40/38/1; AF40/38/2; AF40/38/3; AF40/38/4; AF40/39/1; AF40/39/2; AF40/39/3; AF40/39/4; AF40/40/1; AF40/40/2; AF40/40/3; AF40/40/4; AF40/40/1; AF40/41/2; AF40/41/3; AF40/41/4; AF40/42; AF40/43.

The years 1949 and 1950 marked the start of the decline in the acreage which continued, with some interruptions, into the 1990s. However, from 1955 when the powers of the Potato Marketing Board were restored after their suspension during the Second World War, the decline was a controlled one as potato production was regulated by that body (Table A.1.7). The decline was not caused by a drastic reduction in potato consumption but as a result of the production of crops with larger yields per acre.
Thus, the production level could be maintained on a smaller acreage.37

TABLE A.1.7. ACREAGE OF THE POTATO CROP ON FARMS OVER ONE ACRE IN SIZE WITH COMPARISON OF THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL ACREAGE, 1955 TO 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>East Lothian</th>
<th>Midlothian</th>
<th>West Lothian</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>8,179.75</td>
<td>4,834</td>
<td>2,900.25</td>
<td>154,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>7,961.25</td>
<td>4,516.25</td>
<td>2,763</td>
<td>152,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>7,418</td>
<td>3,395</td>
<td>2,285</td>
<td>142,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>5,947.25</td>
<td>2,464</td>
<td>1,236.25</td>
<td>108,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>4,426.25</td>
<td>1,349.25</td>
<td>328.5</td>
<td>76,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>4,414.5</td>
<td>1,175.72</td>
<td>298.1</td>
<td>86,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>4,677.4</td>
<td>1,170.5</td>
<td>219.3</td>
<td>81,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>4,078.9</td>
<td>816.33</td>
<td>146.2</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: PP 1955-56, Cmd. 9745, X, p. 12; PP 1960-61, Cmnd. 1315, VIII, p. 14; PP 1965-6, Cmnd. 2193, II, p. 12; PP 1970-71, Cmnd. 4626, 47, p. 5; PP 1975, Cmnd. 6422, 34, p. 13; PP 1980-81, Cmnd. 8234, VIII, p. 9; SRO, AF40/44; AF40/49; AF40/54/1; AF40/54/2; AF40/59/2; AF40/59/3; AF40/64/2; AF40/64/3; AF40/69/2; AF40/69/3; AF40/74/4; AF40/74/6; AF40/79/4; AF40/79/6; AF40/79/8.

During the period of decline potato growing altered considerably. The potato was no longer grown as a field crop in all parishes.38 The number of growers also declined, a fact which was reported throughout Scotland and Britain.39 There were reasons for the decline in the number of producers. As labour was difficult to obtain for harvesting the crop, especially in the 1950s onwards, some growers were unwilling to mechanise the harvesting process and stopped growing potatoes.40 Robert Holmes also notes how there were other reasons:
they were making about eight pound a ton. You see now that was no way to make money. An even the years that followed werenae great. If I can remember it might be about thirteen pounds a ton the followin year and seventeen pounds a year or two after that. They never were up near twenty pounds a ton at all which is what farmers would have liked to have had. And of course when the combine harvester. When the farmer started to have his own combine harvester that really was the end o potatoes as far as a man that could have his own combine goin. It only took him an afternoon to harvest what would maybe take him a fortnight, a week or a fortnight, to harvest with a potato squad.41

By the 1990s the potato was a very specialised crop to grow as it had become highly mechanised in its planting, cultivation, harvesting and preparation for market. As a result, it was also very costly to produce. One farmer made a comment that it would have been very difficult to start to grow because of the cost of the machinery.42
APPENDIX 2: SCHOOL BOARDS AND SCHOOLS IN THE LOTHIANS IN 1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Board</th>
<th>Schools</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EAST LOTHIAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberlady</td>
<td>Aberlady</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athelstaneford</td>
<td>Athelstaneford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolton</td>
<td>Bolton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dirleton</td>
<td>Gullane</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kingston</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dunbar (Burgh)</td>
<td>Dunbar, Burgh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dunbar (Landward)</td>
<td>East Barns</td>
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<td></td>
<td>West Barns</td>
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<tr>
<td>Garvald</td>
<td>Garvald</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gladsmuir</td>
<td>Longniddry</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Macmerry</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Samuelston</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haddington (Burgh)</td>
<td>Primary</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Humbie</td>
<td>Humbie</td>
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<tr>
<td>Innerwick</td>
<td>Innerwick</td>
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<tr>
<td>Morham</td>
<td>Morham</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Berwick</td>
<td>Halfland Barns</td>
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<td></td>
<td>High</td>
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<td>North Berwick</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oldhamstocks</td>
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<td>Ormiston</td>
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<td>Harburn</td>
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</table>
Leavenseat
West Calder
Woodmuir
West Calder

WEST LOTHIAN
Abercorn
Abercorn
Abercorn, Girls
Bathgate
Bathgate
Bathgate Academy
Bathgate
Bathgate (Landward)
Armadale
Starlaw
Armadale
Borrowstounness and Carriden
Bo'ness
Bo'ness, Anderson Academy
Bo'ness, Infant
Borrowstown
Carriden
Grangepans
Kinneil
Blackness, Girls
Carriden, Girls
Dalmeny
South Queensferry
Ecclesmachan
Craigbinning
Ecclesmachan
Kirkliston
Kirkliston
Newbridge
Newhouses
Winchburgh
Linlithgow (Burgh)
Linlithgow
St. Joseph's
Linlithgow (Landward)
Bridgend
West End
Linlithgow
Livingstone
Blackburn
Livingstone
Blackridge
Torphichen
Woodend
Uphall
Broxburn
Uphall
Uphall Works, Infant
Broxburn
Whitburn  Crofthead
      East Benhar
      Greenhills
      Longridge
      Whitburn
      Fauldhouse St. John's
      Fauldhouse, Wilson's Endowed

* in Edinburgh School Board there are 73 schools.

** in Leith School Board there are 16 schools.
APPENDIX 3: ORGANISATION OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

1872 TO 1918

The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872 laid down the machinery for organising elementary education until it was repealed by the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. Education was supervised by a body, the Board of Education for Scotland (1872-78), followed by the Scotch Education Department, later known as the Scottish Education Department (SED), now the Scottish Office Education Department. The country was divided into school districts, usually the size of a burgh or a parish; a few comprised joint parishes. In 1872 there were 984. However, as not all had a school, the number was reduced to 981 (923 parish districts and 58 burgh districts) and by 1901 fell further to 978. By 1901 there were 25 in East Lothian, 32 in Midlothian (including Edinburgh) and 13 in West Lothian (Appendix A).1 In each, education was controlled by a School Board responsible for various tasks which included the provision and maintenance of school accommodation, and ensuring that the provisions of the Education (Scotland) Acts were adhered to.

The School Boards had between five and fifteen members. In the Lothians all had between five and seven, with the exception of Edinburgh, the burgh of Leith and Bo'ness and Carriden, which had more.2 Although members were usually from a middle class background, some were drawn from the working-classes.3 Their occupations were various and included ministers, pit and mining managers, grain merchants, shoemakers, mill
masters, papermakers, merchants, landowners, factors, and farmers. As in other areas of Scotland Boards in the rural districts were "largely composed" of landed proprietors and farmers. In Midlothian, for example, there were two farmers in the Newton Board in the 1890s, and three in Ratho during the 1890s and in Borthwick in 1911.

THE ORGANISATION OF EDUCATION 1919 TO 1929

The administrative unit of the parish and burgh ended with the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. Boards were replaced by larger administrative units, Education Authorities, comprising a county or a large burgh, of which there were 38 throughout Scotland. In the Lothians there were four, one in each county and one in the city of Edinburgh.

In each Authority schools were managed on a local level by School Management Committees (SMCs) which comprised a number of parishes, or a district area. There were eight in East Lothian, seven in Midlothian and seven in West Lothian. Their responsibilities included the general management and supervision of schools, the control of school attendance, the fixing of holidays, and consideration of all applications for exemption from school attendance. However, their powers were more limited than those of the School Boards. For instance, they had no direct control over the way exemption was granted: they could recommend that it was granted to individuals but could not approve the granting of exemption, as that power lay with the Education Authority.
1930 ONWARDS

Further administrative changes were made under Section 12 of the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1929. On 16 May 1930 the administration of education was transferred from an Education Authority to an Education Committee of a County Council. Changes were also made to the way exemption was granted. Local members of SMCs, who were also on the Education Committee, were now able to grant exemption.
Farmers and other employers could only employ children who had obtained special permission to leave school, by exemption, or during the potato holiday. If children were employed outwith these periods they were not employed in accordance with the Education (Scotland) Acts or Child Employment Acts and were therefore considered to be illegally employed. Because of the need to ensure that children were employed according to their provisions, stringent conditions were placed upon their employment.

CASES OF ILLEGAL EMPLOYMENT

Although most children were legally employed at the potato harvest in the Lothians and throughout Scotland, there were cases where they were not. These can be classified according to the way children absented themselves from school to go to work: (1) Children who were granted exemption or a potato holiday were employed either before they were permitted to leave school or after the period when they could be employed expired. When the potato holiday was given, most cases were noted at the end of the holiday when it had not been possible to harvest the crop owing to poor harvesting conditions and inclement weather. (2) Children simply absented themselves so they could go to work. In some instances their parents took them away as they required their earnings to supplement their household income or to "look
after the house" while their mother was employed at harvesting work.\(^4\) (3) Children were not always aware that they had to ask for permission to leave school. Especially during the first years of the operation of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1901 there was a number of instances where children simply left school, and were later instructed that they should have asked permission.\(^5\) (4) Where exemption was granted, not all children could meet the conditions required to obtain it and they would go out to work. They included the daughter of Alex Darge of Newbattle school in 1904 who had "failed to make the requisite attendances last year to entitle her to secure the exemption certificate;" cases were noted as late as 1948.\(^6\)

**ILLEGAL EMPLOYMENT: A SURVEY**

Although children were illegally employed throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, most examples were recorded during the later nineteenth century. School inspectors throughout Scotland report that School Boards did not always take steps to control the employment of children at agricultural work during school hours. Where Boards were composed largely of farmers and factors, as at Fala and Soutra, Borthwick, and Carrington, members thought it an advantage that children learned some agricultural work, and they would employ them to harvest their own crops, including potatoes, a practice which Monies notes for other areas of Scotland, and in parts of Wales.\(^7\) Such a situation could result in tension between agricultural
interests and educational interests. At Carrington, where "a great many children" went to the potato harvest in the 1870s and 1880s, the teacher found that the School Board members, three of whom were farmers, would not take steps to control illegal employment during the potato harvest. On 20 October 1882 the school log notes:

Saw members of School Board, and was told, when complaining of bad attendance, that I could not expect the children to turn out till potato gathering was over which would be in a fortnight from this date.

Again, three years later, in 1885, a similar situation exists:

In reply to list of absentees sent to School Board officer, he reported that the potatoes would be finished this week and that the parents promised to send them next week.

This tension was also found in other schools. The head teacher at Penicuik Free in 1876 notes how the "School Board seem to take no notice of this evil [potato lifting]." At Bolton on 31 October 1879, when nearly half the school was absent "singling" and "potato lifting" "no special effort is made by the School Board to bring them in." The labour shortages caused by the First World War also led to a number of cases where the Board officers turned their back on their duties. At Pathhead the head teacher notes:
The Officer seems to think that owing to the present state of affairs - demand for labour - the children are justified in staying away.\textsuperscript{12}

At Dalmahoy in 1914 the high prices of some goods led the school managers "not to compel" the children to attend during the potato harvest.\textsuperscript{13}

In the early twentieth century the greatest number of cases of illegal employment were found where Boards had not adopted a policy to release children. At Newbattle most cases were found between 1910 and 1915 when no facilities were made available to do so. During the 1915 harvest, for example, four children were reported to be illegally employed by one employer.\textsuperscript{14} There was an increase in the number of cases of illegal employment in the First World War. Labour shortages led children to leave school without permission and to work in the fields longer than they should have.\textsuperscript{15} After the end of the War there were few cases reported either in Midlothian, where no facilities were given to release children, or in East Lothian or West Lothian.\textsuperscript{16} Even during the Second World War and following years, when large numbers were employed, relatively few instances were reported in the Lothians, perhaps as a result of the many attempts made to control the employment of children, at a time when their employment was highly criticised.\textsuperscript{17}
Attempts to ensure that children were legally employed were especially taken where they were employed during school hours. The Education (Scotland) Acts made a number of provisions. While the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, and later Acts restricted or limited the employment of children on school days, they contained provisions which allowed School Boards and other administrative bodies to restrict employment and maintain school attendance. Under Section 70 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872 provision was made for a School Board (and later a School Management Committee (SMC)) to appoint an Attendance Officer or Compulsory Officer. He had a dual function. He reported to the School Board or SMC what parents "have failed and omitted, and are failing and omitting" to provide elementary education for their children. In doing so, he also reported cases where absent children were engaged in employment, illegally. However, not all School Boards either in the Lothians or other counties appointed an officer in the first years of the operation of the Act. In the 1870s and early 1880s few school log books in the Lothians reported cases where the Officer visited schools throughout the year or during the potato harvest. They were reported primarily at schools which disapproved of the employment of children at the potato harvest, such as Carrington and Cockpen, or were particularly concerned with enforcing school attendance, like Bolton. Reports occur with greater frequency in the latter 1880s and after 1890 when the attendance grant was increased from 4s. to 10s. per child. As a greater amount of revenue could be lost,
Boards were given a greater incentive to improve attendance.\textsuperscript{21} By the mid and late 1890s Officers' visits are recorded with increasing frequency and at a greater number of schools.\textsuperscript{22} Their visits continued to be frequently noted during the period the School Boards operated, and also the SMCs. By the early 1950s, very few instances are recorded where the officer investigated cases of children illegally employed at the potato harvest.\textsuperscript{23}

As the employment of children was controlled by both the Education (Scotland) Acts and Child Employment Acts, School Boards, SMCs and other educational bodies could remind farmers and other employers of the provisions contained in the Acts and thus warn them against illegally employing children at the potato harvest. Around 1900 a few Boards, such as Kirknewton and East Calder or Mid Calder, began to send circulars or letters to all farmers.\textsuperscript{24} In one instance, at Stow, a circular was also issued to parents.\textsuperscript{25} More commonly, the conditions of exemption were published in local newspapers such as the \textit{Midlothian Advertiser}, \textit{Haddingtonshire Courier}, \textit{Edinburgh Evening Dispatch} and \textit{Edinburgh Evening News} a practice noted in other counties such as Wigtownshire where Cameron refers to its use by the Old Luce School Board in 1900.\textsuperscript{26} In later years, and especially during the Second World War and those years following it, both practices became very widespread in the Lothians and throughout Scotland.\textsuperscript{27}

Where children were granted exemption from school attendance further methods were used to control illegal employment. Employment cards or certificates could be given to the children. While referred to as "school absentee certificates" in
the late nineteenth century, soon after the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1901 they were called "exemption certificates," and later, as "white cards" as they were printed on white card.28

Their function was essentially the same: they let employers know that the children could be legally employed and the dates between which they could be. Some also had further functions. Those issued by Kirknewton and East Calder School Board in 1917 or Tranent SMC in 1938 also let the headmaster and Compulsory Officer and the SMC know that the children had proof of employment during their absence and they would be actually employed during that period.29 In these two areas children had to get their certificates signed by an employer before they could receive exemption.30 In the latter case the certificates would only become valid when signed by the head teacher or other school official such as the Clerk to the SMC.31

Not all School Boards or SMCs, however, used the cards or certificates. Very few references are made to the school absentee certificates, and all are before 1902.32 Exemption certificates were not recorded in all areas where Boards granted exemption. However, Board minute books in Midlothian, do report their use at Newbattle, Lasswade, Currie, Mid Calder and Kirknewton and East Calder.33 Although reported to be used by East Lothian Education Authority in 1926, 1927, and 1928, SMC minute books from Haddington and Tranent do not record their actual use until 1937 or 1938.34 However, with the widespread employment of children during the Second World War they became extensively used in the Lothians and in other counties. With the operation of the
Education (Exemptions) (Scotland) Act, 1947 they became standard wherever exemption was granted.35

With the operation of the Education (Exemptions) (Scotland) Act, 1947, these cards were known as "permit and employment record cards."36 They were more detailed in nature than those used in earlier years. They let children know the procedure for obtaining exemption and contained information on employment regulations. In addition, employers had to complete details about the number of days they employed children and also the number of hours employed so that the Department of Agriculture for Scotland (DAS) could calculate overhead charges to be paid by employers, for instance for meals, transport and for organising labour. For administrative purposes they also let the DAS, Education Authorities and the Secretary of State for Scotland know the extent of the children's employment so they could arrange labour for the following year. For children, it also let them know the number of days they had still to work during the period of their release from school.

**STEPS TO STOP ILLEGAL EMPLOYMENT**

Although mechanisms were successfully used to stop illegal employment, some children continued to be illegally employed. Depending on the severity of the case or the views and inclination of the school authorities on the matter, various steps could be taken to get employers to discontinue their employment.
The first step taken was for an Attendance Officer or Compulsory Officer to instruct the employer to terminate the children's employment. Employers such as Mrs Welsh or Alex Burnside, both of the Tranent area, had no choice but to dismiss the children.  

In addition, pupils were instructed to return to school immediately. Although these actions were successful in many cases, not all children returned to school. At Dalmahoy in 1878 the representation of three cases to the School Board Officer were unsuccessful while even the "best efforts" and "energetic efforts" of the officer at Newbridge in 1902 and 1904 failed to get them to return.

If employers continued to illegally employ children the School Board or SMC sent them a "firm" or "stiff" letter stating that if they did not discontinue the employment they would be prosecuted. This was a practice which was usually thought to be a sufficient deterrent. However, a number of employers in the Currie district, such as Mr MacDonald of Harlaw, had to be warned on a number of occasions between 1903 and 1919. In other instances letters were sent to farmers after the completion of the potato harvest warning them that they should not employ the children in such a manner; however, the employment was unchecked.

If these methods failed, recourse could be made to prosecution. However, very few prosecutions were instituted against employers, either in the Lothians or in other rural areas which Monies refers to. In the late 1890s, Ogilvie, School Inspector for the Southern Division of Scotland, refers to prosecution as "a thankless task" which could "hardly be resorted
There were a number of obstacles to its use. It was expensive to carry out: in 1874 the School Board of Port Glasgow informed the SED that in that parish each prosecution cost £4; a minimum figure of £2 10s. was noted by the Procurator Fiscal at Greenock. Where many had to be carried out, it was a very expensive business. Additionally, School Boards complained of the "inexplicable leniency" of the sheriffs which therefore acted as a deterrent against instituting proceedings. Threats of prosecution were thus usually empty.

Proceedings were usually instituted only in exceptional circumstances. There are no recorded instances in Board minute books from the late nineteenth century where any were instituted in connection with the potato harvest. In Midlothian the first case was recorded in 1910 by Kirknewton and East Calder School Board when Robert Marshall, farmer at Overton, Kirknewton, continued to employ four children who had not obtained exemption certificates from the School Board. One child, Mary Greig of Kirknewton, was only eleven years of age, one year below the minimum legal age for employment. The Board decided to take Marshall to court for employing that child. However, it decided that if he paid all the expenses, which amounted to £2. 2/-, the prosecution would be dropped.

Other cases were also instituted. In 1920 the School Attendance and Medical Committee of Midlothian Education Authority requested that they be instituted against a number of farmers who had employed children at the potato harvest. The Authority also instituted further cases against farmers, though it is not known whether they were in connection with the potato
harvest; many were successfully concluded.\textsuperscript{50} During the Second World War Education Committee minute books record that there were only two successful cases, both against agricultural contractors in East Lothian. The first, instituted in 1941 against Thomas Little of Cockenzie, was for employing two children without exemption cards.\textsuperscript{51} The second was against an employer in the Crookston area for continuing to employ a number of children without exemption certificates.\textsuperscript{52}

Not all prosecutions were successful. Some employers were admonished and the cases dismissed.\textsuperscript{53} In others, such as those instituted by Mid Calder School Board in 1907, and by Currie and Colinton SMC in 1919 proceedings were dropped and it was "agreed to take no further action in the meantime."\textsuperscript{54} In the latter case farmers including John Bailie, Gilbert Sloan and George Laing employed large numbers of children who had not obtained exemption.\textsuperscript{55} In East Lothian, the Education Committee minute books record one case where proceedings were not instituted as the case was said to be "unsuitable." Instead, a warning was sent to the farmer.\textsuperscript{56}

While steps were taken against employers, they were also taken against parents who had failed to provide education for their children. Across the Lothians a number of parents whose children were illegally employed, and absent from school, were summoned in front of a School Board to explain why their child or children were not at school. At Newbattle, for example, in 1904 Robert Brown of Monkswood "was summoned for the irregular attendance of his daughter, Eliza" who had been employed, without permission to leave school, at the potato harvest for a
week. Like others, he was told to secure a better attendance.\(^57\) In other cases, the School Boards also sent warning letters to parents, as they did for employers, instructing them that their children should not be employed.\(^58\)
APPENDIX 5: INFLUENCE OF STATUTES ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN

TABLE 1. CHILD EMPLOYMENT ACTS IN SCOTLAND WHICH AFFECTED THE EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS OF CHILDREN AT THE POTATO HARVEST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Act</th>
<th>Act</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Employment of Children Act, 1903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Act, 1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act, 1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act, 1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Children and Young Persons Act, 1963</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 2. EDUCATION ACTS IN SCOTLAND WHICH AFFECTED THE EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS OF CHILDREN AT THE POTATO HARVEST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Act</th>
<th>Act</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Education (Scotland) Act, 1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Education (Scotland) Act, 1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Education (Scotland) Act, 1883</td>
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<td>1901</td>
<td>Education (Scotland) Act, 1901</td>
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<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Education (Scotland) Act, 1908</td>
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<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Education (Scotland) Act, 1945</td>
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<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Education (Scotland) Act, 1946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Education (Exemptions) (Scotland) Act, 1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Exemptions (Potato Lifting) (Scotland) Provisional Regulations, 1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Exemptions (Potato Lifting) (Scotland) Regulations, 1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Education (Scotland) Act, 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Education (Scotland) Act, 1969</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: R. W. Roxburgh; SRO, ED54/81; ED54/88; PP 1962-3, Bills, I; PP 1968-69, Bills, II.
While the illegal employment of children was carefully monitored in the Lothians, as throughout Scotland, so too was their employment conditions. Because of the need to safeguard their health and welfare, it was essential that the provisions of the Employment Acts and any regulations were enforced.

At times of crisis, such as the Second World War and the following years, when large numbers were employed, additional steps were taken to safeguard their employment conditions, as in other countries such as England, Germany and the U.S.S.R. During that period, various steps were taken by Local Authorities, such as Agricultural Executive Committees (AECs) and Education Committees to ensure that employment conditions were supervised and monitored, especially where children were exempted from school attendance. All were undertaken on the level of the county, district and even parish. For example, in East Lothian after the end of the War, the Education Committee set up a special Sub-committee to review the conditions under which children were employed, and to make recommendations.

Steps were taken to ensure that employers knew the employment conditions under which children were to be employed before they were engaged. The conditions were incorporated into the application form for obtaining children which had to be completed by employers, and the consent form which had to be completed by the children, as for example in East Lothian from 1940 onwards and in Midlothian in 1949. Employers had to agree to various conditions before they could
engage the children. While they had to agree to abide by the employment conditions in Midlothian, in East Lothian they also had to agree that an official could inspect the children and their employment conditions while they were employed. Additionally, employers were also warned that if they did not fulfil the conditions the labour would be withdrawn, or else they could be prosecuted. In other counties, all the employment conditions were also incorporated into the "employment record cards" used by both children and employers to record how many days children were employed.

Children were also supervised when they were employed in the fields. Attendance Officers, Youth Employment Officers, school teachers, officials from the Department of Agriculture for Scotland (DAS), Education Committee members and Directors of Education visited the fields and noted the employment conditions. Supervisors were also specially appointed in some counties such as East Lothian, Dumfriesshire, and Fife and Kinross, and for areas where children from Dundee were employed. In East Lothian, the appointment of a supervisor was at first a local issue, and was first suggested in the Haddington area after the 1951 harvest and in the Prestonpans and Tranent areas in 1955; in the latter case it is not actually known whether one was appointed or not. However, as it was difficult to supervise the children generally, and the Education Committee wanted to "promote the interests of the children," a supervisor was appointed to work throughout the county. One was certainly employed for the three harvests of 1957, 1958 and 1959. However, as only 100 children were
exempted during 1960, the last year when children were released in the county, no supervisor was appointed.  

Employment conditions were controlled with the introduction of the Exemptions (Potato Lifting) (Scotland) Regulations, 1952. Under it, all employers had to register their names with the Education Committee from which they wanted to obtain labour. The Committee had the power to approve employers, and also, perhaps, more importantly, to remove their names from the register if they did not comply with employment regulations: if their name was removed they could not obtain any children. Additionally, because of the complex employment conditions, East Lothian Education Committee made a suggestion that it was "desirable" to "consider excluding from the list of approved employers contractors who had no previous experience in employing child labour under the school exemption scheme" so that all employers were familiar with the employment regulations. Such a move was "advantageous" to the arrangements for employing children and worked very satisfactorily.

BREACHES OF BYELAWS AND REGULATIONS

Despite the steps taken to ensure that byelaws and the Regulations were complied with, a number of cases were reported where employers breached them. In East Lothian during the Second World War the majority of cases were made by labour contractors. With increased supervision fewer breaches were reported, though they still existed. Some employers did not
provide sanitary facilities, or give a sufficient mid day meal; others gave children money if they brought their own lunch so the employer did not have to make any arrangements. Employers also paid wage rates in excess of those laid down by the Scottish government departments. Others overworked the children.\textsuperscript{16}

Because of the number of breaches of byelaws and the Regulations, steps were taken to get employers to improve conditions. Employers were sent warning letters which stated that if they did not comply they would be refused labour, or their names would be removed from the employment register.\textsuperscript{17} In East Lothian some employers, particularly labour contractors, were removed from the register of employers; only one farmer was removed. In one case the employer, a contractor, made "many and serious breaches of the conditions."\textsuperscript{18} Although there appeared to be no proceedings instituted against employers in the Lothians, some were reported in other counties.\textsuperscript{19}
APPENDIX 7: MOVEMENT OF IRISH WORKERS FROM IRELAND TO BRITAIN DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR: TRAVEL PERMITS

The movement of workers between Ireland and Britain was closely monitored during the Second World War and for a few years following it.¹

MOVEMENT OF WORKERS FROM IRELAND TO SCOTLAND

So that the movement of people from Ireland to Britain, either for employment or other purposes such as family visits, could be controlled, personal identification cards were issued by the Department of External Affairs in Dublin to each adult who wished to travel during the Second World War and until 5 January 1948.² Persons under 16 years of age who travelled alone also had to hold a card; if they were accompanied by an adult they used their birth certificate instead. Travel permit cards were valid for twelve months, but could be extended in Britain for a longer period by applying at a local police station.³

Various restrictions were placed on the issue of travel permits to certain types of workers and to workers living in certain areas. After the Irish Government became aware of the widespread indiscriminate recruitment of workers by British companies in 1941, it was essential that workers could not leave the country in large numbers to engage in highly paid jobs in Britain. Also, because of the need to produce food, fuel (turf) and undertake essential work, a large reserve of workers was required to stay in the country.⁴ To ensure that these workers
were available in particular districts of Ireland, the Department of Agriculture and the Turf Development Board asked the Department of Industry and Commerce to delay the issue of permits to agricultural workers from certain areas, which included the Congested Districts where the seasonal migratory agricultural workers came from ("black areas") and agricultural districts in the midland and eastern counties ("yellow areas"). As a result, a number of seasonal migrants were refused permits, even though no turf work was available for them.5

Because of problems incurred, the Departments of Justice and Agriculture, the Turf Development Board and the Department of Industry and Commerce proposed that any applications from "yellow" areas were not to be granted. Those from men in the "black" areas were to be passed to the Turf Development Board who would then try to offer the applicants employment. If none was available, the Department of Industry and Commerce would be informed and a travel permit would be granted to the applicant. By the time these proposals were sent to the Government on 23 June 1941, the problem faced by migratory workers had been blown out of proportion.6 A note from the Employment Branch of the Department of Industry and Commerce indicates that it did not think that the issue of permits to the migratory workers would affect the volume of turf production. The number of permits issued that year would only be about 200 or 300 and most were given to teenagers or women, who were not considered to be the most suitable workers for turf work. However, the Department was more concerned about the effect of keeping these workers in Ireland, especially if no work at the turf
could be found for the migrants. It asked whether they had any "moral right to restrict the movement of these people in search of a livelihood, or to compel them, by the exercise of extraordinary powers which were taken originally for police purposes, to remain here and labour at our command." 7

When the Cabinet discussed the matter on 24 June 1941, it decided that no embargo should be placed on the issue of travel permits for migratory workers.8 The restrictions placed on the issue of permits to these workers which had been imposed by the Department of Agriculture and the Turf Development Board were withdrawn. By 1 July the Cabinet had made a decision that an embargo should be placed on the issue of travel permits to agricultural workers resident in any part of the country except the areas termed as the Congested and Contiguous areas, or the district electoral divisions in Co. Cavan, Co. Clare, Co. Cork, Co. Donegal, Co. Galway, Co. Kerry, Co. Leitrim, Co. Limerick, Co. Mayo, Co. Roscommon and Co. Sligo scheduled in the Unemployment Assistance (Third Employment Period) Order, 1940, where the seasonal migratory workers came from. In these areas permits were to be granted unless the applicants were suitable for employment on turf work, and work was available for them.9

The Government defined the term "seasonal migratory worker" to enable people to know if they were entitled to obtain travel permit cards. However, this enabled almost anyone to obtain a card. By early 1944 a seasonal migratory worker was:

A person who being resident in a scheduled area, or area adjacent thereto from which workers have customarily gone to seasonal
agricultural work in Great Britain or Northern Ireland is going to such employment.

That person had to have been employed at seasonal agricultural work in either of the two countries on one occasion during the last five years. If he or she was under 21 years of age that person had to go to employment "in the company of a parent or adult brother or adult sister or by consent of parents or guardian or other adult" who had worked at seasonal agricultural work in the last five years in Britain or Northern Ireland. Workers could not travel alone for seasonal migratory work unless they were 21 years of age, although they could travel in a group with relatives. No children under the school leaving age were granted facilities to travel.¹⁰

Along with professional persons, who included clergymen, university graduates and professors, architects, surveyors, doctors and registered nurses, the migratory workers were the only classes who were given special status to obtain travel permit cards. All other agricultural and turf workers were subject to varying stringent emigration controls which became generally tighter as the war progressed. Nevertheless changes were made to the policy of giving permits to the seasonal workers. In September 1943 the area from which migratory workers could obtain a permit was extended so that it covered a greater area of Co. Mayo and Co. Sligo.¹¹ By the following month the policy was altered again, at a time when there was a tightening up in emigration facilities given to agricultural and turf workers. Travel permits could not be issued to applicants if they refused an offer
for suitable employment, left work voluntarily, or lost their employment through misconduct: if workers tried to renew their permits they had to wait six months from the date they were refused employment or ceased work before a permit could be issued to them. Additionally, migratory workers who were members of the Special Register of Agricultural and Turf Workers, a body of workers registered to undertake agricultural and turf work in Ireland, were not eligible to receive emigration facilities, and could not therefore receive cards.

From July 1945 onwards, concessions could be made where it was seen that some of the seasonal migrants found it difficult to obtain travel permits. Under the definition of "seasonal migratory worker," a person could not obtain a permit if he or she had been a migrant for a number of years prior to the war, but had discontinued, and wished to resume migratory work. As the situation was considered to be a "hardship" for those migrants, the definition of "migratory worker" was altered to include a person who had engaged in seasonal work in Britain and Northern Ireland at any time, rather than in the last five years. In addition, the age at which a worker qualified to travel alone was reduced from 21 to 19 years.
In Britain various restrictions were placed on the immigration of people into the country during the Second World War and in the years immediately following it. In June 1940 the Government imposed drastic restrictions on travel into the country which continued until the following spring when they were relaxed. Further restrictions were also introduced during the period prior to the Allied landings in France in 1944 when the issue of permits was suspended, as was the issue of permits which enabled Irish workers to return home. At the same time the Irish Government also withdrew facilities for travel permits to be granted. Thus the movement of workers was prohibited during particular periods, which affected the movement of the migratory agricultural workers.

Restrictions were also placed on the length of time migrants from Ireland could spend in Britain. Until July 1941 Irish male citizens who had completed two years "ordinary residence" in Britain were liable for military service. They had the choice of joining up or returning to Ireland. If they returned to Ireland they could not return to Britain. However, as the two year period did not include periods spent on temporary work, like that undertaken by the migratory agricultural workers, the regulation did not affect them. After July 1941, men were not conscripted if they proposed to return to Ireland "not later than the end of the war." If they left Britain to avoid military service, they were not given facilities to re-enter Britain for employment.
Although Anne O'Dowd suggests that the only effective way that the workers could improve their employment and housing conditions was to organise themselves in a union, oral evidence collected from potato merchants and their employees indicates that they did not suggest this was the case. Gaffers were not willing to organise themselves and their workers. Workers, on the other hand "didn't like anyone interfering in their life." Additionally, they could not afford to stop work for more than a few days as they lost income which sometimes played a very important role in paying the rent of their smallholding or in enabling them to live in their homes in Ireland.1

However, during the twentieth century, attempts were made by the workers to organise themselves in a union. Perhaps the most widely known attempts were the first which were made by the workers in 1918, widely commented upon by C. Desmond Greaves and O'Dowd, and referred to by Jonathan Bell.2 During that attempt, workers demanded an increased wage rate and payment for stoppage of work owing to bad weather or a glut in the market. The latter of which would have been more relevant to employment conditions in Ayrshire for the harvesting of the first earlies. The workers stayed at home, refusing to travel to Scotland until the Union agreed an amicable settlement with the Glasgow and West of Scotland Potato Trade Association. By mid July, when the workers finally went to Scotland, the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union believed that the workers had started work on an understanding that there would be further discussions
with the potato merchants; however, the merchants regarded the
matter as closed, and believed that the workers had accepted
their terms.³

In many respects the strike was unsuccessful. The Glasgow
and West of Scotland Potato Trade Association did not submit the
workers' demands to the Glasgow Trade Council for arbitration,
and the matter had to be settled by arbitration under the
Munitions Acts.⁴ By late September the potato merchants were
trying to prevent any settlement.⁵ The merchants failed to
recognise the Union, or that there were any workers on strike in
Ayrshire as all the striking workers were still in Ireland.⁶ The
workers had arrived late for the season in mid July, in Ayrshire,
accepting the terms which the Potato Trade Association had
proposed to give them a month earlier.⁷ They had failed to get a
payment for stoppage of work owing to bad weather or a glut in
the market. The large influx of workers which arrived in mid July
caroused a "sort of glut" in the labour market as merchants and
farmers had recruited alternative labour to harvest their crops
successfully, a fact supported by reports from the potato
markets.⁸ They state how the shortage of workers had been
quickly overcome. Although there were only "very limited"
supplies of Ayrshire potatoes in the Edinburgh potato market in
the week of 20 June, by the following week the situation had
improved, with "limited" supplies of potatoes available; by the
following week there was a "better supply."⁹ The strike also
created a number of problems for the workers themselves on
some of the Ayrshire farms. As a result of the large influx of
workers, there was a great amount of overcrowding which resulted in unsatisfactory living conditions.\textsuperscript{10}

However, as early as August 1918 there were signs that the Union was weakening. Reverend Father T. A. Hayes, parish priest at Troon, Ayrshire, reports that many of the workers that he had spoken to had not paid their Union contributions for weeks "as no one interested knew what should be done."\textsuperscript{11} Nevertheless, although O'Dowd suggests it was "hardly likely" for the workers to "pursue their struggle the following year," the Union continued to fight to get improved conditions.\textsuperscript{12} In 1919 the Voice of Labour reports that workers demanded 15s. per graip, a 48 hour week, payment of travelling expenses, good housing, and sanitary accommodation.\textsuperscript{13} Although the newspaper does not state whether the workers were successful in their demands, it is unlikely that they were.

Nevertheless, strike activities continued in the following year, 1920, in the Girvan District of Ayrshire for increased wages, and payment for time spent when they stopped work owing to a glut in the market.\textsuperscript{14} Like the strike of 1918, they were organised by the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. However, this time the workers had the support of the Scottish Farm Servants' Union (SFSU), and the sympathy of the Roman Catholic prelates and priests in Ireland and were thought to be in a stronger position. Unlike the 1918 strike, the majority of workers stayed in Ireland "until the struggle [was] fought to a successful issue." This time discussions were held between the Scottish Farm Servants' Union and the potato merchants' body, the Glasgow and West of Scotland Trade Association. The strike was quickly settled, after
only a few days, with a favourable victory for the workers, who successfully obtained an increase in their wage rates.\textsuperscript{15}

There was a mixed reaction to the Union. While some members of squads employed in Midlothian were anxious to join, they did not know where to get information about it. However, some workers refused to become members. Workers at Currievale, Currie, Midlothian were interested in joining a union. Their gaffer, Michael Donough, was not interested and "would not bother to get cards"; he was not the only gaffer opposed to it.\textsuperscript{16}

FURTHER UNION ACTIVITIES: THE RESULT OF THE TRAGEDY AT KIRKINTILLOCH

In the late 1930s further steps were taken to improve conditions through union activities. Following the tragedy at Kirkintilloch on 16 September 1937 when ten young males from Achill Island lost their lives, the potato workers from Achill Island formed a union, the Achill Migratory Workers' Union, on 2 January 1938. Its first task was to secure increased wage rates and "to request the merchants to pay the labourers' fares to Scotland and to ask the Irish Government to pay the fares on the return journey."\textsuperscript{17} In March two negotiators, Peadar O'Donnell - who was involved in the earlier strikes - and Eneas McNulty, went to Scotland to negotiate with the potato merchants.\textsuperscript{18} These negotiations must have been unsuccessful for the union held another meeting at Cashel, Achill, on 22 May "to consider what attitude they should take in regard to the coming potato harvest in Scotland."\textsuperscript{19} At that meeting it was decided that the workers
should "refuse to bind themselves to any 'gaffer' until the Glasgow and Western Scottish Potato Merchants' Association met the workers' representatives and the terms fixed." Gaffers were to take no steps in recruiting squads. As in 1920, the workers were to remain at home.

At a further meeting held between gaffers and McNulty on 7 June there were signs that the Union was weakening. Three gaffers had crossed over to Scotland without their squads, while others strongly disapproved of the "present line of action." The Mayo News concluded that "a strong rift in the solidarity of the union is imminent." The negotiations between the Union and the merchants continued to be unsuccessful as the merchants refused to commit themselves "to any of the safeguarding agreements requested." It was not until Sean Moylan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Industry and Commerce in Dublin intervened that a "satisfactory" settlement was reached. However, this was not as much as the Union had hoped for, as it had to accept the wage terms which had been given in the previous year. However, they won one concession: they got their fare paid at the end of their engagement. On 13 June some 280 workers from the North Mayo district left for the Scottish potato fields. By the following week all the workers had left the district for Scotland.

As can be seen from the attempts to form a union, union activities had only a limited success in improving conditions for the workers. These attempts would have perhaps had less impact in the Lothians than in Ayrshire, where it was seen that work was disrupted for a short period at the start of the season. By the time
the workers reached the Lothians the disputes were settled, or well on their way to being concluded.
APPENDIX 9: BISHOPS' (GRESHAM) COMMITTEE FOR IMPROVING CONDITIONS OF IRISH MIGRATORY WORKERS IN SCOTLAND

The Gresham Committee was founded after the Reverend T. A. Canon Hayes of Troon, Ayrshire, expressed concern at the housing conditions of the Irish potato workers in that county after two males died of pneumonia during the 1915 potato harvest.¹ He wrote to the Irish Bishops of the dioceses from which the workers came. They took up the matter and formed a committee comprising the Archbishop of Tuam (Reverend Dr Gilmartin), the Bishop of Raphoe, the Bishop of Killala, P. J. Joyce (parish priest at Keel, Achill Sound), Sir Henry Doran and T. P. Gill (the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland).² The Committee appointed a woman inspector, Miss G. Thornton, to carry out inspections of the accommodation for Irish workers on farms in Ayrshire, the Edinburgh area, Dumbartonshire, Lanarkshire and Perthshire throughout the potato harvests of 1920, 1921 and 1922. Their work "ceased about the time that internal trouble came to Ireland."³ Lack of funds and administrative changes in Ireland were also thought to have been an influence.⁴

The reports issued by the Gresham Committee had an effect on the housing conditions for the squads of Irish potato workers. They showed varying conditions of accommodation across Scotland. They also indicate that Miss Thornton was trying to get farmers to make improvements to the accommodation by suggesting to them how it could be improved. As she visited some farms over a period of years she was able to comment upon any improvements which were made in conditions. Although none
were made at some farms, at others there was a substantial improvement:

Roddinglaw farm - was one of the farms I had condemned by the Board of Health last year, with the result that there is a large new hut built this year, which is very comfortable and the workers are very grateful to the Gresham Committee for all they have done on their behalf.5

The Scottish Board of Health (SBH) was of the opinion that the survey work carried out by Miss Thornton was of great value. Her work was influential in a number of ways. She had "considerable influence with the workers themselves, and exercised this influence in the direction of securing better observance of the byelaws as to cleanliness etc."6

The impact of the reports went further. The three reports issued in 1920 were sent to the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland in Dublin.7 That Department was concerned at the findings and sent copies to the Department of Agriculture for Scotland (DAS) and the SBH, both in Edinburgh.8 The DAS passed them onto the SBH commenting that "very considerable" improvements could be made to the accommodation. It hoped that the SBH would take steps towards improving the housing accommodation; the SBH had also requested a copy from Miss Thornton. Later reports were also sent to the SBH.9 By sending the reports to these bodies, they were notified of the housing conditions. For the Lothians, her work was a great asset in persuading the District Committees that byelaws should be made.
For Miss Elizabeth McMichael, the housing inspector for the SBH, the reports let her know the farms where the workers were accommodated in the Lothians. They also highlighted where some of the worst accommodation was found and where remedial action was most necessary. She could therefore go to the farms and make her own survey of the accommodation and make recommendations. The reports also let her know that a large number of workers was accommodated in the Edinburgh District, whereas the District Committee had reported to her that there was very few accommodated in their area.

As a result of the reports, Miss McMichael undertook surveys of the accommodation at five farms in the Edinburgh District and seven in the Calder District, which had been described by Miss Thornton. A comparison of the reports, however, shows that Miss Thornton was concentrating on the aspects which made the accommodation very poor, as she was trying to show how poor conditions were. Comparisons of reports for Roddinglaw highlight the different approaches of Miss Thornton and Miss McMichael. Miss Thornton writes:

The workers were just about to take up residence in this farm, having travelled in the rain from the last farm some miles away, and their blankets, which they had to bring with them, were in an awful state. Though wet through, these blankets had to be slept in that night. These workers complained about the shortage of blankets.

During all my experiences of bothies I have seldom seen such dreadful filth as here. The walls were black with dirt. In a tiny kitchen, 12 x 16 feet, eight girls had to sleep
and twelve or fourteen had to eat, and in a small fireplace thick with the ashes of months all the cooking for a squad of twenty-five or thirty had to be done. The ceiling over the room where the girls slept and which was the living room for all, was broken and falling down with masses of thick black cobwebs inches long all over the place. There was no seating accommodation or tables and the workers had to eat standing up, after a heavy day's work. The men slept in a dirty barn, the ceiling of which was very low and the walls dirty and dusty. No ventilation and no sanitary arrangements. There were three very old women working in this squad who told me the smoke from the fire nearly smothered them some days. This squad will have to live under these unhealthy (to say the least) conditions for six weeks. This is another case where there is proof that no preparation whatever has been made for the incoming workers. No sanitary officer could possibly pass this bothy as fit even for an animal. The very atmosphere was foul.12

Miss McMichael:

The accommodation consists of a bothy of 2 apartments a grain shed and another large bothy entered off a cart shed. The first mentioned bothy contains 2 apartments each about 15' x 15' x 9'6" in height. The floors are of cement. In each apartment there is a small window and a fireplace on the mutual wall between the 2 apartments. The wall at the back of the grates had been broken by the workers, we were informed, in order that they might speak through the hole to the occupants of the adjoining apartment. Tables and bedboards are provided. The lighting and ventilation are
defective and the ceiling of one apartment is a little broken.

The grain shed measures about 21' x 18' x 9'6". It had a large cement window both halves of which open and a concrete floor.

The large bothy entering through the cartshed and measuring 18' x 21' x 10' to the eaves has a concrete floor and one fixed window. Ventilation could only be obtained by opening the door to the cartshed. There is an open fireplace at one end, 2 bedsteads, tables and seats. All the apartments had been cleaned out and on the whole provided fairly satisfactory accommodation. There are no sanitary conveniences provided for the workers.13

Miss McMichael's surveys let her know the standard of accommodation provided at each of the farms. As a result, she recommended that the only way to secure improvements in accommodation was to adopt byelaws.14 Such a step was essential in persuading the Edinburgh District Committee and the Calder District Committee that byelaws should be adopted in their areas.

To be published in Review of Scottish Culture (forthcoming, November 1995).

Of all the tragedies in which Irish potato harvesters met their death, that at 67 Eastside, East High Street, Kirkintilloch, Dumbartonshire in the early hours of the morning of 16 September 1937, in which ten young men and youths met their death, is perhaps the most widely known. It is remembered for the tragic circumstances in which the victims died, and for the widespread feelings which it aroused. In Ireland it is known as the second part of the Carrabine prophecy, that the first and the last trains to reach Achill Island, in Co. Mayo would carry the bodies of corpses.

1 The first carried the bodies of thirty-two potato workers who had drowned in Clew Bay, off Co. Mayo in 1894, when their boat taking them to the Scottish and English harvest fields capsized; the last carried the bodies of the ten males who died at Kirkintilloch. Within two months of this, it was announced that the railway was to close.

2 Scholars who have looked at Irish migrant potato harvesters have turned their attention to the tragedy. J. E. Handley, in his book The Irish In Modern Scotland, refers to it and to the housing legislation for seasonal workers and potato harvesters or workers, which arose out of it, as does Anne O'Dowd, in her book Spalpeens and Tattie Hokers. O'Dowd refers to Handley's work, as does a number of others like Billy Kay, in "From the Gorbals to Gweedore:"
The Story of the Glasgow Irish" and Rodger Leitch, writing in the *Scottish Farmer*, who briefly mention the tragedy.³

This paper follows Handley in looking at the tragedy and the housing legislation which arose out of it for seasonal workers, and in particular potato harvesters or potato workers but also examines the tragedy and its background, the workers and their accommodation. It looks at the responses to it, in Ireland and in Scotland, and then the steps taken in adopting housing legislation. It concludes by examining the extent to which this legislation was adopted and to which it was used by migratory potato workers.

**THE IRISH POTATO HARVESTER SQUAD**

The squad, or group, of Irish potato harvesters which arrived at the premises at 67 Eastside, Kirkintilloch on 15 September, from Kirkliston in the Lothians, was typical of many of the Irish migratory potato squads which travelled across Scotland harvesting the crops as they ripened. All its members were from Achill Island, the largest of the islands off the west coast of Ireland.⁴ It was of an "average" size, comprising eleven males, fourteen females and their gaffer, making twenty six in all.⁵ As was typical of squads from Achill, it was composed primarily of youths and teenagers.⁶ All the males, except the gaffer, were between 13 and 23 years of age, as were some of the girls. Many were also related to one another. There were four from the McLoughlan family, four from the Kilbane family, four from the Mangan family and two from the Cattigan family, while the gaffer, Patrick Duggan, brought his son Thomas and daughter Anne.⁷
Duggan had organised the squad, and brought them to Scotland. He was in charge of transporting them from district to district and paying them their wages each week, and generally looking after the accommodation in which the workers stayed. He was employed by the Glasgow potato merchants, W. and A. Graham, who, like many potato merchants bought "growing" crops of potatoes from farmers to harvest and then sell. When Graham or other potato merchants bought potatoes in this manner, it was usual that a contract was drawn between him and the farmer that the farmer would provide accommodation for his squads, and that he (the merchant) would supply the workers with blankets, cooking utensils, fuel and light.

The accommodation was usually provided in "bothies" on farms, a term which for migratory workers included buildings like barns, lofts, bothies, horse loose boxes, byres, empty farm cottages, or specially built buildings. At Kirkintilloch, however, the situation was rather different. As there was no "suitable" accommodation on local farms where the workers were to be employed, Graham the potato merchant had supplied accommodation within the burgh, at Eastside (Fig. A.10.1). From here the workers would be transported to their work daily and return there at night.

The accommodation consisted of a cottage and an adjoining shed. The cottage had four rooms: a kitchen and three others used as sleeping quarters which could sleep up to twenty six workers.
FIG. A.10.1. LOCATION OF 67 EASTSIDE, KIRKINTILLOCH

The shed had been built in 1932 for a dual purpose. Its primary use was as an implement store, and was recorded in the valuation rolls as such. If required, it could be used to accommodate workers. Until the tragedy it had not been found necessary to use this as sleeping quarters, as all the workers had slept in the neighbouring cottage.\textsuperscript{13}

The Chief Inspector at the Department of Health for Scotland (DHS), described the shed as being "well constructed."\textsuperscript{14} It was a stone and brick building with a wooden and asphalt roof, and a cement floor (Fig. A.10.2). There were eight windows in it, each covered on the outside with wire mesh "to prevent boys breaking the windows."\textsuperscript{15} All were about 7 or 8 feet from the ground. The shed had two entrances. One led from the cottage, while another was in an adjoining wall and led into a courtyard facing onto the Kilsyth Road.\textsuperscript{16} This second one was perhaps 11 or 12 feet in width, and was fitted with a sliding door divided into two parts. At one end of this sliding door, and some six feet away from a hot plate there was a slip bolt fixed to the wall which allowed the workers to lock themselves into the shed. They could also open this door from inside the shed, even when its two halves were padlocked together on the outside. The door be opened easily by one person.\textsuperscript{17}
FIG. A.10.2. THE BURNED OUT SHED AT 67 EASTSIDE, KIRKINTILLOCH

Source: SRO, DD13/227.
At the time of the tragedy the shed was divided into three parts. Nearest the cottage was a dining apartment separated by a wooden partition, 7 feet high. This contained a hot plate stove for cooking, which had recently been installed, to replace a brazier or open fire (Fig. A.10.3). This comprised a cast-iron plate some 5 feet in length by 12 inches broad, laid on a cement bed on top of a structure composed of fire-clay brick. It worked like a household range and was considered to be very safe and easy to work. Next to this was an area where implements and other materials - including potato diggers and sorters and a barrel of archangel tar were stored; all were to have been removed by one of Graham's foremen, John Mackie, before the squad arrived from Kirkliston. This area was divided from the third area by a tarpaulin. The last area was where the ten men slept; the rest of the squad slept in the cottage: the gaffer and his son in the kitchen and the women in the other apartments.

The sleeping provision was similar to that given to other potato workers at this time. Beds were made from potato boxes on top of which was placed either a door or planks of wood, and a straw mattress on top. In the women's apartment bedsteads were provided, and planks of wood placed on them (Fig. A.10.4). Mattresses consisted of straw ticks. Blankets were supplied by Graham.
FIG. A.10.3. INSIDE THE SHED AT 67 EASTSIDE, KIRKINTILLOCH

Source: SRO, DD13/227.
FIG A.10.4. INTERIOR VIEW OF WOMEN'S QUARTERS INSIDE THE COTTAGE

Source: SRO, DD13/227.
Other facilities were also provided. These included Water-closets for both males and females in an outside building, and a place for washing clothes, dishes and for "personal ablution." The General Inspector at the DHS thought these "had been very thoroughly [installed] and without any apparent attempt to curtail expenditure unduly - the wash basins were substantial and of good glazed fire clay." Heating could be obtained from a fireplace in the cottage and from the hot-plate in the shed. Paraffin lamps or candles were used for lighting the rooms. Tables and "forms," or benches were also given. The workers found the accommodation "satisfactory." Patrick Duggan, the gaffer, agreed that it was "better than some of the places" they had been sleeping in and he "could find no fault with it."

THE FIRE

At about one o'clock on the morning of 16 September, fire broke out in the shed where the ten men slept. The gaffer's son, Thomas Duggan, troubled by a boil on his neck, was aware of hearing crackling noises and the smell of smoke coming from the men's quarters. After investigating, and finding a fire there, he woke his father, who then went to waken the girls and women, who made their escape into Eastside either through an attic window or through the front door of the cottage. Many of the women were hysterical and dazed, running around and trying to find ways to reach their brothers and other relatives who were still in the shed. Unknown to many of them at this time, three
survivors, Mary McLoughlin, Kate Ginlay and Thomas Duggan went to the nearby house of John Mackie, one of Graham's potato salesmen, in Kilsyth Road to get the key for the sliding doors, to get into the men's quarters. On opening the door they found that there was no movement in there. Shortly afterwards the roof of the shed collapsed and the building was engulfed in flames. On seeing the roof collapse, and that there was no possibility that their brothers or relatives could be saved, the women in Eastside knelt down, making the sign of the cross, and praying, or else singing the hymn "Nearer my God to Thee." All the ten youths and men were recovered a few hours later, so badly charred that only one body could be identified.28

In the days following the tragedy a number of the newspapers, like the Glasgow Herald, Glasgow Evening Times and Ballina Herald reported that the men were "burned to death," and were "trapped" in the blazing shed.29 Many of these reports drew on the facts that a number of the people who tried to rescue the men, which included members of the local fire brigade, and some of the hysterical women in Eastside, could not reach the men in the blazing shed and had to leave them there. They noted how the large sliding doors had been padlocked on the outside and that the men could not get out of the building. Few newspapers mentioned that there was a slip bolt on the inside of the door which could be pulled back to unlock it. They also drew on the evidence of one man who witnessed the event, David Hislop, a local painter, who reported that he had seen the hands of one of the men and voices from within the blazing shed; this was later to be questioned.30
These reports led many people to believe that the men were "trapped and burned to death in the blazing building." Handley followed this view as did both Kay and Leitch, whose wording of the tragedy closely follows Handley's.\textsuperscript{31} However, Handley's description of the bothy and what happened are partly inaccurate. He said there were potato barrels near the hot plate which caught fire; none were mentioned in any of the Reports of the tragedy.\textsuperscript{32} There was a barrel of archangel tar, but this was not situated near the hot plate, and did not cause the fire.\textsuperscript{33} He attributes the fire to these empty potato barrels and to straw filled bedding which, he said was near the hot plate. But the bedding was not near the hot plate; it was in the area of the shed furthest from it.

It is easy to believe that the men died in this particularly tragic way. This was not, however, the way they died. Evidence from a post-mortem carried out on John McLoughlin, the only male who was identified, and the findings of the Fatal Accident Inquiry held at Dumbarton Sheriff Court on 18 October 1937, revealed that the men died by "poisoning by carbon monoxide gas and asphyxia by inhalation of soot."\textsuperscript{34} Medical evidence given by two doctors concluded that the men were overcome by fumes before they were burned, and that they "would know nothing of the fate which overcame them."\textsuperscript{35} This evidence was also collaborated by that given by a number of the witnesses at the enquiry who did not observe any sign of movement in the men's quarters while the shed was on fire. When, for instance, the gaffer's son, Thomas Duggan, looked into the shed before awakening his father he could see no sign of movement or hear any sounds other than that of the fire; when Mary McLoughlin
beat her fists against the sliding doors before she went to Mackie's door for the key for the sliding door, she got no response from the men. And when the sliding door was unlocked by Mackie, neither he or Thomas Duggan could see any movement or hear any noise. At this point Mackie concluded that the men were dead, and so went back to his house to get dressed.

The carbon monoxide had been caused by the hot plate which had been installed in the shed only two months earlier. On the morning after the tragedy it had been examined by a number of the witnesses who attended the inquiry, like Graham, the foreman, and the police superintendent at Kirkintilloch who attended the Inquiry. All found at the inquiry that it had been full of coal and coke. It was commented that the stove was "definitely overloaded" with fuel. Even though the fire had been a fierce one, the top of the hot plate was still resting on coal and coke rather than on the cement bed on which it should have been lying. It looked as if it had been levered up, so that the coal could be poured into it. Instead of holding about 15 pounds of coal, it was found to contain about 1 cwt and 3 stones (154 lbs). The coal had partly blocked the vent and as a result the gases and fumes which should have passed into it and up the chimney were forced back into the shed, where the men were sleeping, with the result that they were overcome by the fumes.

Although the four members of the squad were cross-examined on their movements before they went to bed, and on the hot-plate, the jury could not conclude how the fire which gutted the shed started. Evidence did suggest that it had started around the area of the hot plate, but it was not known how.
Nevertheless, some people in both Ireland and Scotland did try to find an explanation for its cause. A number of these from Ireland are to be found in oral tradition. In 1980, Anne O'Dowd recorded Anthony MacGuire, a native of Achill Island, who said that he had heard that there were "different tellings" and that one of these had been "malicious." Another native of Achill was Joe O'Donnell, who was recorded at this time by Seamus MacPhilip for the Department of Folklore at University College Dublin. Although he realised that it would never be known how the fire started, he had heard of rumours that the fire had been deliberately started, and that a man who was dying in France during the Second World War confessed to having started it. There had been another squad at the premises at Kirkintilloch a few weeks before the fire started and they had argued with him; the Inquiry had shown that there was one - "the Wishaw squad." He was said to have come back to the shed, and thinking it was the same squad, set fire to it.

Two years after these men were recorded, another confession was made. This time it was in Scotland. In early December 1982, the Scottish newspapers carried a story stating that an old lady from the North of Scotland had alleged that her estranged husband had confessed to her "many years ago" that he was responsible for causing the fire. She said that because of a disagreement, she was now "spilling the beans." As a result, Strathclyde Police reopened their files on the tragedy, and in Ireland, where the story was also widely reported, the Department of External Affairs, the Taoiseach, also took an interest in the matter. It was hoped that a prosecution would be
made, but by the end of December, the Crown Office in Edinburgh had dropped the investigations, after deciding that there was "no justification" in making any further inquiries into their deaths. Like the jury at the Fatal Accident Inquiry, it had found that they could not prove how the fire had started.

PUBLIC ATTENTION

In both Scotland and Ireland the tragedy received much attention. It was widely covered in the national and local newspapers, in socialist newspapers like *Forward*, published in Glasgow, and was the subject of Peadar O'Donnell's booklet, *The Bothy Fire and All That*. A film was even made of the funeral which was later shown in cinemas in Dublin. Much public feeling was expressed, and in both countries, and in a number of others, many people sympathised with the bereaved. Thousands turned out to see the coffins as they travelled on the long journey from Kirkintilloch to Achill Island, where they were buried. At the Broomielaw in Glasgow, it was estimated that 10,000 people turned out to see the coffins and the survivors leave the country; a similar number met them at the North Wall in Dublin. In Ireland, the special train which took them from Dublin through the Midlands to Achill Sound, was met by sympathisers at every bridge, and by hundreds at each station. The funeral itself was attended by thousands, including a large number of dignitaries from both Scotland and Ireland. Many could not get into the Church of the Immaculate Conception on Achill for a requiem
mass, nor into the graveyard at Kildownet, where the bodies were buried in one large grave. Sympathy was expressed by both Catholics and Protestants, Jewish and other religions and prayers were also said throughout the world. Many individuals and organisations wrote letters of sympathy to the relatives and to their local parish priest, Reverend Campbell, while others - including County Councils, Agricultural Societies and Political Groups - passed resolutions of sympathy. In both Scotland and Ireland numerous relief funds were set up to assist the bereaved relatives, and in total £18,233 was raised.

In Ireland attention was directed to the conditions under which the Achill people had to live and to the fact that the island had to send much of its youth, some of whom were only thirteen years of age - like those who perished at Kirkintilloch - to the Scottish potato fields or to England to earn money to supplement their earnings on their small crofts. In both Ireland and Scotland, widespread attention was drawn to the conditions, particularly the housing conditions, under which these people lived while in Scotland.

As a result of the tragedy and of the feeling generated by it, steps were taken to try to improve the lot of the Irish migratory workers, and their working and living conditions in the Scottish potato fields. The people of Achill responded by trying to improve the island's economic position so that they would no longer be forced to migrate to the Scottish potato fields to earn money to supplement their incomes, and within a week of the tragedy they set up the Achill Anti-Migrating Industrial and Improvement Committee to achieve this. While realising that this would take
some time, they also tried to secure better working conditions in Scotland, and a few months later, the Island's migratory workers set up the Achill Migratory Workers' Union. Its work did secure some concessions for the 1938 harvest, and although they received wages paid at the 1937 level, they did get their fare paid for them at the end of their engagement (usually they had to pay this themselves).58

Steps were also taken by the Irish Free State Government to set up a committee to examine "generally the problem of seasonal migration of labour from certain congested areas to Great Britain."59 This was the Inter-Departmental Committee on Seasonal Migration, appointed on 23 September 1937, by Sean Lemass, the Minister for Industry and Commerce. The seven man committee was instructed to make recommendations on two subjects. Firstly, the improvement of the conditions under which migrants were recruited and employed and the prevention of abuses connected therewith and secondly on the improvement of economic conditions in the areas concerned. After holding a total of seventeen meetings, they issued their Report in May 1938.60 In it, the committee made a total of six "principal conclusions" which dealt with the first subject. Not all of these, however, refer to the "Achill Workers" or the migrants who went to work in the Scottish potato fields. Those which did, were not very constructive. Indeed, O'Dowd "wonder[ed] why the report was commissioned at all."61 The Government would not intervene in improving either the employment conditions or housing conditions of the potato workers, unless it imposed restrictions on their "liberty" which it did not wish to do.62 It recommended that the
best chance for improving their conditions was for the workers to organise themselves; this was done by the potato workers from Achill. The power to make any improvements to their housing conditions also lay outside the Government's hands. This, the report states, was the responsibility of the British Authorities:

They alone know or are in a position to ascertain at any moment what the existing conditions and present needs of the situation are. They only have the power to enact and enforce such remedial legislative and administrative measures as they may find to be necessary.63

OFFICIAL ACTION

The British Government did take active and successful steps in altering the legislation regulating the housing accommodation given to these workers in Scotland, and indeed to other groups of seasonal workers. A glance at the legislation relating to these workers in Scotland at the time of the tragedy helps to understand the legislation which was later introduced.

By 1937 there were extensive regulations which controlled the accommodation given to potato workers, and other types of seasonal workers such as harvesters, fruit-pickers, navvies, herring gutters, and "other workers engaged in work of a temporary nature" which could be prescribed by the DHS.64 Under Section 83 of the Housing (Scotland) Act, 1925, and the Seasonal Workers' Accommodation Byelaws (Scotland) Regulations, 1931, Local Authorities could make and adopt
byelaws "for the proper accommodation" of the above types of workers.65

Under Section 83 of the 1925 Act, byelaws were to contain provisions for the intimation to the local authority of a person's intention to employ seasonal workers; for regulating the "nature and extent of the accommodation" given, which included the sleeping accommodation and separation of the sexes, the lighting, ventilation, cubic space, cleanliness, and furnishing of the accommodation, including beds and bedding and cooking utensils; for the storage of food, washing of clothes, and drying of wet clothes; for water closets or privies for the separate use of the sexes and for a suitable supply of water. The byelaws were to determine who was responsible for providing the accommodation itself. In the case of potato workers, harvesters, fruit-pickers and other seasonal workers employed on farms or fruit farms, this was to be given by the farmer or fruit-grower; the employer was responsible for maintaining it. Provision was made for the inspection of the premises and for the byelaws to be exhibited in them. The Board of Health for Scotland (BHS) could extend these byelaws to cover any "other matters" which arose. Section 83 also allowed that in cases of emergency, the Board could suspend the operation of any byelaw which affected agricultural interests, on the application of the Board of Agriculture for Scotland.

As a result of recommendations made by a number of Local Authorities like Ayrshire, Edinburgh, and Midlothian, and of the death of nine potato workers at Kilnford Farm, Dundonald, Ayrshire in September 1924, when their sleeping apartments caught fire, the DHS used their power to extend the byelaws to
cover "other matters" and in May 1931 issued the "Seasonal Workers' Accommodation Byelaws (Scotland) (Regulations) 1931." Under these, byelaws had to make provision for the intimation to a Local Authority of the particulars specified in them regarding the premises which were to be used for workers, and of the arrangements for keeping the premises clean and for the disposal of rubbish from them. The byelaws had to determine who was responsible for regulating the use by the workers of the accommodation. They were to make provision for the arrangements which were to be made by an employer who was not himself supervising the accommodation, for appointing a deputy "to see to the carrying into effect of such of the byelaws as are incumbent on the employer." Records were to be kept by the employer of the workers using the accommodation. For the first time there were regulations which gave workers protection against fire and for providing suitable emergency exits, which Handley considered to be "the most important" of these new regulations. In the byelaws made by a number of Authorities these provisions were complex. In for instance, those adopted for "potato workers, harvesters, fruit-pickers, and other seasonal workers employed on farms or fruit-farms," in the county of Renfrew in 1934, six of the forty-one clauses were concerned with safety from and prevention of fire. The farmer was responsible for providing lamps or lanterns fitted with non-breakable fuel containers, which were to be "securely fixed" to the walls, or rafters, or ceiling, or in an approved place; for supplying fire fighting appliances in each sleeping apartment which comprised of at least two pails - one filled with sand, the other
with water - marked with the word "fire." He was responsible for placing suitable emergency exits from each sleeping apartment. These had to open outwards in the direction of exit from the building, and be placed "at the end of the apartment opposite to the normal exit" and was to be marked with the word "exit." Where sleeping accommodation was given in an upper floor, a suitable fixed ladder or other means had to be fixed so that the ground could be easily reached from the exit. Doors used as emergency exits, were as "far as practicable" to "be so fitted as to open outwards in the direction of exit from the building." Employers were not to allow any worker to use a candle or other naked light for lighting any sleeping apartment, or permit any loose straw or other readily inflammable material to be kept in any sleeping apartment. Employers were also responsible for ensuring that the fire-extinguishers were placed in readily accessible positions, and were ready for "immediate use during the occupancy of the buildings by the workers." While the accommodation was occupied he had to "take steps" to ensure that all the emergency exits were maintained in efficient working order, and were kept free from obstructions.

By 1937, byelaws had been adopted in a total of seventeen counties and five burghs. Of these, twelve county councils and four burgh councils had adopted these for potato-workers, fruit-workers and others employed in agriculture (Fig. A.10.5). These were in operation in the counties referred to in the 1917 Report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Industrial Population of Scotland, Rural and Urban as the chief areas in which gangs of migratory labourers were housed - Ayrshire, Haddingtonshire or
East Lothian, Midlothian, Renfrewshire, Dumbartonshire, Fife and Perthshire. They had also been adopted in other areas, Wigtownshire, Lanarkshire, Stirlingshire, West Lothian and Angus. The four burghs which had adopted them were Ardrossan in Ayrshire (situated in the "early" potato growing district), Dunfermline in Fife, Dundee and Edinburgh. All four contained agricultural land within their boundaries. Outwith these areas Local Authorities had not found it necessary to make byelaws for seasonal workers; these included the Burgh Council of Kirkintilloch.
FIG A. 10. 5. LOCAL AUTHORITIES WHICH HAD ADOPTED BYELAWS REGULATING THE ACCOMMODATION GIVEN TO "SEASONAL WORKERS" BEFORE SEPTEMBER 1937

Source: SRO, DD13/227.

- Byelaws relating to the accommodation of potato workers and fruit pickers employed on farms or fruit farms
  - Byelaws for navvies
  - Byelaws for herring gutters
  + Byelaws for herring gutters and navvies
  □ No byelaws in operation
Of these areas which had adopted byelaws for potato workers most had made byelaws under the 1931 Regulations. However, the counties of East Lothian, West Lothian, Angus and Lanarkshire and the burghs of Ardrossan and Dundee had not as they thought that those made under the 1925 Act were sufficient.73

NEW LEGISLATION

How was new legislation to be introduced, and what form did it take?

The DHS could not adopt any new legislation until they knew the full facts of the tragedy, and whether there were any inadequacies in the existing legislation. A minute of 16 September, the day of the tragedy, indicated that the Department would follow a similar course of action to that taken after an earlier disaster at Kilnford Farm, Dundonald, Ayrshire, in September 1924, which was partly responsible for the introduction of the Regulations issued in 1931.74 As with that disaster, they waited until a Fatal Accident Inquiry, enquiring into the full circumstances of the tragedy and the cause of death, was held.

The Fatal Accident Inquiry, held at Dumbartonshire Sheriff Court a month after the tragedy on 18 October, did highlight that there were inadequacies in the existing legislation. At Kirkintilloch the accommodation had been provided by W. and A. Graham the potato merchant; under Section 83 byelaws only regulated accommodation provided by a farmer, or in some cases by the
landlord, if he was required to erect it. This had also been situated within the burgh of Kirkintilloch itself and not on a farm, as O'Dowd states. The byelaws only regulated the accommodation given to potato workers on farms. They also did not take account the situation which had taken place where workers could be accommodated in one Authority area and were transported daily to another area to work. There had been byelaws in operation in the county areas of Dumbartonshire since August 1933, but there were none in operation within the burgh of Kirkintilloch itself. The accommodation itself also showed that improvements could be made to the byelaws, and in particular for introducing clauses for safeguarding workers against fire. The witnesses had been closely examined about the hot plate and its safety, while it was pointed out that some of the women had to jump from an attic window so that they could reach safety. Finally, the jury at the inquiry made one recommendation or "rider" which they hoped would ensure that no further tragedies like this one would take place. They advised that all accommodation for seasonal workers should be inspected and passed as safe and proper by the official of the Local Authority concerned. This was not a new idea, for inspections were already being carried out by sanitary inspectors in areas where byelaws were in operation to ensure that the premises complied with them. In this case it was not necessary to adopt new legislation, and so the circular issued on 14 December 1937 covered this matter.

At this time it was possible to incorporate all of the findings except the jury's rider into a Bill, which allowed the existing legislation to be amended and extended. This was to be achieved
in Section 19 of the Housing (Agricultural Population) (Scotland) Bill, which later became the Housing (Agricultural Population) (Scotland) Act, 1938, on receiving its royal assent on 13 July 1938.79

The insertion of a clause into the Housing (Agricultural Population) (Scotland) Bill, was a complex process. Section 19, which dealt with the accommodation of potato workers and other types of seasonal workers defined in the 1925 Act, was very much influenced by Section 18 which dealt with the making of bye-laws for "bothies, chaumers and similar premises which are used for the accommodation of agricultural workers and are not part of a farmhouse."

Like many of the clauses in the Bill, Section 18 had been introduced as a result of a recommendation made by the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee, in their Report on Rural Housing in Scotland.80 They recommended that:

County Councils should be required to make bye-laws applicable to all bothies and to all chaumers which are not part of the farmhouse. The Department of Health should prepare a model set of bye-laws and all County Councils should be required to make bye-laws within six months of the passing of amending legislation.81

This was to form the basis of Section 18. However, at a meeting between the Department of Agriculture for Scotland and the DHS on 19 October, the day after the Kirkintilloch Fatal Accident Inquiry was held, there were indications that as a result of the
tragedy, the Section would have to be altered in scope.\textsuperscript{82} For the first time the Departments considered whether it was necessary for the DHS to require town councils as well as county councils to adopt byelaws; many of these did not have bothies in their districts. It was also questioned whether it was necessary for the DHS to require County Councils to make byelaws within a given time rather than for them to chose whether to do so; such was a "novel provision."\textsuperscript{83} After discussions with the Secretary for State for Scotland and the Lord Advocate on 27 October 1937, it was decided that the more unusual step of requiring all councils - both town and county - to make byelaws for bothies and other similar premises in Section 18 be adopted. It was "felt" that a proviso could be included which would also relieve authorities of adopting byelaws if they could show to the satisfaction of the Department that these were unnecessary.\textsuperscript{84}

By this time the question of introducing Section 19 dealing with the accommodation of seasonal workers had not arisen in any of the departmental correspondence. When the matter was discussed on 28 October, by officials of the DHS and the Secretary, it was agreed that the clause should have a similar application to that of Section 18.\textsuperscript{85} Under Section 19, then, all Local Authorities were to make byelaws for seasonal workers unless they could show "to the satisfaction of the DHS" that these were unnecessary and that there were no seasonal workers accommodated in their area, when they would then be granted dispensation from making them. If authorities failed to make them then the DHS had power to make and confirm them "as if they had been made by the local authority." As in Section 18, these were to be made within six
months of the passing of the Bill, or within a longer period as the Department allowed.

This was as far as the similarities between the two Sections went. Both sections did contain other clauses, and in Section 19, a third one amended the clause in Section 83 of the 1925 Act which dealt with the person responsible for providing the accommodation for seasonal workers. This was now redefined so that the byelaws regulating the accommodation given to potato workers, harvesters, fruit-pickers and other seasonal workers would apply to accommodation which was not situated on farms. Like Section 83, if farmers or fruit-growers were required to provide accommodation for these workers, which involved the erection of additional buildings, he could require the landlord to erect these "on terms and conditions to be determined, failing agreement, by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland."\(^{86}\)

Under Section 19, the DHS issued new revised byelaws, on July 13 1938, the same day the Bill received its royal assent.\(^ {87}\) These were not the same as those in Section 18, which both Handley and O'Dowd take to be the "matters" covered in the byelaws regulating the accommodation given to potato workers.\(^ {88}\) The revised ones were in a number of respects different from those which had been previously issued. Their scope was altered. Now only one set of byelaws was issued which dealt with all the types of seasonal workers; until now three sets had been issued, one for each of the classes of seasonal workers defined under the 1925 Act as working on farms or fruit farms, the herring gutters and the navvies. The effect of this was to strengthen the byelaws, and at the same time to increase the need for authorities to adopt
them. The clause which had been adopted by a number of authorities like Edinburgh and Renfrew, allowing intimation to a local authority of the byelaws where less than five, or a similar number of workers, of the same sex were accommodated to be waived, was no longer included, and now the byelaws were to apply to all accommodation regardless of the number of workers occupying it.\textsuperscript{89}

The layout of the provisions was also altered. Similar requirements were grouped under appropriate headings. All the provisions which had to be undertaken by "the person responsible" were grouped together under one clause or section, whilst those to be undertaken by "the employer" were contained under another.\textsuperscript{90}

Changes were also made to the standard of accommodation provided. The wording of the clauses was more precise, suggesting a precise standard of accommodation, and one which was higher than that given in either the 1925 Act or 1931 Regulations. Alterations were made to the phrasing of such provisions such as the amount of space given to a worker, the provisions given for heating, ventilation and lighting, sanitary facilities, the storage of food outwith the sleeping apartments, and in the clause relating to the sufficient supply of blankets.

Only two new clauses were inserted into the byelaws. If required by a local authority, the person responsible for supplying the accommodation had to provide an incinerator where the number of workers exceeded thirty. The second and more important was introduced as a direct result of the tragedy. Like those introduced as a result of the Kilnford Farm tragedy, this was
also concerned with prevention of and safety from fire, and indeed suggested the important part the hot-plate played in the tragedy. Employers were to ensure that "all lights, fires, and other means of heating within the building" were extinguished not later than at a stated hour each night (usually 10pm or 11pm) "or were left in a safe condition." It is very likely that the gaffer, rather than the potato merchant who was the squad's employer, would have been left to carry this out, or else a person appointed by him to look after the accommodation.

INTRODUCTION OF NEW BYELAWS

So that this legislation could be brought into operation as swiftly as possible the DHS took early steps to get authorities to introduce byelaws, even though they could not bring them into operation until after 13 July 1938. On 3 November 1937, the day before the Bill was introduced into the House of Commons, the Secretary of State of Scotland announced that he was "issuing immediately" a circular through the DHS to all the Local Authorities on the question of reviewing the byelaws for potato workers and seasonal workers. This, was not, however, issued until 14 December. Another one, which was written along similar lines to this, was issued on 13 July 1938.

Despite these steps, few authorities had made byelaws within six months of the passing of the Act. Many had found it difficult to make them within this period either as a result of other authority business, or because they wanted to make
modifications to the model byelaws, which the Department did not regard as being "competent." This had been the cause of delay in Lanarkshire, where the county Council had wanted to extend the definition of "seasonal workers" to include "other persons who are temporarily or seasonally employed," like persons employed in weeding strawberry crops; while Falkirk town council had wanted to include provision for gas or electric lighting. Most of the authorities which made and adopted byelaws, applied to the DHS for an extension of this period, and were granted one, usually for three months; this included the burgh of Kirkintilloch. A few, like Lanarkshire, Midlothian and Argyll were granted a longer extension.

By September 1939 when correspondence between the DHS and Local Authorities generally came to an end, a large number of authorities had made and adopted byelaws under Section 19 (Fig. A.10.6). The correspondence shows that at this date they had been adopted by nine County Councils and twenty-six town councils across the country. Another four County Councils - Midlothian, Lanarkshire, Ayrshire and Argyll - and three Town Councils - Dundee, Edinburgh and Blairgowrie - were in the process of adopting them. A further five County Councils- Peeblesshire, Renfrewshire, Fife, Inverness-shire and Shetland - and four town councils - Stranraer, Ardrossan, Coldstream and Peterhead - proposed to make them. Although correspondence does not survive for other counties shown in Fig. A.10.6, it is known that a large number of burghs considered it unnecessary to adopt byelaws, and some like Girvan, Irvine, Largs, Troon and
Darvel in Ayrshire and Prestonpans in East Lothian were granted dispensation from adopting them.\textsuperscript{100}

Fig. A.10.6 indicates that the byelaws for seasonal workers were successfully extended to cover a wider geographical area across the country and to apply to a larger number of burghs. For the first time, they were introduced into the borders, into the counties of Selkirkshire, Roxburghshire and Berwickshire. They were now to be found in Clackmannanshire, Aberdeenshire and Sutherland. Attempts had been made to introduce them into Nairn at this time, but these were unsuccessful.\textsuperscript{101} For the first time the county of Kirckudbright, which had made byelaws for navvies in 1933, introduced them for potato workers.\textsuperscript{102}
FIG. A.10.6 LOCAL AUTHORITIES ADOPTING BYELAWS UNDER SECTION 19 OF THE (AGRICULTURAL POPULATION) (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1938. POSITION AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

![Map of Scotland with burghs numbered]

Key to burghs (numbered)
1. Lerwick (proposed)
2. Wick
3. Peterhead (proposed)
4. Brechin
5. Montrose
6. Dundee (confirmed in 1940)
7. Blairgowrie (in process of adopting)
8. Perth
9. Alloa
10. Stirling
11. Falkirk
12. Dunfermline
13. Kirkcaldy
14. Edinburgh (in process of adopting)
15. Dunbar
16. Coldstream (proposed)
17. Sanquhar
18. Stranraer (proposed)
19. Maybole
20. Kilmarnock
21. Ardrossan (proposed)
22. Rothesay
23. Dunoon
24. Greenock
25. Renfrew
26. Glasgow
27. Coatbridge
28. Airdrie
29. Motherwell and Wishaw
30. Kirkintilloch
31. Milngavie
32. Port William
33. Stornoway

Source: DD13/1590 to DD13/1647.

- Authorities where byelaws were in operation by the outbreak of the Second World War
- Authorities which adopted byelaws during the War
- Authorities which proposed to adopt byelaws
  - n.a. no information available
  - □ No byelaws made
Most of the burghs which had adopted them were found in the counties which had adopted byelaws for potato workers, harvesters and fruit-pickers, either under the 1925 Act or the 1931 Regulations, or both. In this area nineteen out of the twenty-six burghs which had made byelaws at this time were to be found. The majority of these were confined to the western lowlands, and particularly to the counties of Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, Dumbartonshire and Lanarkshire. Few were made in the eastern potato growing districts like East Lothian, Midlothian, Fife and Perthshire. In East Lothian, one of the more important counties which employed seasonal migrant workers only one of the seven burghs, that of Dunbar, adopted byelaws, while in Midlothian, the only one to adopt them was Edinburgh, which had already made and adopted them in 1925 and 1933. The same situation was also found in Fife and Perthshire where only three burghs had adopted byelaws by the outbreak of war.

Outside this area there were few burghs which adopted byelaws. This was true in some of the areas where these were adopted for the first time. None were found in Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire or Sutherland, while in Clackmannanshire and Aberdeenshire, one burgh in each county adopted them. This situation was also to be found in a number of counties which had adopted byelaws for navvies and herring gutters.

In looking at the distribution of the byelaws adopted under Section 19, it must be remembered that they covered all the three types of workers defined under Section 83 of the 1925 Act - the potato workers, harvesters and fruit pickers, navvies and herring gutters in one set. This meant that in all areas where byelaws
were made and adopted, authorities had power to regulate the accommodation given to potato workers. It is, however, very unlikely that they would be found in all of these areas. Correspondence between the DHS and the burgh authorities of Peterhead, Wick and Stornoway shows that the byelaws were drafted primarily for the use of herring gutters, while in Inverness, Sutherland, Orkney or Shetland, there was no tradition of potato workers being accommodated.104

Additional correspondence between a number of local authorities and the DHS also indicates that fourteen burghs which had either made or were proposing to make byelaws had initially thought it unnecessary to do so. These were Renfrew, Coatbridge, Greenock, Dunoon, Dumbarton, Alloa, Stirling, Falkirk, Rothesay, Coldstream, Kirkcaldy, Brechin, Fort William and Sanquhar. Sanquhar in Dumfriesshire adopted them although the town council did not think it was necessary to adopt them.105 It took "the view that ample accommodation is available in private lodgings and the common lodging house in the Burgh for seasonal workers if the services of such workers are ever required, either in the burgh or in the surrounding landward district, which they regard as extremely unlikely." A note from a DHS official also noted how the two farms in the burgh "do not seem to be of a nature or extent as to require the employment of seasonal workers."106 After writing to the DHS on three occasions stating that it was unnecessary to adopt them, they eventually agreed to adopt them. No seasonal workers were to be found at Renfrew, but byelaws had been made as a result of which the burgh byelaws were to be extended.107 However, the DHS thought that in
a number of cases burghs should adopt them. The Town Clerks of Rothesay and Falkirk had written to the Department stating that although there had been potato workers previously accommodated in the burghs there was no need to adopt byelaws; at Rothesay between eight to ten workers had been accommodated at a farm in the burgh until 1936, while at Falkirk one had been accommodated on only one occasion.108 Even where local workers were employed by local farmers or contractors for seasonal work, on a daily basis, the DHS felt that "imported" squads could be brought into an area and be accommodated. This situation was noted in two burghs, Kirkcaldy and Greenock; yet the council at Kirkcaldy was not aware of any contractors in the town who housed seasonal workers.109 In these cases Authorities had adopted them as a precautionary measure so that they would have them in operation so that they would have them in operation "in advance of any development."

The distribution of these byelaws does not therefore give a reliable picture of where potato workers, or other types of seasonal workers defined under the 1925 Act, were accommodated, or were likely to be accommodated after 1938.

What then was the extent to which Section 19 was utilised by potato workers? Owing to the scarcity of documentary evidence it is very difficult to tell until 1949. From this year and until 1972, it is possible to get a very clear picture in both the county areas, and in the burghs. Sanitary Inspectors' Reports, which survive in large numbers from all over the country, show the presence of these
workers in all of the counties except Angus which had made byelaws before the Kirkintilloch tragedy.\textsuperscript{110} Although the Inspector in Angus did not refer to this matter, other sources state that they were accommodated in this county.\textsuperscript{111} They were also found at one farm in Dumfriesshire until 1956, when a new Sanitary Inspector was appointed who no longer referred to this inspectorate work in his report.\textsuperscript{112} The reports do not report whether these workers were to be found in Aberdeenshire, Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire and Clackmannanshire.

These Reports also show the extent to which potato workers were housed within burghs, during this same period. A survey of 1,191 reports, covering 76 burghs over the country, shows that they were accommodated in only seven. These were Ayr, Ardrossan, Kirkintilloch, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Perth and Dundee.\textsuperscript{113} As was the customary practice, most of them were accommodated in premises on farms. In only two burghs, Perth and Kirkintilloch, were they housed in buildings within the burgh itself. In Perth, one of the potato merchants rented a number of huts from the Town Council in the shore area of the burgh while in Kirkintilloch about thirty workers continued to be housed in the premises at 67 Eastside, which had been rebuilt after the fire there.\textsuperscript{114}

The number of premises used by them in the burghs was also very small. Reports show that in six of the seven, only one set of premises was occupied. In Edinburgh, however, it is difficult to tell how many were used during this period, for the Reports only note the number of inspections carried out rather than the number of premises. Nevertheless, these statistics do indicate that
more than one set of premises was used, for during the 1960s an average of thirteen inspections were carried out.\(^{115}\) It is certainly known that in 1937 and 1938 workers were accommodated at twelve farms.\(^{116}\)

Owing to the fact that few premises were used, and that there was a general decline in the amount of migrant labour employed during the later 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, it is not surprising that the number of burghs accommodating these workers declined. At Dundee, they were accommodated until 1949, while at Perth the huts at the Shore were used until 1952 when they were demolished.\(^{117}\) At Kirkintilloch references are found until 1956, but owing to the nature of the Reports, workers may have been accommodated until a later date.\(^{118}\) They were housed on one farm at Ayr until 1963 when it was required for a housing development. In Ardrossan, about thirty potato diggers were to be found at Chapelhill Farm until they were replaced by "a mechanical potato digging machine together with a recruitment of local labour" in 1962. However, this proved to be unsuccessful for lifting the "earlies" and again in 1966 migratory potato diggers were again employed and housed on the farm, where they continued to be so into the 1970s. At this time they were still found at Strathkinnes in St. Andrews, while in Edinburgh, the Sanitary Department were still carrying out inspections.\(^{119}\) By 1970 when the byelaws made under Section 19 were repealed and replaced by new ones made under Section 171 of the Housing (Scotland) Act, 1966, Sanitary Inspectors' Reports indicate that potato workers were accommodated in three burghs in the country. These were the burghs of Ardrossan in Ayrshire,
Edinburgh and St Andrews in Fife.\textsuperscript{120} By this time, the housing of these workers within burghs was a very unusual feature, but at the same time, it was also a traditional feature in the housing of these workers, for two of the burghs had already byelaws in operation for these workers before the tragedy took place at Kirkintilloch.

CONCLUSION

The Kirkintilloch tragedy can be seen as a very important event in the history of the housing of migratory potato workers. In Ireland it led to the people of Achill trying to improve their economic status so that they would not need to emigrate to the Scottish potato fields, to the formation of the Achill Migratory Workers Union, and the setting up of a Committee looking into the question of Seasonal Migration to Great Britain. In Scotland it led to the introduction of Section 19 of the Housing (Agricultural Population) (Scotland) Act, 1938, which successfully extended the legislation given to regulate the accommodation given to seasonal workers, as defined under Section 83 of the Housing (Scotland) Act, 1925. For potato workers, the operation of Section 19 showed that there was a particular need for byelaws to be extended to cover a number of additional burghs which had not adopted them before the Kirkintilloch tragedy. Although these were adopted in many areas over Scotland, they were used by relatively few. For many burghs, Section 19 acted as a preventative measure so that
there would not be a repetition of a tragedy like that which took place at Kirkintilloch.
Notes

Chapter 1: Introduction

1 SRO, HH62/33, Report for Dumbartonshire.


8 For example, David Marshall, "Scottish Agriculture During the War," THASS, LXIII (1946), 41-42.


10 Charles J. B. MacDonald, "Potato Growing in the Lothians," THASS, 5th series, VI (1894), 294.

11 Scola, p. 154.
12 SRO, AF47/4/12, Report of Potato Marketing Scheme year ended 31 August 1936, appendix 2; AF47/4/12, Report of Potato Marketing Scheme year ended 31 August 1937, appendix 2.

13 MacDonald, p. 292.


15 MacDonald, p. 291.


18 Women were also widely employed at the potato harvest in other countries. See for example H. M. Jenkins, "Report on the Agriculture of Sweden and Norway," JRASE, 2nd series, 11 (1875), 192.


20 Devine, p. 102; Sanders, p. 316; Stephens, 3rd ed., p. 9.

21 PP 1870, C. 221, XIII, p. 47; PP 1893-4, C. 6894-xvi, XXXVI, p. 95; PP 1900, Cd. 346, LXXII, p. 68; Sanders, p. 316.

February 1902), planting potatoes ("Crichton Public School Log Book 10.10.1873 to 4.7.1947," 6 May 1878), working at the grain harvest (CO7/5/4/7, 3 November 1874; CO7/5/4/8, 5 August 1887; CO7/5/4/1, 14 August 1874; CO7/5/4/17, 14 August 1885; "Wilkieston Public School Log Book 15.2.1864 to 27.1.1905," 17 August 1866, 12 October 1877; "Dalmahoy St. Mary's Episcopal School Log Book 1.3.1864 to 19.12.1874," 7 October 1867) and in market garden work (CO7/5/4/14, 16 to 20 July 1894). For a comparison of the employment of children in Germany see Helene Simon, "Child Labour in German Agriculture During the Last Twenty Years," International Labour Review, 13 (1926), 720.

23 SRO, ED54/81.

24 "It has been, on the whole, a helpful week for the country ...;" North British Agriculturist, 24 October 1929; PP 1935-6, Cmd. 5217, VII, p. 9; SRO, AF59/51, p. 13. However, there were local exceptions. Not all school authorities would allow children to be released from school for working at the potato harvest, as in the Auchterarder area where no potato holiday was given ("School Holidays for Potato Lifting, Crieff School Holidays Suggestion," Glasgow Herald, 20 January 1937).

25 SRO, AF59/23/13, number 2, number 33, number 54.


27 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, Pilmuir, Balerno, 10 November 1994; SRO, CO7/5/5/2, CO7/5/5/3, CO7/5/5/4, CO7/5/5/5, CO7/10/4/4, 13 September 1938, 26 September 1939; CO7/10/4/5, 10 September 1940, 10 September 1941, 22 September 1942, 15 September 1943, 27 June 1944, 12 September 1944, CO7/10/4/6, 11 September 1945.

28 PP 1870, C. 221, XIII, p. 65.

29 Wright, p. 52.


31 PP 1910, Cd. 5033, CVIII, p. 6.

32 PP 1900, Cd. 346, LXXXII, Appendix iii, p. 2; PP 1909, Cd. 4919, CII, p. 7.


34 The importance of the squads in the Lothians, was not always reported by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland,
though other contemporary reports did state that the workers were widely employed in the Lothians (PP 1907, Cd. 3481, XCVII, p. 7, p. 10; PP 1909, Cd. 4919, CII, p. 7; PP 1910, Cd. 5033, CVIII, p. 6; PP 1912-13, Cd. 6019, CVI, p. 6; PP 1912-13, Cd. 6198, CVI, p. 7; PP 1913, Cd. 6928, LXXVI, p. 6; SRO, AF59/62, "Report of Local Government Board for Scotland, 1907"). For later years see PP 1917-18, C. 8731, XIV, p. 191.

35 Snodgrass, p. 103; SRO, AF59/59, p. 23.

36 PP 1912-13, Cd. 6019, CVI, p. 6. For a comparison see PP 1906, Cd. 2865, CXXXIII, p. 13.

37 "Report on the Irish Migratory Labourers," Journal of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, 5 (1904-1905), 447. For comparison see E. J. T. Collins, "Migrant Labour in British Agriculture in the Nineteenth Century," Economic History Review, 29 (1976), 57. In footnote 2, Collins talks about "sharply conflicting opinions about Irish behaviour." This situation is also found with the Achill Workers. While regarded as "quiet" some were also very unruly at the weekends owing to the amount of alcohol they consumed. At some farms it was said that the police were never away from them (Field recording, A. Hastie, 25 July 1995).

38 SRO, AF59/58, pp. 32-33.

39 Field recording, A. Denholm, Musselburgh, 14 September 1995; PP 1909, Cd. 4919, CII, p. 7-8; SRO, AF59/51, p. 20; AF59/62, "Report by Mr Grierson of Achill."


41 Handley, p. 174.


43 Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995.
Chapter 2: Labour Requirements


6 Field recording, J. Galloway, Orchardfield, Kirknewton, 8 August 1995.

7 For example, Field recording, J. Braes, Barbachlaw, Wallyford, 17 July 1995; Field recording, J. Fleming, Upper Dean Park, Balerno, 20 July 1995; Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lambert, Musselburgh, 3 August 1995; SRO, AF59/23/8, number 2.

8 Field recording, Mr and Mrs J. Muir, Freeland Road, Ratho, 1 August 1995; PP 1935-6, Cmd. 5217, VII, p. 8.

9 Field recording, D. Dandie, Learielaw, Pumpherton, 24 July 1995; Field recording, Mrs A. Holmes, Pilmuir, Balerno, 4 December 1994. If contractors were paid to harvest the crop by the acre it was in their interest to employ good quality workers as fewer were required to be employed to undertake the same amount of work (Field recording, G. Lambert, Musselburgh, 3 August 1995).


11 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, Pilmuir, Balerno, 16 November 1994.

13 Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, Dalkeith, 28 August 1995; Field work, Hermiston, Currie, Midlothian, October 1990.


15 For example AF39/11/1; AF39/11/2; AF39/11/3; AF39/11/5; AF39/15/1; AF39/15/2; AF39/21/1; AF39/21/2; AF40/9/1; AF40/9/2; AF40/19/19; AF40/19/29; AF40/19/44; AF40/29/1; AF40/29/2.

16 SRO, AF40/33/1; AF40/33/2. For example, no first earlies were grown at Oldhamstocks, Spott, Bolton, Leith, Ecclesmachan and Livingston.

17 For example, Farrall, p. 306.


19 SRO, AF40/43.

20 Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995; Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 10 November 1994; "Tommy Dale's Diary. Somehow I'll have to 'Save' a Fortnight," Scottish Farmer. 10 November 1973.

21 Field recording, A. Hastie, Dolphingstone, Tranent, 25 July 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs J. Muir, 1 August 1995.

22 Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995; Field recording, J. Fleming, 20 July 1995; Field recording, A. Hastie, 25 July 1995; Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 10 November 1994; SRO, GD1/1/162, "2 weeks ending 28th October 1921," "2 weeks ending 11th November 1921."


24 First earlies could be harvested in the rain if there was an urgent demand for potatoes and orders had to be filled (Field recording, A. Hastie, Dolphingstone, Tranent, 25 July 1995).
Field recording, J. Cleghorn, Edinburgh, 28 July 1995; Field recording, Mrs A. Holmes, 4 December 1994; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.
Chapter 3: Sources for Obtaining a Supply of Labour

1 SRO, GD1/1/155, "4 weeks ending 8th December 1916"; GD1/1/161, "2 weeks ending 11th November 1910"; GD1/1/162, "2 weeks ending 28th October 1921"; GD40/8/320/190; GD40/8/325/747; GD40/8/326/744.


3 SRO, AF59/50, p. 23.


6 SRO, AF59/50, p. 23. The system of giving unemployed farm workers a cottage arose from the economic depression of the late 1920s and 1930s when farmers tried to reduce their labour bills by employing casual workers instead of regular farm staff. For farmers, it had a distinct advantage as it allowed them to draw upon casual workers whenever they required them. For the workers, however, they were bound to the farmer, and some were not allowed to hire themselves out to other farmers (SRO, AF59/50, p. 27-29). See also GD1/1/162, "2 weeks ending 29th October 1920" for the employment of estate workers.

"Potato Lifting By Children," North British Agriculturist, 15 November 1928. See also Field recording, A. Denholm, Musselburgh, 14 September 1995.

SRO, HH62/33, pp. 50-51.


Women workers from the mining districts were specially valued in other areas. In Fife and Kinross workers were drawn from the mining towns (AF59/68, number 136; Alexander Smith, ed., The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Fife (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1952), p. 221). In the parish of Dreghorn in Ayrshire the casual workers were "mainly miners willing to lend a hand after their day's work in the pits" (Strawhorn and Boyd, p. 302). At Stewarton in Ayrshire "formerly much of the extra labour came from the mining districts of Lanarkshire or from Stewarton itself" (Strawhorn and Boyd, p. 492).

PP 1893-4, C. 6894-XVI, XXXVI, p. 96; PP 1905, Cd. 2376, XCVII, p. 88; SRO, AF59/51, p. 15.

Field recording, R. M. Holmes, Pilmuir, Balerno, 10 November 1994.


Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 10 November 1995.

Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995; Field recording, A. Hastie, 25 July 1995; SRO, CO7/5/5/10, 2 February 1943. Children were sent from the Prestonpans area of East Lothian to work in the eastern parts of East Lothian and as far as Dunbar.

For example, during the late 1940s and early 1950s children from Gorebridge Secondary school were transported by bus to Gladhouse Mains and Toxside Farm ("Toxside Public School Log Book 16.6.1944 to 29.3.1956," 16 September 1949, 19 October 1951, 17 October 1952, 16 October 1953). Later in the 1950s children were sent from Loanhead Secondary School to Pilmuir Farm, Balerno (Field recording, A. Duncan, Aberlady Mains, Aberlady, 22 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, Dalkeith, 28 August 1995; Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 16 November 1994).

For example, during the 1960s Henderson, potato merchant at Airdrie, Lanarkshire, brought workers from his home town to harvest crops at Currie (Field recording, J. Heming, Upper Dean Park, Balerno, 20 July 1995; Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 16 November 1994).

the United States, with Special Reference to Hired Workers in Fruit and Vegetable and Sugar-Beet Production (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), pp. 49-50.


22 "Potato harvesting will soon be general ...," North British Agriculturist, 7 October 1915; "Potato lifting in the earlier districts ...," North British Agriculturist, 14 October 1915; "School Children for Farm Work," North British Agriculturist, 3 February 1916.

23 SRO, AF43/76, number 252; CO2/109/2, 6 October 1920.


25 SRO, HH63/16/15, p. 29; HH72/18/4, p. 29.

26 SRO, CO2/70/3, 26 January 1921.

27 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 10 November 1994.

28 For example, Field recording, J. Cleghorn, Edinburgh, 28 July 1995; Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field recording, J. Fleming, 20 July 1995; Field recording, J. Harvie, Dalkeith, 14 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lambert, Musselburgh, 3 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995; Field recording Mr and Mrs Muir, Freeland's Road, Ratho, 1 August 1995.

29 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 10 November 1994.


There was a number of types of merchants. The grower merchant grew potatoes and harvested them, or had connections in growing crops. Other types had no connection with the growing crop. They bought their potatoes ready harvested and bagged for sale.


Thomas Farrall, "On the Agriculture of the Counties of Edinburgh and Linlithgow," THASS, 4th series, IX (1877), 30; Charles J. B. MacDonald, "Potato-Growing in the Lothians," THASS, 5th series, VI (1894), 309; John McNeillage, "On the Agriculture of the County of Dumbarton," THASS, 4th series, xviii (1886), 39; William Ralston, "The Agriculture of Wigtownshire," THASS, 4th series, XVII (1885), 104; SRO, AF59/69, Report for Stirlingshire; AF59/73, Report for Berwickshire; Taylor, p. 197. See also "Potato Crops and Prices in Dunbar District," North British Agriculturist, 1 November 1899. Contracts were also noted in other areas of Britain such as


43 "Life in the Potato Fields," *North British Agriculturist*, 1 August 1900.

44 "Ayrshire Potato Sales," *North British Agriculturist*, 27 June 1935; Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995; Anne O'Dowd, Tape number 17, John Cafferky, Stonefield, Co. Mayo, 25 August 1980. The sale was held annually.

45 Sales in the Biggar District were held by the Biggar Auction Company. See for example "Biggar Potato Sale," *North British Agriculturist*, 15 September 1932; "Biggar Potato Sales," *Scotsman*, 9 September 1958; "Potato Crop Buyers Cautious," *Scotsman*, 11 September 1956; "Potato Sales at Biggar," *North British Agriculturist*, 12 September 1907.

46 Sales were reported in other parts of Lanarkshire by L. S. Smellie and Sons, Ltd., auctioneers at Hamilton. They were held in the Glasford and Quarter districts, Stonehouse district, Kirkmuirhill district, Crossford and Auchenheath Districts, Lesmahagow District and Strathaven District (see also "Lanarkshire Potato Sales," *North British Agriculturist*, 24 September 1931; "Sale of Growing Potatoes in Biggar and District," *Scotsman*, 12 September 1940).

In Angus the sales were reported at Coupar Angus and Strathmore ("Couper Angus Potato Market," *North British Agriculturist*, 21 September 1881); Stirlingshire ("Potato Sales," *North British Agriculturist*, 15 August 1918. In 1918 Speedie Brothers of Stirling booked 1700 acres for sale in the Dunblane, Doune, Callander, Thornhill, Bridge of Allan, Dunblane, Kinbuck and Greenloaning).

"Sales of Growing Potatoes Mid and East Calder, Uphall and Broxburn Districts," Glasgow Herald, 11 October 1924.

Robert Scot Skirving, "Farm Labour and Labourers," in Report on the Present State of the Agriculture of Scotland, Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland (Edinburgh: Neill and Company, 1878), p. 141. For a comparison see Strawhorn and Boyd, p. 302. In the Parish of Dreghorn "the more isolated farms often have difficulty in recruiting labourers at harvest time, and get through their work with the help of local hiring contractors." In the parish of Cranston in Midlothian, the use of transported workers, which would probably be organised by gangers, enabled the acreage under potatoes to be increased after the end of the Second World War (Hiliary Kirkland, ed., Third Statistical Account of Scotland, The County of Midlothian (Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press, 1985), p. 158.

50 PP 1935-6, Cmd. 5217, VII, p. 16; SRO, AF59/69.


52 PP 1934-35, Cmd. 4913, VII.


54 Wallace, p. 63.


56 Field recording J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.

57 MacDougall, p. 23; SRO, AF43/76, number 252; CO2/109/2, 6 October 1920.

Chapter 4: Hand Tools and Implements


been raised by the old-fashioned implement - the graip. But the digger will be the sole agency for later work" ("Potato Harvesting - Central Scotland," *North British Agriculturist*, 3 September 1931).

11 Ó Ciaráin, pp. 84-85.

12 Field recording, A. Duncan, Aberlady Mains, Aberlady, 22 August 1995; Field recording, J. Fleming, Upper Dean Park, Balerno, 20 July 1995; Field recording Mr and Mrs Muir, Freeland Road, Ratho, 1 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, Edinburgh, 31 August 1995.

13 McIntosh, p. 157. For later years see National Institute of Agricultural Engineering, " Implements for Potato-Lifting," *Agriculture*, 52 (1945-6), 326.


21 MacDonald, p. 306; Charles Marshall, "Miscellaneous Implements Exhibited at Darlington," *IRASE*, 3rd series, 6 (1895), 467; SRO, CO7/5/4/1, 22
November 1878, 7 April 1882, 5 May 1882; CO7/5/4/4, 3 December 1886, 16 December 1898, 8 December 1899, 14 December 1900, 29 November 1901, 13 December 1901, 28 November 1902, 5 December 1902, 11 December 1903, 18 November 1904, 2 December 1904, 8 December 1905, 30 November 1906, 13 December 1907, 20 December 1907, 22 November 1912, 12 November 1915, 8 December 1916, 26 November 1920; CO7/5/4/17, 21 December 1894, 29 November 1895; GDI/1/133, "Payment to 2 November 1888"; GDI/1/145, "New Implements West Mains Whitsun 1885 - Martinmas 1886."


23 "Displenishing Sales," North British Agriculturist, 1 December 1927; "Displenishing Sales," North British Agriculturist, 22 November 1928; Salaman, p. 588; Patrick Wright, 10, p. 28.

24 Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, Farm Machinery Leaflet 9, Potato Harvesting with Diggers (revised, March 1963); Potato Marketing Board, "Crop Production Survey, 1980," (unpublished, 1980), n. pag.; Potato Marketing Board, Survey of Early Potatoes 1968 (Gowley: Potato Marketing Board, 1970), p. 1, p. 10; SSS, SA 1974/198. For the harvesting of both early and main crops the plough was used in the East Midlands and East Anglia. The contribution made by the plough was very small. In the East Midlands there was only 173 hectares harvested with it while in East Anglia there was 365, more than double. The distribution of use in both areas was similar, where it was confined to farms where under 5 hectares were grown and where there were over 50 hectares. The tables for Scotland do not include the class of "potato plough" used as a harvester type.

In the Lothians the use of the plough was recollected by Alex Denholm of Musselburgh who saw it at East Barns at Dunbar. He did not think it was a "Success" (Field recording, A. Denholm, Musselburgh, 14 September 1995). The plough was noted in other areas such as Lanarkshire (Field recording, J. Galloway, Orchardfield, Kirknewton, 8 August 1995).


27 MacDonald, p. 306.

28 Bond, p. 163.

29 Stephens, 3, p. 1124.

30 Forsyth, 1, p. 534; Graham, p. 177; Sinclair, 1 p. 574.

31 Douglas, p. 98.
32 MacDonald, p. 306.


35 Slight and Scott Burn, pp. 202-203. A similar double mould-board plough with longitudinal slots, like the brander, had been developed in the United States during the 1850s (C. W. Eddy, "American Implements and Methods of Economising Labour," JRASE, 20 (1859), 129).


37 Slight and Scott Burn, pp. 201.

38 H. M. Jenkins, "Report on Some Features of Scottish Agriculture," JRASE, 2nd series, 7 (1871), 159.


40 "Potato Diggers," North British Agriculturist, 5 October 1881; "The 'Royal' Trial of Potato Diggers," North British Agriculturist, 14 October 1896.

41 "Potato Diggers," North British Agriculturist, 5 October 1881.

42 Farrall, p. 30.


45 "Ayrshire Agricultural Association Show," North British Agriculturist, 26 April 1899; Fussell, p. 187; " Implements at the Highland Show," North British Agriculturist, 25 July 1894; "Jack and Sons' New Caledonian Potato Digger," North British Agriculturist, 21 August 1895; "Messrs Alexr. Jack and Sons, of Maybole ...," North British Agriculturist, 26 July 1893; JRASE, 3rd series, 1 (1890), 249, 461, 662; JRASE, 3rd series, 2 (1891), 200-1, 437, 879; JRASE, 3rd series, 3 (1892), 189, 431, 856; JRASE, 3rd series, 4 (1893), 200, 443, 651, 878; JRASE, 3rd series, 5 (1894), 190, 401-2, 579, 816; JRASE, 3rd series, 6 (1895), 203, 413, 617, 801; JRASE, 3rd series, 7 (1896), 172, 392, 594, 812; JRASE, 3rd series, 8 (1897), 571, 782; JRASE, 3rd series, 9
(1898), 195, 576, 802; IRASE, 3rd series, 10 (1899), 197, 426, 579, 783; IRASE, 3rd series, 11 (1900), 165-6, 402, 547-8, 756.

46 PP 1893-4, C. 6894-XVI, XXXVI, p. 49.

47 "Ayrshire Agricultural Association Show," North British Agriculturist, 26 April 1899; " Implements at Smithfield," North British Agriculturist, 6 December 1893; " Implements at the Highland Show," North British Agriculturist, 7 July 18497; " Implements at the Royal Show," North British Agriculturist, 21 June 1899; " Jack and Sons' New Caledonian Potato Digger," North British Agriculturist, 21 August 1895.

48 MacDonald, p. 306.

49 SRO, GD1/1/139, entry for 20 January 1899; GD40/8/339/1337, entry for 12 October 1887.

50 " A new potato digger ...", North British Agriculturist, 2 August 1899; " Implements at the Highland," North British Agriculturist, 5 July 1899; " Let of a Mid Fife Farm," North British Agriculturist, 27 December 1899; " Potato Digging Machines," North British Agriculturist, 10 November 1897.


53 " Implements at the Highland Show," North British Agriculturist, 26 July 1893; " Implements at the Highland Show," North British Agriculturist, 22 July 1896.


58 Field recording, G. Lambert, Musselburgh, 3 August 1995. A similar experience was also noted by George Lothian (Field recording, G. Lothian, Dalkeith, 28 August 1995).


61 "Ayrshire Agricultural Association Show," North British Agriculturist, 26 April 1899; " Implements at Smithfield," North British Agriculturist, 6 December 1893; "Royal Show," North British Agriculturist, 21 June 1899.


64 "On Implements Selected For Trial," THASS, 4th series, IX (1877), 340.

65 "Progress of Agricultural Machinery," North British Agriculturist, 8 January 1896. Criticisms continued that the spinner damaged the tubers. Cross states that in England "there is still a great prejudice against them for lifting potatoes for seed or for clamp storage - especially on varieties susceptible to storage rots." He also comments how it could cause a lot of damage where the soil was dry and "cobble" as the lumps of soil and stones thrown against the spinner screen with the potatoes damaged the tuber skins (P. E. Cross, "The Potato Crop," IRASE, 109 (1948), 110. See also Major James Keith, "Agricultural Machines and Implements from a Farmer's Point of View," Scottish Journal of Agriculture, XXIII (1941), 132).

66 "On Implements," (1877), 340. Aspinall's Patent machine was withdrawn from trial "as it was stated by the exhibitors that it was not applicable to damp soil and luxuriant shaws." In later years a machine developed by David Wilson of East Linton could not work unless the shaws were removed. When they were "it did fairly good work" (Bond, p. 164. See


69 McConnell, p. 704.


73 Slight and Scott Burn, p. 203; Wilson, 2, p. 46.

74 Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.

75 PP 1893-4, C. 6894-XVI, XXXVI, p. 96.

76 Wren Hoskyns, p. 449.


78 PP 1906, Cd. 3273, XCVI, pp. 96-99.

79 PP 1900, Cd. 346, LXXXII, Appendix iii.


83 "Highland Show," *North British Agriculturist*, 9 June 1897; John Coleman, "Report on the Trials of Potato Raising Machines at Newcastle,"
84 John Speir, "Changes in Implements Since 1890," THASS, 5th series, XVIII (1906), 59.


86 James Edwards, "Miscellaneous Implements Exhibited at Chester," TRASE, 3rd series, 4 (1893), 570. See article 5070, potato digger manufactured by Ransomes, Sims, & Jefferies, Ltd., of Ipswich. Thomas H. Thursfield, "Miscellaneous Implements Exhibited at Warwick," TRASE, 3rd series, 3 (1892), 548-9. See Article 4192, "New Patent potato Digger" manufactured by Messers Ransomes in which the prongs were "made in the form of small breasts, or skims, which have a raising action, and seem admirably adapted to throw the potatoes out and separate them from the soil."

87 "Ransomes' New Patent Rotary Digger with Feathering (Self-clearing) Tines," North British Agriculturist, 4 October 1899. See also Thomas H. Thursfield, "Miscellaneous Implements Exhibited at Manchester," TRASE, 3rd series, 8 (1897), 461-2.


89 Bond, pp. 164-5; Brown, p. 245; McHutcheon Dobbie, et al., (1912), 397-398.

90 "In potato diggers ... ," North British Agriculturist, 4 October 1928.

91 " Implements at 'Royal' Show," North British Agriculturist, 27 June 1894; "The accompanying is an illustration ... ," North British Agriculturist, 25 July 1894; Thomas Stirton, "Miscellaneous Implements Exhibited at Cambridge," TRASE, 3rd series, 5 (1894), 476-7.

92 " Implements at 'Royal' Show," North British Agriculturist, 27 June 1894.

93 "Wallaces' New Patent Horizontal Potato Digger," North British Agriculturist, 9 October 1895.


95 Rotating wheels used to stop the potatoes being scattered too widely were incorporated into earlier machines such as Lewis's patent Potato Digger, No. 2178 (Cecil T. Parker, "Report on Implements at Preston," TRASE, 2nd series, 21 (1885), 740) and the Potato Raiser manufactured by Powell Brothers and Whittaker of Wrexham (McConnell, p. 702-3; North British Agriculturist, 27 September 1893). For later references see Thompson Close,


99 J. A. Symon, Scottish Farming Past and Present (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1959), p. 398. The elevator type was certainly available to farmers before this time, and was, for example, exhibited at trials at Garforth carried out by Leeds University in 1919 (Bond, p. 165). Brown (p. 113), however, states that American potato diggers were introduced into Britain in the late 1930s. The first widely used elevator diggers in Scotland appeared to have been imported from the United States where they were widely used. Fraser, for instance, described their use there in 1905, and as being "satisfactory machines" (Fraser, pp. 144-5).

100 Bond, p. 165; Culpin, p. 280; Davies, p. 245; West, p. 766.

101 SRO, AF80/19, "Agricultural Machinery Census, 3 June 1944."

102 Culpin, 2nd ed., p. 280.

103 Davies, p. 245; SRO, AF59/4, number 120.

104 Potato Marketing Board, Maincrop Potato Production Techniques ..., 1977-8, p. 56.

105 Potato Marketing Board, "Crop Production Survey," n. pag.


107 Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995.


111 Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995.
Chapter 5: Harvesting Techniques


2 Field work, Blair Mains, Culross, Fife, October 1990; Field work, Hermiston, Currie, Midlothian, October 1990.


The amount of crop sold directly from the field at the maincrop harvest could vary from year to year. It depended on the prices obtained at harvest time and on the crop prospects which had an affect on the price obtained during the winter and spring months. If prices were good, farmers thought it advantageous to sell the crop immediately when it was harvested instead of storing it (PP 1893-94, C. 6894-XVI, XXVI, p. 52).


7 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994.


9 Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995; Field recording, J. Cleghorn, 28 July 1995; Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1995; Field recording,
G. Lambert, 3 August 1995. George Lambert recollects that "He [Adam] used to tell people when he was down in Ayrshire. One of his chat up lines ... this lad, he was usually, even by half past eight the sweat would be pouring off him in bucket fulls so by the end of the day he was pretty strong you know, I don't mean muscular strong. And he's usually black as the ace of spades by the end o the day wi the dust and sweat and the rest o it. And he tried to chat up a girl in an Ayrshire nightclub - I think he had more or less gone from the field into this disco - and told the girl he was a basket timmer. He says, 'I'm a timmer you know.' He says. But I don't think she was really that impressed like. He was quite disappointed with this you know. I'm the top timmer was his line you know."

As timming baskets was hard work extra money was given to the timmers (Field recording, A. Denholm, Musselburgh, 14 September 1995; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995; Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994; SSS, SA1983/121).


12 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995. Shaws were also destroyed for other reasons. When taken off they stopped the potato from bulking up or growing so the tubers would not increase in size. This action was carried out especially where crops were used as seed as a sample of small sized tubers was required. The removal of haulms could also stop the spread of the fungal disease, blight, which spread rapidly through the shaws of a growing crop if weather conditions were suitable for it. It also allowed for the tubers to mature earlier than if the shaws were not taken off the crop. No documentary evidence survives which suggests that the shaws were destroyed where the crop was harvested by grapi. Indeed, photographic evidence suggests that the shaws were not destroyed. They may have helped the digger to throw them out in a more satisfactory manner for the picker (Field recording, J. Fleming, 20 July 1995; Sutton, p. 636).


21 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994.


24 Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, Farm Machinery Leaflet 9, p. 2; National Institute of Agricultural Engineering, " Implements for Potato-Lifting," *Agriculture*, 52, (1945-6), 325.


Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995; Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995; Field recording, A. Hastie, 25 July 1995; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995; Field recording, J. Peace, 21 July 1995; Field work, Hermiston, Currie, Midlothian, October 1990; SEA, Folder 63c, c11005, c7029, c10337.


31 Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995; Field recording, A. Hastie, 25 July 1995; Stephens, 4th ed., 5, p. 120.


34 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 16 November 1994; Stephens, 4th ed., 5, p. 120.


36 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 16 November 1994.

37 Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995.


40 Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995; Field recording, J. Peace, 21 July 1995; Ó Ciaráin, p. 84; Stephens, 4th ed., 5, p. 116.

41 Anne O'Dowd, Tape 12, Thomas Ruddy, Bunanio, Curraun, Achill, Co Mayo, 24 March 1980.

42 The croman used the same technique as hand hoes and worked like an adze. The person who used it moved up the drill, lengthwise, to uncover the potatoes. The croman was used to dig across the drills. Workers worked together in a line, side by side, and kneeling (SEA, Folder 63c; Alexander Fenton, Scottish Country Life (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1976), p. 121).


49 J. C. Loudon, Encyclopaedia of Agriculture, 8th ed. (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1883), p. 851; James Slight and R. Scott Burn, The Book of Farm Implements and Machines (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1858), p. 203; Stephens, 4th ed., 5, p. 122. Where the crop was dug by the grub, the use of harrows was not reported. However, there was a similar practice reported by Ó Ciarain. He said that when harvesting the first earlies, the broke and small potatoes were left on the ground to be collected later after the whole field had been dug. "This was done by the whole squad, walking along in a line and picking as they went, every two holding a basket between them" (Ó Ciarain, p. 85).


53 Field recording, J. Cleghorn, 28 July 1995; Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995; Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field
recording, G. Lothian, Dalkeith, 28 August 1995; Loudon, p. 851; McIntosh, p.
157; Richardson, p. 211; SEA, Folder 63c, 60/43/34; Stephens, 4th ed., 5, p.
122; R. Patrick Wright, ed., Standard Cyclopedia of Modern Agriculture

54 Anne O'Dowd, Tape 17, John Cafferky, Stonefield, Co. Mayo, 25 August
1980; Richardson, p. 211; Sanders, p. 316; Stephens, 4th ed., 5, p. 122.

55 Sanders, p. 316; Stephens, 4th ed., 5, p. 121.

56 Field notes, N. Millar, 12 July 1995; Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July
1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995; Field recording, J. Peace,
21 July 1995; Robert Forsyth, The Principles and Practice of Agriculture
(Edinburgh: A. Bell, 1804), 1, p. 329; James Headrick, General View of the
Agriculture of Angus or Forfarshire (Edinburgh: Neill and Company, 1813),

57 Field recording, J. Cleghorn, 28 July 1995; Field recording, A. Hastie, 25
July 1995; Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994; "Memories of
the 'Tattie Holidays'," Dundee Courier, 6 September 1978.

58 Field recording, J. Galloway, Orchardfield, Kirknewton, 8 August 1995;
358.

59 Field notes, N. Millar, East Coxydene, Wilkieston, 12 July 1995; Field

60 J. H. Clift, "Speeding the Potato Harvest. Ideas Emerging From A Work
Study in Yorkshire," Agriculture, 72 (1965), 215; Cross, p. 112; Field notes, N.
Millar, 12 July 1995; Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995; Field recording,
J. Cleghorn, 28 July 1995; Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995; Field
recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field recording, J. Galloway, 8
August 1995; Field recording, A. Hastie, 25 July 1995; Field recording, R. M.
Holmes, 11 November 1994; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995; Field
recording, J. Peace, 21 July 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, Edinburgh, 31
August 1995; Ian MacDougall, ed., "Hard work, ye ken" Midlothian Women
Farmworkers (Edinburgh: Canongate Academic: 1993), p. 59; SRO,

61 "Dread and joy at the Tatties," Dundee Courier, 11 October 1978; SRO,
AF59/23/11, number 2, number 10, number 14.

62 David Kerr Cameron, The Cornkister Days, A Portrait of a Land and its
Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995; Field recording, J. Cleghorn, 28 July
1995; Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995; Field recording, J. Galloway, 8
August 1995; Field recording, A. Hastie, 25 July 1995; Field recording, R. M.
Holmes, 11 November 1994; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995; Field
recording, J. Peace, 21 July 1995; Field work, Blair Mains, Culross, Fife,
October 1990; Field work, Hermiston, Currie, Midlothian, October 1990.
63 Cameron, p. 149.


66 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994. If workers left the field during the day then the stents had to be rearranged. The poles were moved so that a number of stents were made slightly longer to make up the distance covered by the vacated stents, and the work was undertaken by the pickers who remained (Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994).

67 Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995 (20 yards); Field recording, J. Cleghorn, 28 July 1995 (7-8 yards); Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995 (10 yards); Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995 (30 yards - 2 workers); Field recording, J. Fleming, 20 July 1995 (8 yards for children and 12 to 14 yards for women); Field recording, A. Hastie, 25 July 1995 (15 yards); Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995 (20 yards); SRO, AF59/23/11, number 14.


69 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994.

70 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994; SRO, AF59/23/8, in envelope; AF59/23/11, in envelope, number 2, number 10, number 15. When pickers were on a half stent they earned half the pay of those of those who worked on a full length stent as they were only undertaking half the amount of work.

71 Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.

72 With breadth picking, an elevator digger started to dig shortly before the squad started work in the morning and dug adjacent or alternate rows. Each was given a drill which was gathered lengthwise up the field towards the other end. Because of the threat of rain, which would spoil the exposed potatoes, the digging of following full breadths was not started until more than half the previous one was gathered (Clift, pp. 215-216; Claude Culpin, Farm Mechanization Management (London: Crosby Lockwood and Son, 1959), p. 175; See also Sutton, p. 646).
73 Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995. The foregraip sometimes received an extra 5/- payment per week for their work.

A forewin was "the first strip of the rig to be cut." "This was done by the most experienced hand, as being best able to keep ahead of the other reapers who started on the other wins. Hence the worker who leads or sets the pace in any farming operation" (Scottish National Dictionary (Edinburgh: The Scottish National Dictionary Association, 1931-1976), s.v. Forewin).

74 Ó Ciaráin, p. 84.

75 Potato Marketing Board, Maincrop Potato Production ..., 1977-8, p. 61.


77 Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.

78 C. J. Black, Piece-work Potato Gathering, Technical Bulletin No. 18, The Edinburgh School of Agriculture, Economics Department, p. 6. He said that "gathering into barrels adds roughly ten percent to the work done by the gatherers." Stephens comments that "if there is no disease in the crop, and if the crop is moderate, and all the potatoes large and small are thrown into one basket, from twenty to twenty-four persons will keep a digger constantly going in this manner. If there are diseased tubers in the crop, or if the small and diseased are to be in any way separated, thirty to thirty-two persons may be required to keep a digger going, according to the weight of the crop, and amount of diseased ones to be taken out" (Stephens, 4th ed., 5, p. 118).


80 Potato Marketing Board, Report ..., 1975-6, p. 53.

81 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995; SEA, Folder 63c, 60/42/35A; James Slight and Scott Burn Scott Burn, p. 500; Stephens, 1st ed., 3, p. 1125.

82 Potato baskets were obtained from a number of sources. Estate papers from the Whittingham area of East Lothian report they were obtained from a basketmaker. From the 1860s to the 1890s most of the baskets on that
estate were obtained from James Anderson who also repaired the baskets (SRO, GD1/1/130, 20 April 1866; 21 November 1872; GD1/1/131, 30 October 1873; GD1/1/133, 9 November 1888, 19 November 1888, 22 November 1895; GD1/1/139, 22 November 1895; GD1/1/146, 8 November 1889, 30 October 1890, 24 November 1891; GD1/1/178, 22 November 1895, 22 June 1900). Other basketmakers were noted in later years, such as John Allan (GD1/1/159, 6 June 1927). Farmers could also obtain baskets from a sawmill. The Whittinghame estate papers record that Whittinghame Home Farm was supplied with baskets in the early 1870s (GD1/1/130, 28 November 1872; GD1/1/131, 13 November 1873, 15 November 1879). In other areas of Scotland sawmills also made potato baskets and supplied other containers such as seed chitting trays - trays on which to sprout seed potatoes, usually first earlies ("To Farmers and Potato Growers," North British Agriculturist, 23 August 1893). Into the twentieth century baskets were obtained from local implement dealers. Robert Holmes of Pilmuir, Balerno, Midlothian comments that "when everyone grew them [potatoes] it was a stock item" (Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994). Local dealers such as Jimmy Swans at Currie held a supply, and so farmers in that area did not have to travel far to obtain a supply. When the small local dealers closed down, farmers went to the larger implement dealers in Edinburgh or other towns. Oral evidence, agricultural newspapers and estate papers record how baskets could be bought at such firms as James H. Steele of Edinburgh (Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994; GD1/1/156, 13 November 1926; GD1/1/158, 29 November 1926; "Potato baskets! Potato Baskets!!," North British Agriculturist, 17 October 1929; "James H. Steele, Harrison Road, Edinburgh," North British Agriculturist, 2 September 1937) and Brown and Murray (GD1/1/158; 29 December 1926; GD1/1/178, 3 December 1898).


84 SEA, Folder 63c, c300.


86 SEA, Folder 63c, c. 11005.


88 Field work, Hermiston, Currie, Midlothian, October 1990. If potato boxes were used for storing potatoes, the pickers or gatherers banged the basket against them to knock the soil from them. Some got a sharp stone and scraped it from the bottom of the basket while they waited for the digger to uncover the following drill.
89 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994; SRO, GD1/1/139, "New Implements Ending Martinmas 1894."

90 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994.


92 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994.

93 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994. He said that in the late 1940s and the 1950s "old tramps" came round the country to sort the potato baskets. With a cog of wood and a mallet type tool, he would bash at the baskets to push them back into shape. When finished they were "almost as good as new." See also Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995; SRO, GD1/1/133, 19 November 1888; GD1/1/146, 7 December 1889; GD1/1/156, 4 October 1924.

94 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994.


100 Field recording, J. Peace, 21 July 1995.


103 Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.


106 SEA, Folder 63c, 60/43/32.


108 McIntosh, p. 156.

109 SRO, GD1/1/139, "Payment to James Anderson Nov 22 1895 potato hampers 17 baskets"; GD1/1/178, "Valuation year ending 1894 25 potato hampers 25/.

Papers also reported that "small stent hampers" were bought (GD1/1/178, "Abstract to Mart. 1904"); Sutton, p. 648.


112 Black, p. 6; SEA, Folder 63c, 60/42/5A.


114 Claude Culpin, *Farm Mechanization Management*, p. 175; Dadd, p. 43.


118 Sutton, p. 648.

119 Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 26 February 1991.

Field recording, J. Cleghorn, 28 July 1995; Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995; Field recording, A. Hastie, 25 July 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995; Field recording, J. Peace, 21 July 1995; MacDougall, p. 59.

Sutton, pp. 649-650.

SEA, Folder 63c, 60/42/13A, 60/42/14A, 60/42/15A.


Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994; SEA, Folder 63B, c9451, c10943, c2600.

Field work, Blair Mains, Culross, Fife, October 1990; SEA Folder 63c, 60/43/24, 60/43/26, c978.

For example, Potato Marketing Board, Report ... 1958, p. 14; Potato Marketing Board, Report ... 1963, p. 15; Potato Marketing Board, Survey of Maincrop Potatoes 1968, p. 13; Potato Marketing Board, Maincrop Potato Production ... 1977-8, p. 61.


Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994.

"Facts Behind the Great 5p Spud Controversy," Glasgow Herald, 29 November 1975; "Potato Prices will "Stay High' Warning," Glasgow Herald, 27 January 1977; "Potato Stocks Dwindle - And they Could be Even Dearer," Glasgow Herald, 20 April 1976. As boxes were expensive to buy some potato growers made their own. At Pilmuir, Balerno, blown timber was used from local estates, taken to the sawmill at Gorebridge where it was cut into boards, and then made into boxes on the farm. As the work was time consuming they were made over a number of years throughout the 1970s until sufficient numbers (some hundreds) were made to hold the entire annual crop which was stored (Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994).

Other growers obtained their potato boxes in other ways. For example, the potato merchant Alex Denholm of Musselburgh got his boxes specially made at Barlinnie Prison in Glasgow (Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September...
1995). Boxes were also bought at displenishing sales (Field recording, A. Hastie, 25 July 1995).

131 Potato Marketing Board, *Maincrop Potato Production Techniques... 1977-8*, p. 69. The statistics include both hand-lifted crops and mechanically harvested crops.


133 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994; Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.


135 Field work, Hermiston, Currie, Midlothian, October 1990.


137 A box was placed on every stent, or between two stents and moved forward towards the picking face as it moved over the field so that the gatherers did not have far to walk to empty their baskets (Field recording, J. Anderson, Broxburn, 25 August 1995; Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994).


144 Field recording, J. Cleghorn, 28 July 1995; Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995;
Field recording, J. Harvie, Dalkeith, 14 August 1995; Field recording, A. Hastie, 25 July 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995; MacDougall, p. 53.


146 Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995; Field recording, J. Peace, 21 July 1995; Field work, Blair Mains, Culross, Fife, October 1990.

147 Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995; Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994; Field work, Hermiston, Currie, Midlothian, October 1990; Sutton, pp. 648-649.


149 Field work, Hermiston, Currie, Midlothian, October 1990; Bedford Franklin, p. 151; Ó Ciaráin, p. 85; SEA, Folder 63c, 60/40/30, 60/43/32, 60/42/35A, 60/43/8, 60/43/15, 60/43/27, c1105.


152 MacGill, Children of the Dead End, p. 74; MacGill, The Rat Pit, pp. 136-138; Ó Ciaráin, p. 85; Sutton, p. 636.


155 Field work, Blair Mains, Culross, Fife, October 1990; Field work, Hermiston, Currie, Midlothian, October 1990; SEA, Folder 63c, 60/43/32, 60/42/35A/60/43/8, 60/43/15, 60/43/18, 60/43/19, 60/43/27.

156 Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.


158 Field work, Hermiston, Currie, Midlothian, October 1990.

159 Field work, Blair Mains, Culross, Fife, October 1990.

160 Personal recollection of work at Pilmuir, Balerno, during the 1980s.

161 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994.
162 Personal recollection of work at Hermiston, Currie, Midlothian, October 1990; Field recording, Mrs A. Holmes, 4 December 1994.

163 Anne O'Dowd, recording of Michael Jo Herfferman, Belmullet, 10 November 1980.


167 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994; SEA, Folder 63c, 60/43/22, 60/43/23, 60/43/24, 60/43/26.


Chapter 6: Local Women and their Employment Conditions


4 For example SRO, AF40/27/20, AF40/64/2.

5 Field recording, J. Galloway, Orchardfield, Kirknewton, 8 August 1995.


8 Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995.


Field recording, J. Fleming, 20 July 1995; Field work, Hermiston, Currie, Midlothian, October 1990.

Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995.

Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995.

Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995; Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995.

Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995.

Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.

Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995.

Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995.

Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995; Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995; SRO, CO2/112/4, 4 October 1915, 6 November 1916; CO7/5/2/17, 30 October 1909.

Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995.

Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995. The use of money for Christmas was noted in Balerno (Field recording, J. Fleming, Upper Dean Park, Balerno, 20 July 1995).


SRO, AF59/32.

SRO, AF59/64, letter of 4 August 1926.


Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995.

SRO, AF59/32, number 130, number 146

SRO, AF59/70, number 4.


Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995.


37 Richards, p. 354.

38 Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995.


40 Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995.

41 Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995.


43 Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.

44 Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.


46 MacDougall, p. 47; SRO, AF80/40, 1 November 1920; SRO, AF59/2; AF59/23/13.


48 MacDougall, p. 47.

49 Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995.


51 Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, Freelands Road, Ratho, 1 August 1995.

52 Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995; Field work, Hermiston, Currie, Midlothian, October 1990; SRO, CO7/11/2, 19 January 1921; CO2/70/3, 26 January 1921.

54 Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995; Field recording, David Dandie, 24 July 1995; Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995; Field recording, J. Peace, Carberry Mains, 21 July 1995.

55 Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995.


59 Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995; Field recording, R. M. Holmes, Pilmuir, Balerno, 10 November 1994.

60 Field recording, J. Anderson, 25 August 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995.


63 Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995.

64 Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995.

65 Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995.

66 SRO, GD1/1/130; GD1/1/131.

67 PP 1861, L244, I, pp. 2-6; PP 1893-4, C. 6894-XVI, XXXVI, p. 106.

68 SRO, GD1/1/130, 2 November 1865.

69 SRO, GD1/1/131.
70 Wilson, p. 13.


72 Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995; Field work, Hermiston, Currie, Midlothian, October 1990.


75 Field notes, N. Millar, East Coxydene, Wilkieston, 12 July 1995; Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995; Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995.


77 SRO, GD1/1/130, GD1/1/131; Wilson, p. 13.


80 Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field work, Hermiston, Currie, Midlothian, October 1990; MacDougall, pp. 68-69.

81 Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995.


83 Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995.


85 Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995.
At a meeting of East Lothian farmers' Wages Committee ...,” North British Agriculturist, 13 October 1927; "Wages for casual workers in East Lothian ...,” North British Agriculturist, 4 October 1927.

"SNFU's News," North British Agriculturist, 29 September 1932.

SRO, GD40/8/337, bundle 26, item 1096.


Wilson, p. 28.

PP 1938-9, Cmd. 5968, IX, p. 15.

Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995.

Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995.

Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995.


In the Wallyford area where women returned home at lunch time they took two boilings a day, one at lunch time, the other when they finished work at the end of the day (Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995). In other cases only one boiling was given a day (Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995; Field recording, J. Fleming, 20 July 1995; Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Field recording, A. Hastie, 25 July 1995; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995; Field recording, J. Peace, 21 July 1995).

MacDougall, p. 68.

"Transport of Potato Workers," Scottish Farmer, 6 November 1937.


Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995.

Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995; Field recording, J. Peace, 21 August 1995.

Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.


106 Field recording, J. Anderson, 25 August 1995; Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995; Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs J. Muir, 1 August 1995.

107 Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995.

108 Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995.


110 Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.


112 Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.

113 Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995.

114 Field recording, J. Braes, 17 July 1995.

115 Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995.

116 Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995.

117 Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995.

118 Field work, Hermiston, Currie, Midlothian, October 1990.


120 Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995.

121 Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995. See also Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995.

122 Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; MacDougall, p. 67.

123 Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995.

124 Field work, Hermiston, Currie, Midlothian, October 1990.

125 Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995.
126 Field recording, Mrs A. Holmes, Pilmuir Farm, Balerno, 4 December 1994; MacDougall, p. 67.


Chapter 7: Attitudes Towards the Employment of Children

1 SRO, CO2/122/1, 14 July 1877.


3 PP 1884-5, C. 4484-1, XXVI, p. 206; PP 1899, C. 9307, XXVI, p. 515; PP 1902, Cd. 1109, XXXIII, p. 748.

4 PP 1886, C. 4850-I, XXII, p. 54.


6 PP 1900, Cd. 173, XXV, p. 7.

7 SRO, CO2/117/3, 3 October 1900, 2 October 1901; CO2/119/2, 26 October 1900, 31 October 1901.

8 Children were warned that they should not leave school for the potato harvest at for example Spott (SRO, CO7/5/4/17, 8 October 1909).


10 PP 1935-6, Cmd. 5217, VII, p. 9.

11 SRO, CO7/5/4/18, 4 November 1933.

12 Work was also said to be "seriously affected" ("Balerno Public School Log Book 10.10.1902 to 15.7.1929," 2 October 1914) or "at a standstill" ("Balerno Public School Log Book 10.10.1902 to 15.7.1929," 6 October 1911, 19 October 1917, 18 October 1918; "Carrington Public School Log Book 1.2.1876 to 21.1.1944," 9 October 1914, 12 October 1917; "Crichton Public School Log Book 10.10.1873 to 4.7.1947," 26 October 1900).


14 SRO, CO7/5/4/4/14, 14-18 October 1901, 20-24 October 1902, 7 November 1902, 30 October 1903, 6 November 1903, 13 November 1903, 20 November
1903, 21 October 1904, 20 October 1905, 24 October 1913; CO7/5/4/5, 19 October 1923.


18 "Balerno Public School Log Book 10.10.1902 to 15.7.1929," 31 October 1908, 6 November 1908.

19 His Majesty's Chief Inspectors of Schools in Scotland, General Reports for the Year 1921 on Day Schools and Reports Relating to Continuation Classes and Central Institutions for the Year 1920-21 (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1922), p. 63.

20 SRO, AF70/153, part 6, "Harvest Labour (Scotland) Committee Report, 4 April 1950," paragraph 23.

21 Knox, p. 113; SRO, CO7/5/4/7, weeks ending 21 October 1881 and 11 November 1881. At St. Mary's Haddington in 1881 the teacher comments that with the low attendance "the school fees are also lower." With improved attendance when the children returned it was noted that "the school fees are better also."

22 W. J. Gibson, Education in Scotland, A Sketch of the Past and the Present (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1912), p. 101; John Kerr, Scottish Education School and University From Early Times to 1900 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), p. 275; PP 1901, Cd. 504, LVII, p. 14. Wider use of "average attendance" was made in the Scotch Code of 1886, though it was not until 1893 that it was used as the basis for calculating grants (PP 1887, C. 5135, XXXII, p. 164).

23 PP 1914-16, Cd. 7803, L, p. 3; PP 1914-16, Cd. 7881, L, p. 13; SRO, CO2/125/3, 6 October 1916.


25 J. J. Findlay, "Gathering the Potato Harvest. Should Children Work in the Fields?" North British Agriculturist, 18 November 1919.

26 J. J. Findlay, 18 November 1919.

27 Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 11.4.1919 to 6.4.1922, 14 October 1919; SRO, AF43/76, number 253.

28 SRO, AF59/73, number 9.
A comparison can be made to the employment of children in the hop fields of Kent. The Committee thought "the effect of agricultural work on the character of the children is also good, except where they are (as in hop-picking) thrown in association with the lowest classes from large towns or with tramps" (PP 1902, Cd. 849, XXV, p. 15).


PP 1900, Cmd. 173, XXV, p. 9; PP 1902, Cd. 849, XXV, p. 15.

"Potato lifting has been prosecuted ...", Scottish Farmer, 25 October 1919; "Scholars as Potato Lifters," North British Agriculturist, 25 March 1926.


Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) House of Lords, 5th series, CLVII (London: HMSO, 1948), 24 June 1947, column 381 (Hereafter Hansard (Lords); SRO, AF59/23/6, number 151.

"Ross and Cromarty Education Authority ...", Scottish Farmer, 7 July 1928; SRO, AF43/76, number 267A.

J. J. Findlay, 18 November 1919.

Hansard (Lords), 5th series, CLVI (London: HMSO), 24 June 1947, column 365; SRO, AF59/23/6, number 94, number 151.

SRO, AF59/23/5, number 108; AF59/23/6, number 94, number 151.

Letter, Scotsman, 28 January 1961. For children from the cities they also learned other values where they were billeted or accommodated in other areas which was regarded as a "very valuable as a practical training in citizenship." It gave the children the chance to use personal values such as self reliance and responsibility which were required to gather potatoes. Where teachers accompanied the pupils they could establish a closer
relationship with them and learn more of their characters and discover talents they could not normally use in the classroom (SRO, AF59/23/5, number 108).

42 Midlothian Education Committee, Minutes of Meetings, 14.6.1938 to 21.10.1947, 10 April 1945; SRO, AF59/23/8, number 35.

43 SRO, AF59/23/8, number 52.

44 "Children for the Potato Harvest," Glasgow Herald, 13 March 1946, 9 April 1946, 26 April 1946; Midlothian Education Committee, Minutes of Meetings, 12.1.1943 to 20.5.1947, 26 March 1946; SRO, AF59/23/9, in envelope.

45 SRO, ED44/1/17, "SED Memorandum 15/1946, 21 February 1946."

46 PP 1946-7, Bills. I.

47 SRO, ED54/81, "Home Office to Parker, 8 March 1947."


49 SRO, ED54/81, letter of 8 March 1947.


53 Commons Standing Committees: Official Reports 1946-7 (London: HMSO, 1947), IV, 24 June 1947, column 376; For example, SRO, ED44/1/18, "Memorandum 54/1947."


55 SRO, AF59/33, number 192, p. 4.

56 SRO, AF59/33, number 192, p. 5, p. 8.

57 SRO, AF59/33; AF70/153, part 6, "Harvest Labour (Scotland) Committee Report, 4 April 1950."


59 SRO, ED54/88, "Expanding Laws Continuance Bill 1953. Notes by SED."
Middleton's decision was based on ethical considerations rather than a practical view of how sufficient alternative labour could be obtained to replace the children's services. His reasons for reaching this conclusions were not at all dissimilar from the criticisms made against the Act in the House of Commons. Like G. M. Thomson, MP for Dundee East, he argues that while the Act was described as a "temporary" measure, it now "assumed the semblency of permanency" (Hansard, 5th series, 532 (London: HMSO, 1954), 3 November 1954, column 530). He thought that even the attempts to discontinue the use of school children were hardly perceptable. Like other MPs including Cyril Bence, MP for Dumbartonshire, he thought that not enough was being done to develop an efficient potato harvesting machine, especially as there had been immense technological developments made in other industries during recent years: "surely it is strange that in the second half of the 20th century, when we are entering the stage of automation in industry, it is still beyond the ability of science and research to develop a machine to harvest potatoes" (Hansard, 5th series, 560 (London: HMSO, 1956), 20 November 1956, Column 1673; PP 1955-56, Cmd. 9738, XVII, p. 13). Like educationalists, he thought that Scottish school children were being discriminated against as compared with those in England and Wales where it was no longer possible to grant exemption for potato lifting. While recognising that childrens' education was disturbed, he thought that the educationalists had over-stressed the degree of disturbance to their education. He was disturbed by the fact that it was those who were the weakest scholastically, and in greatest need of education, and those from the poorer homes that applied for exemption. In concluding, he found it "impossible to suppress the thought that a habit of mind had developed which considers the use of school children for potato lifting as the normal course to be followed" (PP 1955-56, Cmd. 9738, XVII, p. 13); such a view had also been expressed by Manuel, MP for Central Ayrshire in 1954 (Hansard, 5th series, 532 (London: HMSO, 1954), 3 November 1954, column 543).


72 SRO, AF59/79, number 6.


75 SRO, CO7/3/1/42/1, 17 October 1955.

76 SRO, CO7/3/1/38/1, 6 October 1960, 8 December 1960; CO7/3/7/1/46/1, 10 March 1960.


78 "Rector's Statement Angers Farmers," *Glasgow Herald*, 27 September 1950. In Glasgow for example, only between 20 and 30 teachers came forward for supervisory duties as compared to 300 in the previous year. Appeals were put out by the DAS for supervisors to come forward ("Call For Supervisors at Harvest Camps," *Glasgow Herald*, 14 September 1950.

79 Illsley, p. 430.

80 Illsley, pp. 295-6.


Chapter 8. Methods of Releasing Children from School Attendance

1 SRO, CO7/5/2/6, 24 June 1915, 4 October 1917; CO7/10/4/4, 20 June 1939.


3 For example, SRO, AF70/153, "Harvest Labour (Scotland) Committee Report, 4 April 1950," paragraphs 30 to 33; CO2/111/2, 3 October 1910; EDS4/88, "Brief."


6 Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) House of commons Official Report, 5th series, 613 (London: HMSO, 1960), 11 November 1959, column 509 (hereafter Hansard); PP 1946-47, Bills, I. The minimum age for employment was raised as a result of the raising of the school leaving age under the Education (Scotland) Act, 1946, when it came into operation on 1 April 1947, from 14 to 15 years. The age for exemption under the Act was increased from 12 to 14 years (PP 1945-46, Bills, II, p. 20). However, owing to the great need to employ children at the potato harvest, post-war shortages of labour and food shortages, and therefore the need to maintain the growing of large acreages of potatoes, exemption for the purpose of potato lifting was raised to 13 years. Many bodies, including education authorities, were opposed to the raising of the age of employment as it would have lessened the number of workers who could be made available for harvesting work (SRO, AF59/33, number 192, paragraph 21; AF70/153, part 6, "Harvest Labour (Scotland) Committee Report, 4 April 1950," paragraphs 30 to 34).

7 The only direct references to the third standard were at East Barns, Gavieside and Hermiston (SRO, CO7/5/4/4, 15 October 1897; "Gavieside Public School Log Book 10.3.1873 to 9.11.1894," 19 October 1875, 20 October 1875, 21 October 1875, 22 October 1875; "Hermiston School Log Book 3.2.1890 to 5.5.1909," 20 October 1893). From other standards the children were recorded at for example "Balerno Public School Log Book 17.11.1879 to 3.10.1902," 29 October 1897, 13 October 1898, 4 November 1898, 11 November


9 PP 1945-46, Bills, II; PP 1946-47, Bills, I.

10 Education Authorities were also empowered by means of byelaws to vary the restrictions on the general age for employment under the employment of children acts.

11 For example, Midlothian Education Committee, Minutes of Meetings, 14.6.1938 to 21.10.1947, 3 June 1940, 3 March 1941; SRO, CO7/5/2/25, 10 September 1919. There was also a desire to lower the age for exemption so that more children could be made available for work, especially during times of national crisis such as the Second World War. Such steps could not, however, be carried out as the children would have been younger than the minimum employment age and thus would have been illegally released from school and illegally employed (SRO, AF59/23/8, number 88; CO7/5/1/16, 5 March 1942; CO7/5/2/6, 8 June 1916; CO7/5/2/18, 4 October 1902; AF70/153, "Harvest Labour (Scotland) Committee Report, 4 April 1950," paragraphs 30 to 34).

12 PP 1921, Cmd. 1666, XI, p. 37. For the year ending July 1921 a total of 3,089 exemptions were granted throughout Scotland. Of these, 732 were "exempted only temporarily e.g. for harvest work etc." and did not have any conditions attached to them.

13 PP 1902, Cd. 1109, XXXIII, p. 295.

14 SRO, CO2/121/3, 18 September 1903; CO7/5/2/5, 28 September 1910, 10 October 1910; CO7/5/2/6, 4 October 1917.


16 School Inspectors who monitored the working of the Education (Scotland) Acts made Boards take steps to improve attendance if they did not think it was satisfactory. Where reported in their annual school reports a Board had to take active steps to improve it otherwise it risked a further unfavourable report, and also a reduction in the amount of grant paid for
not undertaking the Inspector's recommendations. Boards also tried to encourage good attendance by giving prizes.

17 PP 1902, Cd. 1109, XXXIII, p. 296; Roxburgh, pp. 53-58.

18 SRO, CO2/117/3, 9 September 1909.

19 SRO, CO7/5/1/7, 6 November 1930; CO7/5/5/8, 21 October 1930.

20 Cockpen (SRO, CO2/107/2, 13 October 1908); Dunbar Landward (CO7/5/2/24, 17 October 1911); Lasswade (CO2/118/3, 7 September 1903); Stobhill (CO2/126/3, 9 October 1906); Whitekirk and Tyninghame (CO7/5/2/17, 30 October 1909).

21 "Does Cupar School Board Lack Patriotism?" North British Agriculturist, 21 October 1915; Field recording, Mrs A. Holmes, Pilmuir, Balerno, 4 December 1994; SRO, CO2/112/6, 4 October 1915, 6 November 1916; CO7/5/1/7, 6 November 1930; CO7/5/1/16, 16 March 1942; CO7/5/5/8, 21 October 1930.

22 SRO, CO7/5/1/1, 18 September 1919; CO7/5/1/2, 12 October 1920; CO7/5/1/14, 10 November 1938, 21 November 1938; CO7/5/5/9, 11 October 1938.

23 SRO, CO7/5/1/3, 21 June 1923. For comparison see AF43/76. In a letter from the Employment Department of the Ministry of Labour to the Secretary of SED, dated 26 September 1919, the Ministry comments that due to the large numbers of unemployed textile workers in the Brechin area, children should not be given exemption until all that labour had been absorbed.

24 For example SRO, ED44/1/18, "Memorandum No. 54/1947, 27 August 1947"; ED44/1/20, "Memorandum No. 26/1949, 6 May 1949"; ED44/1/30, "Circular 413, 15 June 1959."


27 SRO, ED44/1/18, "Memorandum No. 54/1947, 27 August 1947."

28 SRO, ED44/1/18, "Memorandum No. 54/1947, 27 August 1947"; SRO, ED44/1/23, "Circular 243, 3 July 1952."


1952 Dr Milne, the County Medical Inspector, then Dr Watson, visited Tyningham School during the first week of October to examine children.


34 SRO, CO2/118/3, 31 October 1904; CO2/119/3, 6 October 1910, 5 October 1911; CO2/126/3, 2 October 1905, 6 November 1905, 9 October 1906, 12 October 1907; CO2/126/4, 2 November 1908, 13 October 1909; CO7/5/5/1, 26 September 1938; CO7/5/5/2, 10 October 1940, 29 September 1942; CO7/5/5/9, 14 September 1937, 17 September 1940, 23 September 1941; CO7/5/5/10, 6 October 1942, 14 September 1943, 12 September 1944, 18 September 1945, 24 September 1946, 16 September 1947; CO7/5/5/11, 5 October 1948, 14 October 1949. Other Boards refused to grant exemption "as the record of attendance did not appear to justify it" (CO7/5/2/6, 30 September 1915; CO7/5/2/17, 3 October 1914).

35 SRO, CO7/5/2/14, 17 October 1911; CO7/5/2/24, 17 October 1911, 23 September 1913.


37 SRO, CO7/5/4/1, 1 October 1915, 29 September 1916; CO7/5/4/18, 2 November 1917; "St. Peter's, Pinkie Street, Musselburgh School Log Book 30.5.1904 to 28.11.1924," 8 October 1943.


40 J. J. Findlay, "Gathering the Potato Harvest. Should Children Work in the Fields?," North British Agriculturist, 18 November 1919.

42 Oral evidence collected at 10th International Conference on Ethnological Food Research held in Freising, Germany, 6-10 June 1994.

43 "Child Labour in the Colorado Beet Fields," International Labour Review, 16 (1927), 397; Oral evidence collected at 10th International Conference on Ethnological Food Research held in Freising, Germany, 6-10 June 1994.


47 PP 1903, Cd. 1593, XXII, p. 157, p. 165. There were two exceptions to the 400 opening regulation: the use of schools for Parliamentary elections, or if a school had been closed under medical authority. As a result of the 400 opening rule a holiday could not be given at Edmonstone or Ratho Public schools in 1905 and 1906 respectively. At Edmonstone school in 1905 the school was closed for three weeks in 1905 owing to an outbreak of measles. As it was difficult to make the required number of openings under the Scotch Code, the school decided to meet during the potato holiday. At Newton, under the same Board, the holiday was given as usual. At Ratho the Board decided to give a potato holiday in 1906 but owing to very poor attendance when the school opened after the summer vacation the managers decided to close for a further two weeks in order to improve the attendance (SRO, CO2/122/2, 8 July 1905; CO2/125/2, 2 July 1906, 12 October 1906; "Ratho Public School Log Book 16.5.1873 to 14.7.1911," 14 September 1906).

48 SRO, AF70/153, part 6, "Harvest Labour (Scotland) Committee Report, 4 April 1950," paragraph 24; CO2/113/1, 21 November 1905; CO7/5/1/17, 4 February 1943.

155

50 SRO, ED44/1/14, "Departmental Memo 5, 25 February 1943." The SED were prepared to consider applications for remission from the 400 openings "provided that the Authority has adjusted holidays and made all reasonable efforts" to secure the number of openings.

51 During the inter-war years some Education Authorities and SMCs, such as those in Angus, made arrangements to grant exemptions to cover further harvesting requirements ("At a meeting of Forfar School Management Committee...", North British Agriculturist, 1 November 1928; "Exemption for Potato Gathering," North British Agriculturist, 3 October 1929). However, the practice was not commonly or widely adopted until the Second World War, when both the labour and food situations made it essential that as much assistance could be given by children. So effective was it that during the years of the operation of the Education (Exemptions) (Scotland) Act, 1947 it was adopted as a policy by the Secretary of State for Scotland. Exemption was notified where it looked as if the harvest would not be gathered during the potato holiday (SRO, AF59/23/7, number 88, number 90, number 91).


53 SRO, ED44/1/13, "Circular 224, 25 February 1942."


55 Roxburgh, p. 31.

56 SRO, CO2/122/1, 7 August 1880, 9 July 1887.

57 In other counties the length of the holiday varied from one to three weeks (SRO, AF59/51, p. 14). In some areas during the Second World War it was extended to one month owing to the need to harvest larger acreages (AF59/23/13, "potato lifting 1945"). After it ended, and exemption could still be granted, it was usual for it to last three weeks (AF59/23/13, "Potato Harvest 1948"; AF59/76, number 67). By the 1970s it usually lasted one or two weeks (John Henderson, letter, Dundee Courier, 1 December 1983; "Howkers Dig Heels in Over Tattie Holidays," Glasgow Herald, 22 November 1983).

58 SRO, AF39/11/4.

60 PP 1901, Cd. 586, XXII, p. 690-2. Fala and Soutra had school accommodation for 80 pupils, Borthwick, for 94, Spott for 120.

61 "Fala and Soutra Public School Log Book 10.6.1910 to 2.3.1936," 9 October 1914.

62 SRO, AF39/15/2.

63 SRO, CO7/5/2/24, 15 October 1907, 26 October 1907, 13 October 1908, 8 November 1910; CO7/5/4/4, 1 December 1905.


65 SRO, CO7/5/2/5, 28 September 1910. The minutes recorded that "the applications should be referred to the several headmasters with authority to grant the same in cases where the pupil's records were satisfactory, but in no case to exceed 3 weeks absence." No school log books survive.

66 SRO, CO2/111/2, 7 October 1918; CO7/5/2/17, 7 October 1918.

67 SRO, CO7/5/1/1, 18 September 1919; CO7/5/1/2, 28 September 1920; CO7/5/1/7, 4 September 1930; CO7/10/4/3, 31 October 1933; CO7/10/4/4, 28 June 1938.

68 SRO, CO7/5/2/25, 3 November 1931; CO7/5/4/8, 17 October 1919; CO7/5/4/20, 7 November 1919; CO7/10/4/3, 31 October 1933.

69 SRO, CO7/5/2/2, 31 October 1944; CO7/10/4/6, 31 October 1944.

70 SRO, AF59/23/13, "Potato Lifting - 1945."

71 SRO, ED54/81, "paper no. 12, revised 18.2.47." In Fife the Secretary of State for Scotland allowed a special alteration to the exemption scheme. The maximum number of school days a child could be exempted was reduced to ten so that a larger number of children could be exempted at one time. This enabled the heavy burden of work to be spread over a larger number of pupils over a shorter period (Hansard, 5th series, 613 (London: HMSO, 1959), 20 November 1958, columns 1474-5).


74 Roxburgh, p. 50.

75 Roxburgh, pp. 50-51; SRO, CO2/105/2, 19 November 1903; CO2/111/2, 1 March 1902, 6 November 1903; CO2/117/3, 1 October 1903; CO7/5/2/18, 4 October 1902; CO7/5/2/24, 21 October 1902.


79 PP 1902, Cd. 1109, XXXIII, p. 297.

80 SRO, CO2/122/1, 9 July 1887.

81 Kerr, p. 275; SRO, CO2/116/5, 5 September 1916; CO2/117/4, 14 October 1915; CO2/125/3, 6 October 1916.

82 SRO, CO2/117/3, 19 November 1903, 9 September 1909.

83 "Livingstone Public School Log Book 1890-1940," 21 October 1904, 9 October 1905.

84 Cameron, bibliography; SRO, Index to series for CO4/.

85 List of education papers, Local History Collection, Midlothian District Libraries; List of papers, Local History Collection, West Lothian District Libraries; SRO, list of papers under CO7/.
SRA, Index to series for CO1/; SRO, Index to series for CO4/.

"Ratho Public School Log Book 16.5.1873 to 14.7.1911," 1 November 1883.

SRO, CO2/122/1, 14 July 1877, 11 October 1879, 7 August 1880, 29 October 1881, 23 September 1882, 22 September 1883, 30 October 1885.


PP 1886, C. 4850-1, XXVII, p. 230.


PP 1888, C. 5487, XLI, p. 280; SRO, CO2/122/1, 9 July 1887.

SRO, CO2/105/2, CO2/106/1, CO2/110/1, 8 October 1907, 30 October 1909; CO2/113/1, CO2/112/1, CO2/122/1, CO2/128/1.


The schools were Crookston, Fountainhall, Gavieside, Glencorse, Howgate, Kingside Combination, Ninemileburn, Stow, Toxside.

PP 1914-16, Cd. 7928, XX, p. 12.

"Carrington Public School Log Book 1.2.1876 to 21.1.1944"; SRO, CO2/105/2, 7 November 1907; CO2/106/1, 8 October 1907, 30 October 1909; CO2/113/1, CO2/122/1, CO2/128/1.

First references to exemption are found in "Balerno Public School Log Book 10.10.1902 to 15.7.1929," 6 May 1904; "Carrington Public School Log Book 1.2.1876 to 21.1.1944," 6 November 1903; "Newbridge Public School Log Book 27.6.1890 to 5.11.1924," 5 October 1906; SRO, CO2/105/2, 7 November 1907; CO2/107/2, 13 October 1908; CO2/109/1, 6 June 1912; CO2/111/2, 1 March 1902; CO2/112/4, 5 October 1914; CO2/117/3, 9 September 1909; CO2/118/3, 7 September 1903; CO2/119/3, 27 June 1907; CO2/121/3, 25 September 1902; CO2/126/3, 17 October 1904; CO7/5/2/17, 7 June 1902; CO7/5/2/24, 21 October 1902; CO7/5/2/5, 15 October 1903; CO7/5/2/14, 12 December 1907; CO7/5/4/1, 23 October 1903; CO7/5/4/8, 7 November 1902.


SRO, CO2/109/1, 6 June 1912.
102 SRO, CO2/105/2, 7 November 1907.

103 SRO, CO2/121/3, 16 September 1908; CO2/126/3, 4 November 1907; CO2/126/4, 5 October 1908, 13 October 1909.


106 PP 1908, Cd. 4084, XXVIII, p. 371.

107 PP 1900, Cd. 173, XXV, p. 8; SRO, CO2/111/2, 11 February 1908; CO2/121/3, 16 September 1908; CO7/5/2/14, 22 June 1909, 13 June 1911, 10 June 1913, 16 June 1914.

108 SRO, CO2/109/1, 6 June 1912.

109 PP 1903, Cd. 1593, XXII, pp. 542-548.

110 No school log books survive for the Board of Borthwick, Lasswade, Kirkliston, Livingstone and Samuelston during any period. No school log books survive for Pentland Public and Roslin Public at this time. However they survive for East Houses and Toxside but do not report the holiday being given ("East Houses School Log Book 22.6.1894 to 29.4.1910"; "Toxside School Log Book 21.6.1892 to 17.4.1924").

111 For example "Borthwick Boys / Public School Log Book 6.2.1874 to 7.10.1899."


113 SRO, CO2/117/3, 16 July 1903; CO2/119/2, 27 June 1907; CO2/121/3, 19 February 1902; CO2/121/4, 5 October 1910; CO7/5/2/5, 31 October 1907; CO7/5/2/24, 17 October 1911; CO7/5/4/1, 23 October 1903.


115 SRO, CO2/105/2, 8 October 1909; CO2/113/1, 9 April 1908; CO2/125/1, 21 July 1902; CO2/125/2, 5 July 1907, 3 July 1908, 2 July 1909, 3 July 1910, 6 October 1911.
To the wave of circulars issued by the SED which issued circulars comment the use of exemption for harvesting activities date from 1917 and 1919 (SRO, ED44/1/9). The only surviving file of the Board of Agriculture for Scotland is AF43/76 which reports arrangements made in some areas from June 1917 onwards.

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123 Dewey, British Agriculture, pp. 47-48; SRO, AF43/76, number 241, number 257.

124 SRO, AF43/76, paper after number 245; ED44/1/9, "Circular No. 5, 25 June 1919."

125 PP 1919, Cmd. 264, XXI, p. 11.

126 SRO, CO2/125/3, 6 October 1916.
127 "East Lothian farmers ...," North British Agriculturist, 16 September 1915; "School Holidays in October," North British Agriculturist, 15 July 1915; SRO, CO7/5/2/12; CO7/5/2/2.

128 SRO, CO2/117/4, 14 October 1915, 21 September 1916; CO7/5/2/6, 16 October 1915; CO7/5/2/14, 1 November 1915.

129 "Potato lifting in the earlier districts ...," North British Agriculturist, 14 October 1915; SRO, CO7/5/2/6, 16 October 1915; CO7/5/2/12, 9 June 1915.

130 "Balerno Public School Log Book 10.10.1902 to 15.7.1929"; "Crichton Public School Log Book 10.10.1873 to 4.7.1947."

131 SRO, ED44/1/9, Circular 5, 25 June 1919.

132 His Majesty's Chief Inspectors of Schools in Scotland, General Reports for the Year 1921 on Day Schools and Reports Relating to Continuation Classes and Central Institutions for the Year 1920-21 (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1922), p. 34.

133 "Midlothian Education Authority have refused ...," North British Agriculturist, 11 October 1928; Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 11.4.1919 to 6.4.1922, 14 October 1919, 15 October 1919, 9 December 1919; "Potato Lifting by Children," North British Agriculturist, 15 November 1928.

134 SRO, CO7/5/1/1, 18 September 1919.

135 Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 11.4.1919 to 6.4.1922; SRO, CO7/5/1/1, 18 September 1919. Mr Elder of Stevenson, Haddington; CO7/5/1/3, 21 December 1922, Mr Miller of Ferrygate, Dirleton.

136 PP 1899, C. 9307, XXVI, p. 516.

137 "Midlothian Education Authority have refused ...," North British Agriculturist, 11 October 1928.

138 Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 11.4.1919 to 6.4.1922, 8 June 1920; "Potato Lifting in Midlothian," Scotsman, 28 November 1919; SRO, CO2/109/2, 3 November 1919.

139 A petition was sent to the Committee by William Morton, a farmer and a member of the Cranston, Crichton and Fala SMC which was also sent to the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture for Scotland (Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 11.4.1919 to 6.4.1922, 11 November 1919; SRO, AF43/76, number 252). The matter was also discussed at Dalkeith Agricultural Society ("Midlothian Farmers and Potato Lifting," North British Agriculturist, 6 November 1919) and a deputation comprising some of its members was received by the Committee (Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 11.4.1919 to 6.4.1922, 11 November 1919). Further correspondence was also entered into, and petitions were also sent.
by the Agricultural Society and local farmers in the SMC area for the 1920, 1921 and 1928 harvests. (Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 11.4.1919 to 6.4.1922, 10 February 1920, 8 February 1921; "Potato Lifting By Children," North British Agriculturist, 15 November 1928; CO2/109/2, 12 January 1920). Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 11.4.1919 to 6.4.1922, 5 April 1920, 8 February 1921.

140 Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 11.4.1919 to 6.4.1922, 14 October 1919, 15 October 1919, 9 December 1919, 13 April 1920, 9 November 1920.

141 For example, PP 1948-49, Cmd. 7717, XI, p. 2; SRO, AF59/23/7; AF59/23/8; ED44/1/13, "DAS Circular of 25 February 1942."


143 SRO, ED44/1/12; ED44/1/13; ED44/1/14; ED44/1/15; ED44/1/16; ED44/1/17.

144 SRO, AF59/23/7, number 20.

145 SRO, AF59/23/7, number 109.

146 SRO, ED44/1/13, "Circular 224, 25 February 1942."

147 SRO, AF59/23/1, number 8.

148 SRO, ED44/1/14, "Departmental Memo 5, 25 February 1943."


150 SRO, ED44/1/17, "Memorandum 15/1946, 21 February 1946."

151 SRO, AF59/23/8, number 52.

152 SRO, CO7/5/1/15, 6 February 1941; CO7/5/1/16, 5 March 1942; CO7/5/1/17, 15 February 1943, 8 April 1943, 9 December 1943.


154 SRO, CO7/5/1/17, 4 February 1943; CO7/5/5/10, 1 June 1943.

155 SRO, CO7/5/1/7, 8 July 1943.


158 Although the potato holiday was not used in the Lothians, it was very common in other counties. In 1944, the second year children were billeted, and the largest number of children were employed in any year, it was widely used. It was generally found in areas where billeting took place, which included some of the largest potato growing areas: the counties north of Fife and Perth and south of Ross and Cromarty, and in Southern Scotland in Berwick and Kirkcudbright, as also in the cities of Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen which supplied large number of children for harvesting in other areas. In Edinburgh, another city which supplied large numbers, it was given in some schools - those which supplied children to be billeted to other areas. In only two counties where it was given, Wigtownshire and Shetland, no billeting took place (SRO, AF59/23/8, number 25). By 1947, the first year of the Education (Exemptions) (Scotland) Act, 1947, its use was more confined, indicating the preference for exemption (AF59/23/9, number 17). In 1948 economic circumstances, such as the need to expand potato cultivation and give additional assistance by children as a result of the repatriation of prisoners of war, led to the increased use of billeting and to the re-adoption of the holiday in some areas (AF59/23/10, number 36). By the 1957 harvest, when billeting had ended and the number of children employed had fallen, it was largely confined to an area north of the Forth and Clyde and the area where it was largely given before the outbreak of the Second World War (AF59/68, number 8). By 1962, the last year exemption was given, its distribution was even more limited as a result of steps taken to dispense with it, for example, in Perthshire (AF59/70, number 34). In other areas the tradition of its use had weakened. In Moray it was reduced from one week to a long weekend holiday. In neighbouring Banff the term "potato holiday" was replaced by the term "mid-term holiday" indicating the changing function of the holiday to one unconnected with the potato harvest (AF59/70, number 29).
A comparison of the areas where exemption was granted between 1940, the first year when details of the methods used to release children are recorded by the DAS, and 1944, when billeting was most widely used, shows that exemption became geographically more restricted (SRO, AF59/23/7; AF59/23/13, number 33). In the areas where exemption was used, no billeting took place. In other counties exemption was as a secondary method for releasing children after the potato holiday ended so that additional assistance could be given if required.

The exception was where children were billeted or accommodated in the growing areas. Their labour could be organised from the accommodating centres and sent to farms where it was required.

There were, however, a number of significant differences between the Scottish and English legislation, both on administrative grounds, and in the provisions for the employment of exempted children. Unlike the English regulation which was administered on a local basis, the Scottish one applied to the whole of the country, and was administered by the Secretary of State. It was in the form of a duty rather than a power so that Education Authorities had to release up to the specified number of children required for potato lifting, as laid down by the Secretary of State. The Scottish regulations were narrower in scope, and referred only to the ingathering of the potato crop, rather than to all agricultural operations. They allowed for the employment of children "by the day" rather than by the "half day" as was usual in England - this was impractical for potato harvesting. Exemption was granted for a longer period - fifteen days instead of the twenty school openings (i.e. ten school days). The number of hours a child could work also varied. In Scotland a maximum of eight a day or forty a week was allowed in comparison to the seven a day, or thirty-six a week in England. Also, a parent could be found guilty of an offence if a child who had been exempted did not take part in potato harvesting. For the renewal of the Education (Exemptions) (Scotland) Act, 1947 see PP 1946-7, Bills, I; PP 1950-1, Bills, I; PP 1951-2, Bills, I; PP 1952-3, Bills, I; PP 1953-4, Bills, I; PP 1955-6, Bills, I; PP 1956-7, Bills, I; PP 1957-8, Bills, I; PP 1958-9, Bills, I; PP 1959-60, Bills, I; PP 1960-1, Bills, I; PP 1961-2, Bills, I; Hansard, 5th series, 613 (London: HMSO, 1960), 11 November 1959, column 509.

SRO, ED54/88. Due to the end of billeting after the 1956 harvest it was no longer necessary to grant exemption in Glasgow. However, billeting was not generally used in the Lothians.


Field notes, N. Millar, Coxydene; Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 10 November 1994; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995; John
Chapter 9: Number of Children Employed

1 PP 1903, Cd. 1592, XXII, pp. 543-572.

2 See Chapter 7.

3 PP 1914, Cd. 7392, XXIX, p. 13.

4 An increase in the number of temporary exemptions granted was caused by the introduction of "prescribed dates" - specific set dates at which a child could only leave school. Until the operation of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908, a child could leave school at any time during the school year.

5 See Chapter 8.


7 SRO, CO2/121/3, 5 October 1910.

8 SRO, CO2/125/1, 21 July 1902.


10 SRO, AF80/40, 1 October 1915, 1 November 1915, 1 November 1918.

11 SRO, CO2/121/5, 18 October 1915; CO2/126/4, 4 October 1915; CO2/126/5, 7 October 1918.

12 Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 11.4.1919 to 6.4.1922, 14 October 1919.


14 SRO, CO7/5/2/25, CO7/5/5/16.


16 SRO, CO7/5/5/9, 14 September 1937.

17 SRO, CO7/10/4/1; CO7/10/4/3; CO7/10/4/4.
18 PP 1933-34, Cmd. 4601, XI, p. 8. 2,166 temporary exemptions were granted in Scotland during 1933.

19 PP 1919, Cmd. 264, XXI, p. 46. See also PP 1914, Cd. 7392, XXIX, p. 13.

20 SRO, CO7/10/4/2, 29 September 1931; CO7/10/4/1, 29 November 1927; CO7/10/4/3.


22 The counties where there were shortages of labour were Aberdeenshire, Angus, Berwickshire, East Lothian, Fife, Kincardineshire, Morayshire, Perthshire and Ross and Cromarty.


24 SRO, ED44/1/14, "Circular 2, 20 February 1943."


29 SRO, AF59/75, number 22.

30 SRO, CO7/3/1/46/1, 20 July 1959, 10 September 1959.

31 SRO, AF59/69, enclosure to 5; AF59/70, number 4A, number 35; AF59/74, number 15; AF59/76, number 1A, number 163, number 164.

32 SRO, AF59/69, number 24; AF59/70, number 35.

33 SRO, AF59/32, number 139; AF59/69, enclosure to 5, number 24; AF59/70, number 23; AF59/74, number 15; AF59/75, number 22.

34 SRO, AF59/32, number 139.

35 SRO, AF59/76, number 120.

36 For example, AF59/68, number 8; AF59/69, enclosure to 5.
37 SRO, AF59/32, number 128B, number 130.

38 SRO, AF59/68, number 8. In Fife a child worked an average of 7.3 days; in Inverness 4.9; Aberdeenshire 8.3; Dundee 8.8; Berwick 11.5; Dumfriesshire 5.42; Dumbartonshire 4.1; Kirkcudbrightshire 5.4; Lanarkshire 7.4; Roxburghshire 10.3.


41 SRO, AF 59/70.

42 SRO, AF59/79, number 34.

43 SRO, AF59/70, number 4A.

44 SRO, AF59/68, number 21, number 118.

45 SRO, AF59/79, number 37.

46 SRO, AF59/70, number 4A.

47 SRO, AF59/70, number 4, number 4A, number 5.

48 SRO, AF59/70, number 12.

49 Field recording, J. Fleming, Upper Dean Park Farm, Balerno, 20 July 1995.

50 Field recording, J. Fleming, 20 July 1995; Field recording, R. M. Holmes, Pilmuir, Balerno, 10 November 1994.

51 Based on the evidence that a child worked an eight hour day.

52 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 10 November 1994.


54 Field notes, N. Millar, East Coxydene Farm, Wilkieston, 12 July 1995; Field recording, J. Cleghorn, 28 July 1995; Field recording, J. Fleming, 20 July 1995; Field recording, Mrs A. Holmes, Pilmuir Farm, 4 December 1994; Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 10 November 1994.

55 Field recording, Mrs A. Holmes, 4 December 1994.

56 Field recording, Mrs A. Holmes, 4 December 1994.
Chapter 10: Employment Conditions

1 SRO, AF59/23/9, number 60; CO7/5/1/17, 18 May 1942; ED44/1/13, "Memorandum No. 289"; ED44/1/15, "Memorandum 67/1944, 19 August 1944"; SRO, ED44/1/18, "Memorandum No. 54/1947, 27 August 1947"; ED44/1/23, "Circular 237, 18 April 1952."


3 SRO, ED44/1/10, "Circular No. 89, 23 December 1932"; ED54/17.

4 SRO, ED44/1/18, "Memorandum No. 54/1947, 27 August 1947"; ED44/1/23, "Circular 237, 18 April 1952."

5 Roxburgh, p. 176.


7 PP 1946-7, Bills, I.


9 PP 1932-33, Cmd. 4322, XI, p. 27; PP 1933-34, Cmd. 4601, XI, p. 28. Although the minimum employment age for children under the Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act, 1932 was 12 years, the Act allowed byelaws to be made which enabled children of 10 years to be employed by their parents in light agricultural or horticultural work. The use of the clause was widespread and was found in byelaws made by twenty Education Authorities, which did not, however, include Midlothian or East Lothian. The clause was also incorporated into the Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act, 1937, and was again incorporated into byelaws made by twenty Authorities. Under them the minimum age for child employment ranged from 10 to 13 years. However, not all counties allowed for employment at the potato harvest, as the term "light agricultural or horticultural work" did not always include employment at the potato harvest (table below compiled from byelaws).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeen-shire</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;in light agricultural or horticultural work&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argyll</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;such as the ingathering of crops or fruit picking or light work about the garden&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayrshire</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>&quot;turnip thinning and weeding; assisting with poultry keeping&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bute</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>&quot;including potato planting, potato lifting, weeding, turnip thinning and light work about a farm or garden&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caithness</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>&quot;including potato planting, potato lifting, weeding, turnip thinning and light work about a farm or garden&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumfries-shire</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;light agricultural or horticultural work&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inverness</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;light agricultural or horticultural work&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kincardine-shire</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;light agricultural or horticultural work&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirkcudbrightshire</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;only in light farm or garden work or fruit picking&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moray and Nairn</td>
<td>no minimum stated</td>
<td>&quot;light agricultural or horticultural work&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orkney</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;light agricultural or horticultural work&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peebleshire</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>&quot;light agricultural or horticultural work&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perth and Kinross</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;in fruit picking, potato planting and potato gathering or in light agricultural work in any garden or plot belonging to or occupied by his parent or guardian&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roxburghshire</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;in the ordinary light work around a farm, in fruit picking, potato planting, potato gathering, and similar light agricultural or horticultural work&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selkirkshire</td>
<td>12 for boys 13 for girls</td>
<td>&quot;in light agricultural or horticultural work&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shetland</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;gardening, haymaking, thinning turnips, planting and lifting potatoes, curing peas, feeding poultry, shepherding, leading horses or other light work about the farm or garden&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sutherland</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;in light agricultural or horticultural work&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wigtownshire</td>
<td>under 13</td>
<td>&quot;in light agricultural or horticultural work&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The number of hours a child could be employed throughout Scotland under the Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act, 1932 (SRO, AF59/23/7, number 82).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Hours a Day a Child Could Be Employed</th>
<th>Authority Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 4</td>
<td>Renfrewshire, Dundee (Burgh) except summer holidays and Saturdays, Glasgow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 hours</td>
<td>Clackmannanshire, Midlothian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 hours</td>
<td>Banffshire, Shetland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 hours</td>
<td>Ayrshire (winter), Dumfriesshire, Dumbartonshire, Moray and Nairn, Orkney, Selkirkshire (girls), Aberdeenshire (burgh) (boys only), Dundee (burgh) (summer holidays and Saturdays only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 hours</td>
<td>Ayrshire (summer), Berwickshire, Bute, Peeblesshire, Selkirkshire (boys), Wigtownshire (girls)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 hours includes meal</td>
<td>Argyll, Lanarkshire, Perthshire and Kinross, Ross and Cromarty, Roxburghshire, Stirlingshire, Sutherland, Wigtownshire (boys)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 hours but with a weekly maximum</td>
<td>East Lothian (44 hours), Fife (44 hours), Inverness-shire (44 hours), Kirkcudbrightshire (32 hours), West Lothian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 hours</td>
<td>Angus, Kincardineshire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 SRO, CO7/5/1/20, p. 246. See also Berwick County Council, Bye-laws regulating the Employment of Children (Confirmed 11 October 1948) and County Council of the Council of Fife, Bye-laws Regulating the Employment of Children (Confirmed 1959).

11 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, Pilmuir, Balerno, 11 November 1994.


15 Field recording, A. Denholm, Musselburgh, 14 September 1995; Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994; Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 20.5.1930 to 10.5.1938, 10 October 1933; SRO, AF59/23/7, number 85.

16 Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 20.5.1930 to 10.5.1938, 10 October 1933; SRO, AF59/23/7, number 85; Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field recording, Mrs A. Holmes, Pilmuir, Balerno, 4 December 1994; Ian MacDougall, ed, "Hard work, ye ken" Midlothian Women Farmworkers (Edinburgh: Canongate Academic, 1993), pp. 19-20; SRO, AF59/23/2, number 1A.

17 Field recording, Mrs A. Holmes, Pilmuir, Balerno, 4 December 1994.
18 MacDougall, p. 19; SRO, AF59/23/9, number 116A; AF59/23/11, number 14, number 15.

19 Field recording, Mrs A. Holmes, 4 December 1994.

20 Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field recording, Mrs A. Holmes, 4 December 1994; SRO, AF59/79, number 23. During the late 1940s in Midlothian the drink was to be "provided to the children during the forenoon and afternoon breaks"; no mention was made of it at lunchtime (AF59/71, number 4). CO7/5/1/18, 7 September 1944; CO7/10/4/6, "East Lothian Education Committee, Regulations for Employment of School Children in 1945 Harvest."

21 Field recording, Mrs A. Holmes, 4 December 1994.

22 SEA, MS 1973/12; SRO, AF59/23/2, number 1A, number 23; AF59/23/11, number 14; AF59/33, "Council of the County of Aberdeen, Education Committee, Employment of Children in the Potato Harvest, 1948"; AF59/71, number 6, number 8.

23 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 10 November 1994; PP 1946-7, Bills, I; SRO, AF59/23/7, number 103; ED44/1/13, "Memorandum No. 289, 31 July 1942"; ED44/1/18, "Memorandum No. 54/1947, 27 August 1947"; ED44/1/23, "Circular 243, 3 July 1952"; AF59/23/12, number 66B; AF59/76, number 37; AF59/81, number 10. The cost of meals varied across the Lothians, as throughout Scotland. In 1949 a meal supplied by the Edinburgh Education Authority cost 5d., in Midlothian 1/, and 1/5d. in Inverness-shire, Dundee and Kirkcudbrightshire (SRO, AF59/71, number 6, number 10).

24 SRO, AF59/23/11, number 11; AF59/71, number 4, number 6, number 17.

25 SRO, AF59/79, number 23. In other Authorities which did not cooperate in making arrangements under the Education (Exemptions) (Scotland) Act, 1947, such as Dumbartonshire, no use was made of the school meals service (AF59/75, number 22).

26 SRO, AF59/71, number 4. The use of schools for feeding centres is noted in other areas (for example, AF59/23/12, number 36; AF59/23/13, "Potato Harvest 1948"; AF59/33, "Council of the County of Aberdeen Education Committee Employment of Children in the Potato Harvest, 1949"; AF59/69, number 5; AF59/81 number 11).


28 SRO, AF59/69, number 24; AF59/71, number 6; AF59/79, number 25; AF59/80, number 5. In Midlothian the food was sent in thermos containers, and all plates and cutlery were supplied; children supplied their own mugs. In other counties, employers appeared to have to make their own arrangements for supplying plates and cutlery (AF59/23/12, number 36).

29 SRO, AF59/79, number 10; CO7/3/1/38/1, 7 February 1952. The practice of giving children money instead of a meal was also noted in other areas such as Fife (AF59/76, number 24). However, in Midlothian the employment regulations discouraged the practice, as it was not considered to be satisfactory (AF59/71, number 4).

30 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 10 November 1994.

31 SRO, AF59/23/9, number 116A; AF59/23/11, number 14; ED44/1/20, "Memorandum 26/1949, 6 May 1949." In the Buckhaven area for example, in 1947 food ranged from tea and sandwiches to tea and scones, soup, potatoes, pies, sandwiches, tea and apples, tea and rations, soup, potatoes and stew, milk and hot water (AF59/23/9, number 141).


33 Field recording, Mrs A. Holmes, 4 December 1994.

34 Field recording, Mrs A. Holmes, 4 December 1994; Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 10 November 1994; MacDougall, p. 19.

35 Field recording, Mrs A. Holmes, 4 December 1994; Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994.

36 SRO, AF59/23/11, number 14; AF59/23/12, number 31; AF59/75, number 22.

37 SRO, AF59/79, number 23, number 25; AF59/80, number 19. In Aberdeenshire, Midlothian and the Edinburgh Authority area in 1957 employers were instructed to "take reasonable steps to protect his property."

38 Field recording, J. Cleghorn, Edinburgh, 28 July 1995; SRO, AF59/23/9, number 5. In Midlothian "the employer shall transport children daily for their mid-day meal to the meals school. If transport is impracticable, walking time both ways shall count as working time" (AF59/71, number 4).

39 SRO, CO7/5/1/17, 9 December 1943.

40 SRO, CO7/10/4/6, "East Lothian Education Committee, Regulations for School Children in 1945 Harvest."
As children from the Musselburgh area had to be transported over long distances to reach their place of work it was said "a child must be from home for a period of 66 hours per week before it can work 44 hours" (SRO, CO7/5/5/10, 2 March 1943). As early as 1943 some children in parts of Scotland were paid for the time they spent travelling to and from their work. However, the practice was not common at that time (AF59/23/2, number 1A).

In the counties of Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire children were given a payment for travelling for half an hour. However, although the payment was not a strict interpretation of the regulations, it simplified the money to be given, and was easy to organise (AF59/23/12, number 36, number 50, number 62, number 66B).

Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994; SRO, GD1/1/155, "4 weeks ending 9 November 1917," "4 weeks ending 7 November 1919," "2 weeks ending 12 November 1920," "2 weeks ending 11 November 1921," "2 weeks ending 28 October 1921;" GD40/8/324, bundle 11, item 192 (1876); GD40/8/337, bundle 26, item 1096 (1886), GD40/8/337, item 1189 (1886); GD40/8/339, bundle 31, item 1287, (1887).
55 SRO, GD40/8/324, bundle 11, item 192 (1876); GD40/8/337, bundle 26, item 1096 (1886); GD40/8/337, item 1189 (1886); GD40/8/339, bundle 31, item 1287, (1887).

56 SRO, GD1/1/155, "4 weeks ending 9 November 1917," "4 weeks ending 11 October 1918," "4 weeks ending 7 November 1919," "2 weeks ending 12 November 1920," "2 weeks ending 11 November 1921," "2 weeks ending 28 October 1921." Wilson stated that the rate of wages given to other casual workers "are about double those customary before the war" (Sir James Wilson, Report to the Board of Agriculture for Scotland on Farm-Workers in Scotland in 1919-20 (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1921), p. 28).


59 SRO, AF59/23/8, number 31.


61 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994.

62 Field recording, Mrs A. Holmes, 4 December 1994.

63 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 11 November 1994.

64 Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 10 November 1994; Field work, Blair Mains, Culross, Fife, October 1990; SRO, CO7/5/1/18, 9 November 1944; CO7/5/1/19, 6 November 1945; CO7/5/5/10, 2 March 1943.

65 SRO, CO7/5/1/20, p. 256.

66 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 10 November 1994.

67 SRO, AF59/79, number 23; AF59/81, number 10; ED44/1/18, "Memorandum No. 54/1947, 27 August 1947."

68 SRO, CO7/5/1/20, p. 256.

69 SRO, AF59/23/9, number 5; AF59/23/12, number 66B; CO7/5/1/18, 9 November 1944; CO7/5/5/10, 2 February 1943.

70 SRO, CO7/5/1/20, p. 256.
Chapter 11: Irish Migratory Workers and Their Employment Conditions


2 PP 1900, Cd. 346, LXXXII, Appendix iii, p. 2.


5 PP 1907, Cd. 3481, XCVII, p. 13; PP 1909, Cd. 4919, CII, p. 8.

6 PP 1905, Cd. 2376, XCVII, p. 143.

7 SRO, GD1/1/155, "Wages 4 weeks ending 11 October 1912," "Wages 4 weeks ending 8 November 1912"; SRO, GD1/1/162, "4 weeks ending 7 November 1919," "4 weeks ending 5 December 1919," "2 weeks ending 29 October 1920."

8 For example, Field recording, R. M. Holmes, Pilmuir, Balerno, 11 November 1994; "Labour on Farms," Scotsman, 29 January 1942; "Workers from Eire," Scotsman, 27 March 1942.


10 Field recording, J. Harvie, Dalkeith, 14 August 1995.

11 Field recording, J. Galloway, Orchardfield, Kirknewton, 8 August 1995; Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995.


13 Handley, p. 174.

14 Johnson, p. 102; O'Dowd, p. 72; PP 1883, C. 3810, LXXVI, p. 15; PP 1890, C. 6175, LXXIX, p. 15; PP 1894, C. 7533, XCIII, p. 15; PP 1896, C. 7957, XCII, p. 15.

15 IFC MS 1987 (1980), p. 12, p. 31. Gangers were also in charge of grain harvesters in Lincolnshire. For comparison see Sarah Barber, "Irish Migrant Agricultural Labourers in Nineteenth Century Lincolnshire,"


29 Anne O'Dowd, notes of recording by Séamus Ó Catháin of John Bourness. See also Sean Ó Ciaráin, Farewell to Mayo (Dublin: Brookside, 1991), p. 72.


34 Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995.


36 Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995.


39 SRO, DD13/1603, number iv.


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42 NAD, Department of Tánaiste, S12728B, S12728D. Compiled from tables relating to months of May and June 1948, May and June 1949, May and June 1950.

43 Field recording, J. Anderson, 25 August 1995; Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995; Field recording, F. Cassidy, 8 September 1995; Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.

44 IFC, MS 1987 (1980), p. 29; John Cafferky of Stonefield, Mayo went at the age of 16 in 1932 (Anne O'Dowd, notes for Tape 17, 25 August 1980); Mr E. Johnston of Achlean, Achill went in 1913 at the age of 14 years (Anne O'Dowd, notes for Tape 28, 8 November 1980); in the early 1930s Johnny Moran of Ballina, Mayo started work when he was 16 years of age (Anne O'Dowd. Notes for Tape 39, 14 April 1981).

45 P. J. Joyce, A Forgotten Part of Ireland (Dublin, 1910), pp. 160-161.

46 O'Dowd, p. 193.

47 Anne O'Dowd, Notes for Tape 29, Michael McGreal, Bunnacurry, Achill, 9 November 1980.

48 Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995.

49 SRO, CO7/5/1/15, p. 91, p. 100.


51 Anne O'Dowd, Tape 11, Katie Fallon, Curraun, Achill, 24 March 1980.


53 MacGill, The Rat Pit, pp. 136-7; Ó Ciaráin, p. 71.

54 Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995. This was also the experience of other squads (Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995).

55 Ó Ciaráin, p. 58.


58 Ó Ciaráin, p. 71.
59 Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.

60 PP 1905, Cd. 2376, XCVII, p. 144.

61 PP 1914, Cd. 7418, XCVIII, p. 6.

62 PP 1906, Cd. 2865, CXXXIII, p. 13; PP 1907, Cd. 3481, XCVIII, p. 10.

63 PP 1910, Cd. 5033, CVIII, p. 6.

64 Report ... Seasonal Migration to Great Britain, 1937-1938, p. 12.

65 Report ... Seasonal Migration to Great Britain, 1937-1938, p. 62.


67 Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995.

68 SRO, HH62/34, Report for Stirlingshire, p. 53.


70 SRO, AF59/62, "Report of enquiry into the conditions of workers employed in potato gathering."

71 O Ciarán, p. 84.

72 Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.


75 "The Truth About Those Tattie Hokers," This Week, 4 June 1971.

76 Field recording, Fr. Cassidy, 8 September 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.


79 "Brutality," Observer, 13 June 1971; Field recording, Fr. Cassidy, 8 September 1995; Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Ó Ciarain, p. 71; "The Truth About Those Tattie Hokers," This Week, 4 June 1971; "Why Do Workers Go To Primitive Farm Life?" Irish Independent, 6 July 1971.

80 Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.


82 SRO, HH63/3/6, p. 82; HH63/24/3, p. 64; HH63/24/5, p. 68; HH63/24/6, p. 78; HH72/12/2, p. 85.

83 SRO, HH63/9/16, p. 87.

84 SRO, HH72/29/16, p. 25.

85 Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995.


87 PP 1906, Cd. 2865, CXXXIII, p. 6.

88 PP 1906, Cd. 2865, CXXXIII, p. 7.

89 Handley, p. 171; O'Dowd, p. 28; Cormac Ó Gráda, "Seasonal Migration and Post-Famine Adjustment in the West of Ireland," Studia Hibernica, 13 (1973), 57; PP 1916, Cd. 8386, XXXII, p. 4.

90 PP 1906, Cd. 2865, CXXXIII, p. 12; PP 1907, Cd. 3481, XCIV, p. 11; PP 1910, Cd. 5033, CV, p. 6; PP 1912-13, Cd. 6019, CVI, p. 6; "Question in Parliament," Glasgow Herald, 10 July 1908.

91 Joyce, pp. 160-161; PP 1907, Cd. 3481, XCIV, p. 7; PP 1910, Cd. 5033, CVIII, p. 5; PP 1912-13, Cd. 6019, CVI, p. 4.


93 NAD, Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction of Ireland, G2273-1933, "Replies from Creeslough."

94 Report ... Seasonal Migration to Great Britain, 1937-1938, p. 13.

95 Report ... Seasonal Migration to Great Britain, 1937-1938, p. 13, p. 62.
See also NAD, Department of Taoiseach, S11582D, "Letter to Secretary of Department of Social Welfare, 9 June 1952."

NAD, Department of Taoiseach, S12728B, Table 1A for July 1948.

NAD, Department of Taoiseach, S12728A, "Department of Industry and Commerce. Travel Permit Statistics 1944 - Migration to Employment."

In for example 1950, out of the 167 permits given to women for agricultural work, 126 were granted in May and June. Of these, 32 were issued to women from Co. Donegal and 78 to women from Co. Mayo. Sixteen were given to women from all other areas.


SRO, HH63/9/12, p. 71; HH63/9/13, p. 83.

Father Eugene McDermott said that there were "about 40 squads (say 800 people)" travelling from Ireland ("Pally ... Foreman," Irish Press, 17 December 1970; "No Brutality Charges. Tattie Hokers Shock," Sunday Independent, 20 June 1971; "Priest Tells of Sensational Dossier. 'Slaves and Violence' on Scots Farms," Daily Record, 10 May 1971.

Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995.

Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995.

O'Dowd, p. 199.

Bell, "Donegal Women," p. 78.


Peadar O'Donnell, "Migration is a Way of Keeping a Grip," The Bell, November 1941.

PP 1906, Cd. 2865, CXXXIII, p. 13; PP 1912-13, Cd. 6019, CVI, p. 7; PP 1912-13, Cd. 6198, CVI, p. 7; PP 1913, Cd. 6928, LXXVI, p. 7.
112 JFC, MS 2073, (1980), p. 220; See also Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995; Anne O'Dowd, Tape 11, John Madden, Curraun, Achill, 24 March 1980; Anne O'Dowd, Tape 11, Katie Fallon, Curraun, Achill, 24 March 1980.


114 Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995.

115 Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.

116 Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995. See also Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.


118 Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995.

119 Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995.

120 Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.

121 Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995.

122 SRO, HH63/3/1, p. 30; HH63/3/3, p. 63.

123 SRA, CO4/3/7/19, p. 75; SRO, HH63/16/10, p. 34.

124 Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.

125 SRO, HH72/29/19, p. 28.

126 SRO, HH72/4/8, p. 40; HH72/4/18, p. 40; HH72/30/9, p. 100; HH72/30/16, p. 79.

127 Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995.

128 SRO, HH72/30/12, p. 86.

129 Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995; SRO, HH72/30/14, p. 93.

130 Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995.

131 Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995.

Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995.

Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995.

For harvesting the first earlies in Bute, Wigtownshire and Ayrshire the hours varied according to the supply and demand for potatoes. When they were required urgently for market workers started as early as 4am as it was essential that they were put on rail, to reach Glasgow early in the morning. Work continued until all the orders were filled, and only then were workers discharged. If there was a glut in the market workers might be laid off until they improved (Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Ó Ciaráin, p. 85) and were employed until the orders were filled. At Aberlady Mains the workers started to dig early in the morning so that the potatoes could be loaded at Aberlady station to go to Queen Street Station in Glasgow (Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995).


Field recording, J. Anderson, 25 August 1995; Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995; Field recording, 14 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995; PP 1906, Cd. 2865, CXXXIII, p. 12; See Ó Ciaráin, p. 83.

Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995; Ó Ciaráin, p. 80.

Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995.


Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.

Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995.

Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995.

Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995.

Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995; Field recording, J. Peace, 21 July 1995.

Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995.


Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995.
149 "In the Tattie Fields of Scotland," Irish Press, 16 December 1970.

150 For example, Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.


152 SRO, DD13/227, Number 5.

153 SRO, DD13/1590.


155 Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995.


158 Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995; Ó Ciaráin, p. 79. If a merchant owned the farm where the workers were accommodated he would supply the straw.

159 Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995; NAD, Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, G2661 1926, "Report of Father Joyce," p. 3.

160 Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995.

161 PP 1900, Cd. 346, LXXXII, Appendix iii, p. 2; Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.

162 Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.

163 Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995; Field recording, J. Peace, 21 July 1995; PP 1905, Cd. 2376, XCVII, p. 144.

164 PP 1906, Cd. 2865, CXXXIII, p. 12.
Correspondence between Anne O'Dowd and Robert Crawford, Chorad, Kingarth, Isle of Bute, 11 May 1981.


167 PP 1914, Cd. 7418, XCVIII, p. 7; PP 1916, Cd. 8386, XXXII, p. 6.


173 PP 1938-9, Cmd. 5968, IX, p. 15.


177 Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; O Ciarán, p. 71. See also field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.


179 Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995.

180 Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995.

181 Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995.

Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995.


Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.

Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.

Anne O'Dowd, notes of recording by Séamus Ó Catháin of John Bourness.

Ó Ciaráin, p. 99.


Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995. Similar comments about the character of the Irish workers were made by Fr. Cassidy (Field recording, Fr. Cassidy, 8 September 1995).
Chapter 12: Accommodation of the Squads of Irish Migratory Workers


3 SRO, AF59/62.


6 SRO, AF59/62, "Report of enquiry into the conditions of workers employed in potato gathering."


8 SRO, AF59/62, "Letter from Irwin to Sinclair, 25 February 1907."

9 SRO, AF59/62, "Letter from Irwin to Sinclair, 25 February 1907."

10 SRO, AF59/62, "Report of Housing of Potato Diggers."

11 PP 1908, Cd. 4142, XXXII, pp. Iviii-lix.

12 MacGill, The Rat Pit, p. 140.

13 MacGill, Children of the Dead End, pp. 75-76.


15 SRO, HH62/17, Report for Dumbartonshire, p. 98.


17 SRO, CO2/64/4, 2 September 1907, 30 September 1907.
The work was suspended from February 1916 and was not resumed until January 1917, causing a delay in the issue of the Report.

There were differences in conditions in the various districts of the county. Some of the farms employed larger squads, and there was more chance of overcrowding. Sometimes on the largest of farms, such as Girvan Mains, a number of squads was accommodated on the farm at the same time. This required a very different type of accommodation to that provided on farms where only one squad was accommodated. Potato houses were more common in Ayrshire than in a number of other counties as these were used for sprouting seed potatoes for first early potatoes which were to be dug as early as possible - main crop potatoes are not sprouted. A survey of accommodation carried out by one of the Housing Inspectors at the Scottish Board of Health (SBH) in 1919 (SRO, DD13/1591, number 1) notes how "in each county - with the exception of Ayrshire - it was found that the workers were housed mainly in barns, lofts and bothies, but in Ayrshire, potato houses, byres and sheds were the predominating types of buildings set aside for the purpose. Horse loose boxes were also used in Ayrshire to a considerable extent." In this district workers had to harvest the early crop in all weather conditions and even when it was raining so that the merchant could get as many of the potatoes to the market when they were required. The need for drying conditions under cover was perhaps even more necessary here for workers could return from the fields soaked to the skin, and with absolutely no means of drying their saturated clothing (PP 1917-18, Cd. 8731, XIV, p. 192).
29 Anne O'Dowd said that "accommodation especially erected for potato diggers was not found to exist" (O'Dowd, p. 183).


31 PP 1917-18, Cmd. 8731, XIV, p. 192.

32 SRO, HH62/33, Report for Dumbartonshire, p. 53.

33 PP 1917-18, Cmd. 8731, XIV, p. 193.

34 PP 1917-18, Cmd. 8731, XIV, p. 193.


37 PP 1917-18, Cmd. 8731, XIV, p. 195.

38 PP 1917-18, Cmd. 8731, XIV, p. 195.

39 O'Dowd, p. 186.

40 SRO, AF59/64, "Letter from Glasgow and West of Scotland Potato Trade Association to Sir Thomas Munro of 7 February 1918"; DD13/1591, enclosure to number 10.

41 SRO, AF59/64.

42 PP 1899, C. 9273, XXXVIII, pp. 120-121.


44 PP 1917-18, Cd. 8731, XIV, pp. 194-195.

45 PP 1917-18, Cd. 8731, XIV, p. 195.

46 PP 1917-18, Cd. 8731, XIV, p. 195.

47 O'Dowd, p. 181.

48 Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) House of Commons Official Report. 5th series, 119 (London: HMSO, 1919), 19 August 1919, column 2132 (Hereafter Hansard). Anne O'Dowd, p. 192, who refers to the Act and the recommendations made by the Royal Commission on Housing says that "an attempt was made in 1920 to introduce an act regulating the provision for seasonal workers." By this time the Act was already in operation. J. E. Handley does not mention the existence of the Act (Handley, p. 187).

49 PP 1919, Bills, I.
The Fatal Accident Inquiry recommended that it was compulsory to have separate doors in each apartment. No apartment should be entered through another. Rooms situated above ground floor apartments were to have two exits from them. To minimise the risk of fire, the straw which was used for bedding should be put into bags or other containers instead of being spread over the floor. Safer methods of lighting were to be used instead of using candles or similar means. Authentic records of the names and addresses of the workers were to be kept ("Ayrshire Disaster. Nine

69 SRO, DD13/1603, number xxiii.
70 SRO, DD13/1603, number xxv.
71 SRO, DD13/1603, number xvi, number xxix; DD13/1625, number lv.
72 SRO, DD13/1603, attached to xxiii, p. 4.
73 SRO, DD13/1603, number viii, p. 1, p. 3, attached to xxiii, pp. 2-3.
74 SRO, DD13/1603, number xviii, pp. 1-4, attached to xxiii, p. 1.
75 SRO, DD13/1603, number viii, p. 6; number xviii, pp. 4-5.
76 SRO, DD13/1591, Miss G. Thornton, "Report of Edinburgh District, Third Report, October 1920"; DD13/1625, number iv, number xxv, number li; DD13/1603, number viii, pp. 3-4; number xviii, pp. 2-3; attached to xxiii, p. 2.
77 SRO, DD13/1603, number viii, pp. 5-6.
78 SRO, DD13/1603, number viii, p. 6.
79 SRO, DD13/1603, number viii, p. 3, attached to xxiii, p. 2, p. 4.
81 County of Midlothian, p. 26. At around this time specially erected buildings were reported in the Carrick district of Ayrshire ("Irish Potato Harvesters. Conditions of Labour in Ayrshire," Glasgow Herald, 1 July 1929).
82 SRO, DD13/1625, number lxii, p. 11.
83 SRO, DD13/1625, number lxii.
84 SRO, DD13/1625, pp. 4-5.
85 SRO, DD13/1625, p. 11; County of Midlothian, p. 26.
86 SRO, DD13/1625, number lxii, p. 11.
87 NAD, AG1 G2661 1926, letter from SBH of 28 November 1924.
88 SRO, DD13/1625, number lxiv. The farms inspected were Saughton Mains, Broomhouse, Meadowfield, North Gyle, Corstorphine Bank,
Meadowhouse, Sighthill, Westcraigs, Southfield, Braehead, Braid Farm (Suburban District), Morton Mains, Fernieflat, Morton Mains.

89 SRO, DD13/1625, number lxiv.
90 County of Midlothian, p. 26.
91 SRO, DD13/1625, number lxii.
92 SRO, DD13/1625, lxvii.
93 SRO, CO2/12/6, 12 December 1930.
94 SRO, CO2/12/6, 13 November 1931.
95 PP 1924-25, Bills, II.
96 SRO, CO2/70/3, 26 January 1921, 5 November 1924.
98 SRO, DD13/227, number 2.
99 SRO, AF43/266, number 4.
100 Handley, p. 187.
101 PP 1929-30, Bills, II.
102 SRO, DD13/1603, number 1.
103 SRO, DD13/1603, number 17, DD13/1625, number 77.
104 SRO, DD13/227, number 5; DD13/1597, number 56; DD13/1598, number 41; DD13/1607, enclosure to 12.
105 SRO, DD13/227, number 5.


109 SRO, DD13/227, number 7, DD13/1597, number 47.

111 SRO, DD13/227, number 25.

112 Hansard, 5th series, 338 (London: HMSO, 1938), 13 July 1938, column 1388; SRO, DD6/480, number 2; DD6/484, number 69.


114 PP 1936-37, Cmd. 5462, XI, p. 49.

115 SRO, DD13/1603, number 24; CO7/3/1/15, p. 596.

116 SRO, DD13/1593, number 6; DD13/1608, number 7; DD13/1609, number 5; DD13/1614, number 8; DD13/1618, number 9; DD13/1620, number 14; DD13/1629, number 8; DD13/1635, number 2.

117 SRO, CO7/3/1/16, 13 February 1939; DD13/1603, number 20, number 22.

118 Compiled from SRO, CO7/3/1/15, CO7/3/1/16, CO7/3/1/17; DD13/1593 through to DD13/1647.

119 SRO, DD13/1618, number 4; DD13/1624, number 1; DD13/1629, number 3; DD13/1643, number 6.

120 SRO, DD13/1621, number 1.


122 SRO, HH63/47/2, p. 40; HH63/47/3, p. 44; HH63/47/4, p. 49; HH63/67/4, p. 22; HH63/80/4, p. 63; HH72/143/3, p. 7; HH72/37/15, p. 6; HH72/37/18, p. 6; HH72/37/19, p. 6; HH72/37/20, p. 6; HH72/37/21, p. 5; HH72/37/22, p. 5; HH72/37/23, p. 5; HH72/39/6, p. 15.

123 SRO, HH72/37/23, p. 5; HH72/60/11, p. 147.

124 SRO, DD13/1590, number 26.

125 Handley, p. 188. For a comparison see the byelaws made under Section 18 and Section 19 for the burgh of Dunbar, in SRO, DD13/1621 and DD13/1660.

126 SRO, DD13/1590, number 16.

127 SRO, DD13/227, number 14; DD13/1598, number 24; DD13/1603; DD13/1607, enclosure to 12.

128 SRO, DD13/1590, number 18, number 26.
129 SRO, DD13/1640, number 14; DD13/1645, number 14; DD13/1647, number 6.

130 SRO, DD13/1626, number 11; DD13/1628, number 9.

131 SRO, DD13/1603, number 26, number 27.

132 The authorities included Coldstream (DD13/1619, number 7); Dumbarton (DD13/1620); Dunbar (DD13/1621, number 7); Dunfermline (DD13/1623, number 30); Edinburgh (DD13/1625, enclosure to 91); Fort William (DD13/1627, number 9); Maybole (DD13/1635, number 1); Renfrew (DD13/1641, number 11); Stranraer (DD13/1646, number 5).

133 PP 1966-67, Bills, IV.

134 PP 1950, Bills, II; SRO, HH63/23/5, p. 63; West Lothian County Council, Minutes of Meeting of the County Council, 1945-1955, 22 May 1951.


136 SRO, AF59/59, p. 23.

137 SRO, CO7/3/1/25, p. 31, p. 371; CO7/3/1/26, p. 36.


139 SRO, HH72/12/7, p. 86.

140 Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995; SRO, HH63/16/6, p. 46.

141 Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.

142 Field recording, A. Duncan, Aberlady Mains, Aberlady, 22 August 1995; Field recording, J. Harvie, Dalkeith, 14 August 1995; SRO, CO7/3/1/17, 18 September 1939.

143 Field recording, A. Denholm, Musselburgh, 14 September 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.

144 Field recording, J. Anderson, 25 August 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, Freeland's Road, Ratho, 1 August 1995; Field recording, J. Peace, Carberry Mains, Musselburgh, 21 July 1995; SRO, CO7/3/1/17, 18 September 1939.

145 Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995; SRO, HH63/3/5, p. 61.

146 SRO, HH63/9/15, p. 80.
147 SRO, HH63/3/9, p. 68; HH63/16/6, p. 47; HH72/30/4, p. 78.

148 Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995; Field recording J. Harvie, 14 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.


150 Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995; SRO, HH72/12/6, p. 92.

151 Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.

152 SRO, HH63/16/6, p. 47; HH63/16/8, p. 41; HIi63/16/9, p. 35; HH63/16/10, p. 34; HIi63/16/15, p. 29; HH72/18/6, p. 27.

153 Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995.

154 SRO, HH63/9/16, p. 86; HH63/16/15, p. 29; HH72/12/1, p. 86; HH72/18/8, p. 32.

155 SRO, HH63/9/16, p. 86; HH72/4/6, p. 42; HH72/4/12, p. 41.

156 Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.

157 Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995; SRO, HH72/18/8, p. 32.

158 SRO, HH63/3/5, p. 61; HH72/4/12, p. 41; HH72/4/14, p. 37.

159 SRO, HIi63/3/13, p. 90; HH72/4/2, p. 56; HH72/4/8, p. 41; HH72/23/9, p. 39; HH72/23/10, p. 41; HH72/23/13, p. 41.

160 Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.

161 Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995.


163 SRO, HH63/9/15, p. 80; HH63/9/14, p. 78; HH63/9/16, p. 87; HH63/16/9, p. 35; HIi63/16/10, p. 34; HH63/16/15, p. 30.

For example, in 1959 "farmers in the Kilwinning district were exhorted to provide something better than the old pail closets for their visiting workers" (SRO, HH63/3/11, p. 94). Such a view continued into the 1960s. In his report for 1962, Samuel, the Chief Sanitary Inspector in Ayrshire, "[made] a plea for an improvement in the standards of accommodation required for seasonal workers. ... Since the war, automation has been introduced to potato harvesting and I would suggest that equal advance is now due to improve the lot of potato worker for whom there will always be necessity" (HH63/3/14, pp. 86-7). HH72/30/1, p. 83; HH72/30/2, p. 82; HH72/30/3, p. 83; HH72/30/4, p. 77; HH72/30/5, p. 85; HH72/30/6, p. 79; HH72/30/7, p. 91; HH72/30/8, p. 91. In each of these Reports the Sanitary Inspector notes the improvements made to accommodation like the erection of new sheds, structural improvements, the provision of water closets, installation of electricity, sinks and a water supply, and improved cooking arrangements.


166 O'Dowd, p. 198.

167 SRO, CO7/3/1/17, 18 September 1939.

168 SRO, CO7/3/1/25, p. 31, p. 371; CO7/3/1/26, p. 36.

169 SRO, HH63/3/10, p. 79; HH63/7/4, p. 62; HH63/7/5, p. 62; HH63/16/6, p. 47; HH72/30/1, p. 83.

170 SRO, HH63/16/8, p. 41.


172 SRO, HH63/9/15, p. 80; HH63/9/16; HH72/12/3, p. 79; HH72/30/10, p. 98.

173 Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995; SRO, HH63/9/12, p. 71.

174 SRO, HH63/3/14, p. 86; HH63/9/16, p. 87; HH72/12/4, pp. 87-88.

175 SRO, CO7/3/1/41, 20 April 1964. For example in 1959 "farmers in the Kilwinning district were exhorted to provide something better than the old pail closets for their visiting workers" (SRO, HH63/3/11, p. 94). Such a view continued into the 1960s. In his report for 1962, Samuel, the Chief Sanitary Inspector in Ayrshire, "[made] a plea for an improvement in the standards of accommodation required for seasonal workers. ... Since the war, automation has been introduced to potato harvesting and I would suggest that equal advance is now due to improve the lot of potato worker for whom there will always be necessity" (HH63/3/14, pp. 86-7). HH72/30/1, p. 83; HH72/30/2, p. 82; HH72/30/3, p. 83; HH72/30/4, p. 77; HH72/30/5, p. 85; HH72/30/6, p. 79; HH72/30/7, p. 91; HH72/30/8, p. 91. In each of these Reports the Sanitary Inspector notes the improvements made to accommodation like the erection of new sheds, structural improvements, the provision of water closets, installation of electricity, sinks and a water supply, and improved cooking arrangements.

176 SRO, HH63/9/12, p. 72.

177 SRO, HH63/9/13, p. 83.

178 SRO, HH63/3/14, p. 86; HH72/30/9, p. 100.

179 For example, SRO, HH72/4/12, p. 40.

180 West Lothian County Council, Minutes of Meetings of the Health Committee 1952-5, 6 January 1953, 4 June 1953.
In Ayrshire the number of inspections carried out was also increased so that the standard of accommodation could be raised (HH72/4/4, p. 35).

In 1963 there were only seven premises used for accommodating these workers, compared to eleven in 1960 (HH72/4/4, p. 35). SRA, C04/3/7, p. 35; C04/3/7, p. 74; HH72/30/4, p. 31; HH72/30/5, p. 85.

Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995. See also Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995.

SRO, HH63/9/16, pp. 86-87.

SRO, CO7/3/1/41, 20 April 1964; HH63/9/16, pp. 86-87.

SRO, HH63/9/16, p. 87.

SRO, HH63/9/16, pp. 87; HH72/12/2, p. 85.

SRO, HH63/3/5, p. 62; HH63/3/7, p. 84; HH63/3/9, p. 84; HH63/3/10, p. 78; HH63/3/13, p. 90; HH63/9/16, p. 87; HH72/4/2, p. 56; HH72/12/1, p. 86; HH72/30/10, p. 98.

SRO, HH63/9/16, p. 87.

SRO, HH72/12/2, p. 85.

SRO, HH72/12/2, p. 85.

SRO, HH72/12/2, p. 85.

SRO, HH72/12/4, pp. 57-58. Ayrshire had started to revise their byelaws in 1965. They were not approved by the County Council in 1967 (HH72/4/4, p. 36). However, when they were open for inspection prior to their acceptance by the Secretary of State for Scotland, objections were made to them by the NFU and the Potato Growers' Association. As a result the Council decided to hold a public inquiry into them in February 1968 (HH72/4/8, p. 41). It was not until September that year that they were confirmed. They were not, however, to come into operation until 1 January 1970 (HH72/4/10, p. 37). The Sanitary Inspector for Wigtownshire also made representations to the Scottish Home and Health Department in 1965 that the byelaws should be revised (HH72/30/9, p. 100). By the end of 1968 they were ready to be submitted to the Secretary of State for Scotland for approval (HH72/30/12, p. 87).

SRO, HH72/12/4, p. 88.
197 SRO, HH72/22/11, p. 29; HH72/23/19, p. 41; HH72/29/18, p. 24.

198 O'Dowd, p. 199.


200 Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995.

201 SRO, HH72/12/7, p. 86.


203 SRO, HH72/12/6, p. 93.


205 For example, Field recording, J. Harvie, 14 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.


207 SRO, HH72/12/6, p. 92.

208 Field recording, J. Galloway, 8 August 1995.

209 Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995. See also Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995.

210 SRO, HH72/12/7, p. 86.

211 Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.

212 Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lambert, Musselburgh, 3 August 1995; Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.


Chapter 13: Mechanisation of the Potato Harvest

1 Board of Agriculture, Report of the Board of Agriculture Appointed to Extract Information From the County Reports, and Other Authorities, Concerning The Culture and Use of Potatoes (London: W. Bulmer, 1795), pp. 40-41; James Trotter, General View of the Agriculture of West Lothian (Edinburgh: Adam Neill and Company, 1794), p. 121.

2 " Implements at Highland Show," North British Agriculturist, 22 July 1896; " Implements at 'Royal' Show," North British Agriculturist, 27 June 1894; "Messrs Alexr. Jack and Son, of Maybole, showed ...," North British Agriculturist, 26 April 1893; "Messrs Jack and Sons of Maybole, are a firm ...," North British Agriculturist, 9 June 1897; "Potato digging machines ...," North British Agriculturist, 10 November 1897; James Slight and R. Scott Burn, The Book of Farm Implements and Machines (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1858), p. 202-3. See also "On Implements Selected for Trial," THASS, 4th series, IX (1877), 339-40.


7 SRO, AF70/636, "Potato Harvesting Machinery."


10 S. J. Wright, "Farm Implements and Machinery," JRASE, 120 (1959), 197.

Claude Culpin, "Farm Implements and Machinery," (1966), 157. It was guessed that it would add £1,000 to a harvester if an X-ray unit was added. In 1972 a harvester would cost £9,400. In 1969 X-ray machines manufactured by Root Harvesters Ltd. of Peterborough cost £5,350 ("Latest Potato Machines on Show," Glasgow Herald, 4 October 1972. "Root Harvester in Action," Glasgow Herald, 23 October 1969). The cost of servicing the machine was noted in field recording, A. Hastie, Dolphingstone, Tranent, 25 July 1995.


Figures for Great Britain of use of X-ray machines.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hectares of Maincrop on Farm Unit</th>
<th>-2</th>
<th>-5</th>
<th>-10</th>
<th>-25</th>
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<th>50+</th>
<th>All</th>
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<td>7%</td>
<td>4%</td>
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</table>

This was not, however, characteristic of the situation in Scotland where all the X-ray machines used for harvesting the maincrop were used by growers between 10 and 50 hectares; none were used on farms larger than 50 hectares.

The use of Gramoxone allowed for the end of the practice of inter-row cultivation to take place. Tractors and implements no longer had to move up and down the drills, disturbing the soil structure and under certain conditions producing clods. The use of "tram-lines" also allowed for the crop to be sprayed for weeds, aphids (if a seed crop), blight, and sulphuric acid or other chemicals to dessicate the shaws prior to harvesting.
Harvesting, however, shows that in wet seasons there is some build up of clods along the drills immediately surrounding the tram lines. Culpin, 7th ed., pp. 363-4; C. V. Dadd, "Potato Growing Today," JRASE, 123 (1962), 42. In Scotland, however, cultivations after planting were still widely used in the mid 1970s, which may be accounted for by the lower level of harvester mechanization (Potato Marketing Board, Maincrop Potato Production Techniques in Great Britain 1977-8 (February 1979), p. 30).

17 Culpin, "Farm Implements," (1966), p. 157. A two row elevator digger was used to move stones to one side, which would then be used for running tractor wheels along. The crop was planted between the rows.

18 ADAS, Focus on Damage to Potatoes (Pinner: MAFF, 1979), p. 3.

19 The idea of stone removal was not successfully adopted as it created a massive work load and could damage the soil structure. In addition, stones were required as part of the soil structure and removal of them damaged it. With stone crushing a great amount of power was required to crush the stones, and as stones were broken into smaller pieces, this increased the number of stones the soil and the chance of getting them jammed in machinery (Richard Pearson and Grimme, 1963-1988, 25 Years on (n.p: Richaprint, 1988), p. 29).

20 Potato Marketing Board, Machinery Directory (Cowley: Potato Marketing Board, June 1975), p. 3. These companies were Curtis Padwick and Co. of Winchester with their Sorenson stone picker, Eric Matthews and Co. of King's Lynn, with their Fähse D 2000 stone picker, Ramsey (Hunts) Engineering Ltd., of Huntingdon, with their Halpat stone and clod crusher, and William E. Scorgie, of Menmuir with their preplanting stone and clodding machine.


27 Pearson and Grimme, p. 31.
28 "Implements at the 'Royal' Show," North British Agriculturist, 4 July 1894. At the Royal Show W. J. Burgess of Magdalen, King's Lynn exhibited "The Pioneer." This was an attachment which could separate potatoes from soil and weeds and elevate the potatoes into sacks or baskets or into a large box. Other complete harvesters were noted in Thomas Stirton, "Miscellaneous Implements Exhibited at Cambridge," JRASE, 5 (1894), 473-4. Actual complete harvesters were noted at a later date in North British Agriculturist, 11 December 1901; "Miscellaneous Implements Exhibited at Carlisle," JRASE, 63 (1902), 210. North British Agriculturist, 15 June 1933, 22 June 1933. Attempts were made in Europe to produce a harvester. By the early 1930s manufacturers in Germany, such as Harder of Lubeck, were experimenting in producing machines (North British Agriculturist, 3 September 1931, p. 1279). In Denmark one machine "not yet on the market" aimed to deliver the tubers into a waggon which ran alongside the machine. Quotation from W. J. West and S. J. Wright, "Root Harvesting," Scottish Journal of Agriculture, XXVI (1947), 33-34.


31 PP 1955-56, Cmd. 9738, XVII, pp. 11-12; SRO, AF59/33, number 192, pp. 7-8; AF70/153, part 6, "Harvest Labour (Scotland) Committee Report, 4 April 1950," paragraphs 44-45.

32 "Funds for New Machinery. Farmers' Plea," Glasgow Herald, 10 October 1952.


35 SRO, AF59/79, number 1.

36 PP 1955-56, Cmd. 9738, XVII, p. 11. The Committee visited the PMB's International Potato Harvester Demonstration and also the Scottish Machinery Testing Station of the National Institute of Agricultural Engineering at Howden, Mid Calder, to see machines working under both field and trial conditions.


41 "Three successive national potato harvesting demonstrations ... ," Times, 12 October 1959. Similar remarks were made by Culpin in 1963 who states that "both harvesters and subsequent handling methods are being rapidly improved, and the best machines and methods can achieve a quality of work at least as good as than usual with hand picking" (Culpin, 7th ed., p. 366).


46 "Perfect Potato Harvester is Yet To Come," The Times, 9 October 1961.


48 Field recording, A. Denholm, Musselburgh, 14 September 1995.
49 SRO, AF59/4, number 96, meeting of April 8 1954. Considerable damage was also noted at the R.A.S.E. potato harvester demonstration of 1952 (IRASE, 113, (1952), p. 206).

50 This was also the case in later years. J. H. Clift, "Speeding the Potato Harvest," Agriculture, 72 (1965), 214; MAFF, Farm Machinery Leaflet 27, Potato Harvesting With Complete Harvesters (July 1964); S. J. Wright, "Farm Implements and Machinery," IRASE, 123 (1962), 204.


52 Field recording, J. Braes, Barbachlaw, Wallyford, 17 July 1995; Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, Freelands Road, Ratho, 1 August 1995; Field recording, J. Peace, Carberry Mains, Musselburgh, 21 July 1995.


55 Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995; Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, 31 August 1995.

56 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, Pilmuir, Balerno, 16 November 1994.


58 Field recording, J. Cleghorn, 28 July 1995; Field recording, Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995.

59 SRO, AF59/33, number 192, p. 7. In 1949 complete harvesters had "achieved only a limited success on Scottish soils" (Claude Culpin, "The Mechanization of Root Crops," British Agricultural Bulletin, 3/4 (Spring 1950), 15).

60 An interesting discussion about mechanisation on different sizes of farm units can be found in Claude Culpin, "Economic Mechanization of Small Farms," in IRASE, 111 (1950), 30-33, 41-43. Culpin notes how in general, by 1950, mechanisation had "greatly benefited large farms but has done relatively little to help the small" indicating how adoption took place first on the largest farms where new machines or electrical devices could be used economically to reduce costs, increase output (p. 30).


62 Potato Marketing Board, Report on... 1975-6, p. 52.


SRO, ED54/88, "Notes for the 1957 debate." In England and Wales there was also a relatively small number in operation, though this had been steadily increasing during the early 1950s. In 1950 there were 480 in use; in 1952 there were 830. By 1957 there were 1,080 ("Agricultural Machinery - England and Wales 1950 Census," *Agriculture*, 57 (1950), 245; SRO, AE59/4, number 120, 26 November 1958). In Scotland the number of harvesters lifted less than 1% of the potato crop ("Mechanical Harvesting of Potatoes Demonstrated," *Glasgow Herald*, 11 October 1957).


West and Wright, p. 33.

Wright, "Farm Implements" (1960-1), p. 337.


77 SRO, AF59/33, number 192, p. 7.

78 PP 1955-56, Cmd. 9738, XVII, p. 11.

79 Field recording, D. Dandie, 24 July 1995.

80 "Women Take Over After Sixteen Years," Times, 15 October 1959.

81 The cost of labour was a concern noted during other periods. It was one of the reasons why farmers in South-West Lancashire adopted spinners to mechanise the potato harvest in the 1890s. Alastair Mutch, p. 131.

82 Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995.

83 Mr and Mrs Muir, 1 August 1995.

84 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 16 November 1995.

85 Salaman notes how the increase in agricultural wages during the Second World War was all out of proportion to the wholesale price of the potato. Such a situation had the effect of increasing the cost of producing the potato crop thus lessening the profit margin (Redcliffe Salaman, The History and Social Influence of the Potato (1949 rpt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 588).


87 Field recording, G. Lothian, 28 August 1995.

88 Field recording, G. Lambert, Musselburgh, 3 August 1995.

89 Davies, p. 249. In 1952 harvesters varied in price from £250 to £1,000, with most over £400 ("Report on R.A.S.E. Potato Harvester Competition-1952," IRASE, 113 (1952), 208-212). Similar prices were noted during the late 1950s ("Mechanical Harvesting of Potatoes Demonstrated," Glasgow Herald, 3 October 1957).

90 See also "Mechanical Harvesting of Potatoes Demonstrated," Glasgow Herald, 3 October 1957.

91 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 16 November 1994.

92 Field recording, G. Lambert, 3 August 1995.

93 Field recording, A. Duncan, 22 August 1995.
Field recording Mrs A. Holmes, Pilmuir, Balerno, 4 December 1994.

Field recording D. Dandie, 24 July 1995.


Field recording, G. Lambert, Musselburgh, 3 August 1995.


Field recording, Mrs A. Holmes, Pilmuir, Balerno, 4 December 1994.


Potato Marketing Board, "Crop Production Survey, 1980," n.pag.; SRO, AF59/4, number 120.

H. J. Hine, "Potatoes by the Box," *Agriculture*, 70 (1963), 16.


SRO, AF70/153, part 6, paragraph 43.


Chapter 14: Conclusion

1 Field recording, A. Denholm, Musselburgh, 14 September 1995.
2 Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995.
3 Field recording, A. Denholm, 14 September 1995.
4 Field recording, D. Dandie, Learielaw, Pumpherston, 24 July 1995.
Appendix 1: A History of Potato Growing in the Lothians


2 Salaman, p. 389.


5 Even in the decade after the Statistical Account of Scotland was compiled most of the potatoes were still grown within easy reach of villages. For example, in East Lothian "their culture is chiefly confined to the neighbourhood of the towns of Haddington, Dunbar, North Berwick, and the larger villages, where they are planted partly by the small farmers for sale, and partly by mechanics and labourers" (Robert Somerville, General View of the Agriculture of East Lothian (London: Richard Philips, 1805), pp. 135-136).


7 Robertson, p. 47; Smout, p. 135, p. 140.

8 Sinclair, 1, p. 572.


16 Wilson, 2, p. 44.

17 Scot Skirving, p. 104; Wilson, 2, p. 44.

18 Farrall, p. 29; Alexander MacDonald, "The Agriculture of the Counties of Elgin and Nairn," THASS, 4th series, XVI (1884), 99; Alexander MacDonald, "The Agriculture of the County of Renfrew," THASS, 4th series, XIIIX (1887), 58; James MacDonald, pp. 141-142; Wilson, 2, p. 44.

19 Wilson, 2, p. 44.

20 "The Failure of the Potato Crop," North British Agriculturist, 19 October 1881; "Potato lifting ...", North British Agriculturist, 9 November 1881.

21 For example, PP 1896, C. 8021, XVII; PP 1896, C. 8146, XXII.

22 Scola, p. 211.

23 SRO, AF39/11/4; AF39/11/5; AF39/15/2; AF39/21/2; AF40/1/1; AF40/1/2; AF40/1/3; AF40/2/1; AF40/2/2.

24 PP 1919, Cmd. 185, IX, p. xlii.


26 PP 1917-18, Cd. 8624, IV, p. xxx.

27 PP 1919, Cmd. 185, IX, p. xlii.
28 PP 1920, Cmd. 773, IX, p. ixiv.

29 SRO, AF47/4/6.

30 SRO, AF47/4/8/2; AF47/4/8/4; AF47/4/12.

31 SRO, AF47/4/6.


34 PP 1954-5, Cmd. 9411, IV, p. 9; SRO, AF45/23.

35 *Scottish Daily Express*, 19 March 1948.


38 See for example, SRO, AF40/43.


40 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, Pilmuir, Balerno, 16 November 1994.

41 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 16 November 1994.

42 Field recording, R. M. Holmes, 16 November 1994.
Appendix 3: Organisation of Elementary Education


2 PP 1901, Cd. 640, XXII, pp. 91-97.


5 SRO, CO2/105/2, 28 April 1911 (William Thomson Bathgate of Guildiehowes, Robert Barr Millar, Loquharioit, and James Wilson of Torcraik); CO2/122/1, 24 March 1888 (John Dobbie of Campend and William Harper of Sherifffhall Mains); CO2/125/1 (James Calder of Roddinglaw, J. Gray of Freeland and Frederick Usher of Norton Mains).


7 In East Lothian the SMCs were Dunbar, East Linton, Gifford, Haddington, North Berwick, Ormiston, Prestonpans, Tranent. In Midlothian the SMCs were Cranston, Crichton, Fala and Soutra, Dalkeith and Newbattle, Heriot and Stow; Colinton and Currie; Cramond and Corstorphine; Inveresk; Kirknewton and East Calder, Mid Calder and West Calder; Lasswade, Cockpen; Liberton and Newton; Penicuik and Glencorse; Ratho; Stobhill, Borthwick, Carrington and Temple. PP 1929-30, Cmd. 3565, XIII, p. 6.

8 SRO, CO7/5/1/7, 4 September 1930.


10 SRO, CO7/5/2/5, 1 October 1929.
Appendix 4: Illegal Employment of Children

1 PP 1898, C. 8908, XXVIII, p. 376; PP 1908, Cd. 4084, XXVIII, p. 372; SRO, CO7/5/1/11, 5 November 1936.

2 "Ratho Public School Log Book 16.5.1873 to 14.7.1911," 3 October 1902, 25 September 1903, 16 September 1904; SRO, AF59/57, Evidence of Mr Garvie of Blairgowrie, Perthshire, on 17 March 1936; CO2/111/2, 7 November 1910; CO2/119/4, 5 November 1914, 2 November 1916, 1 November 1917; CO7/5/4/21, 21 October 1921; CO7/5/5/2, 27 October 1942; CO7/5/5/10, 2 November 1943; CO7/10/4/1, 5 October 1926; CO7/10/4/3, 31 October 1933; CO7/10/4/4, 13 September 1938, 18 June 1940; CO7/10/4/5, 29 October 1940, 26 November 1940, 24 November 1942.


8 "Carrington Public School Log Book 1.2.1876 to 21.1.1944," 9 October 1877, 18 October 1881, 6 November 1883, 23 October 1883.


11 "Penicuik Free Church School Log Book 1.2.1864 to 9.4.1883," 12 October 1876; SRO, CO7/5/4/1, 31 October 1879.


13 "Dalmahoy St. Mary's Episcopal School Log Book 2.5.1910 to 8.7.1932," 9 October 1914.

14 SRO, CO2/121/5, 18 October 1915.

15 SRO, CO2/111/2, 1 December 1914, 5 November 1917; CO2/119/4, 5 November 1914, 1 November 1917; CO2/121/5, 18 October 1915; CO7/5/2/5, 16 October 1915, 29 October 1918; CO7/5/4/9, 11 October 1918.


19 Monies, pp. 137-139.


21 PP 1889, C. 5800-1, XXXII, Code of 1889, Article 19 A 1; PP 1890, C. 6106, XXXI, Article 19 A 1. Other steps were taken by School Boards to secure improved attendance. These included giving prizes for good attendance, a common practice until the outbreak of the First World War ("Ratho Public School Log Book 16.5.1873 to 14.7.1911," 28 August 1890; "Toxside Public School Log Book 21.6.1892 to 17.4.1924," 9 August 1896; SRO, CO2/126/3, 3 June 1901; CO7/5/2/11, 6 August 1897), and writing letters which stressed the necessity for regular attendance (CO2/115/1, 27 October 1894; CO2/119/2, 12 August 1890; CO7/5/2/5, 27 October 1898).

22 References to the officer at the time of the potato harvest first appear in the schools of Halfland Barns in 1894, Kingston, Pumpherston and Gorebridge in 1895, Rosewell in 1896, Bellsquarry in 1897, Cranston and
Ninemileburn in 1899, Balerno and East Calder in 1900 (Source: school log books).


24 SRO, CO2/117/3, 2 October 1901, 19 November 1903, 9 September 1909; CO2/119/3, 25 June 1908. See also CO7/10/4/5, 29 August 1944.


27 SRO, CO7/5/1/19, 9 May 1946, 20 May 1946; SRO, CO7/5/2/2, 29 June 1943; CO7/5/5/10, 6 October 1942, 2 February 1943, 5 September 1944.


30 SRO, CO2/119/2, 25 June 1908. In 1937 six children at Preston Lodge School were refused exemption after failing to produce a signed certificate (CO7/10/4/4, 21 September 1937).


32 SRO, CO2/118/3, 5 October 1896.

33 "Mid Calder Public School Log Book 8.6.1900 to 8.7.1938," 29 September 1911; SRO, CO2/111/2, 1 March 1902, 7 December 1914, 5 November 1917; CO2/117/3, 1 October 1903, 13 October 1910; CO2/118/3, 31 October 1904 (On 2 October 1905 they were referred to as "potato lifting certificates"); CO2/118/4, 4 November 1907, 6 October 1913; CO2/121/3, 25 September 1902, 12 October 1905, 22 October 1907, 16 September 1908.

34 SRO, CO7/5/1/5, 23 September 1926; CO7/5/1/6, 22 September 1927, 11 September 1928; CO7/5/5/1, 28 June 1937; CO7/10/4/4, 28 June 1938.

35 For example, Aberdeenshire (AF59/33, Form P. H. 2), Kirkcudbrightshire (AF59/23/12, in envelope); Clackmannanshire and Stirlingshire (AF59/74, number 9).

36 SRO, AF59/23/12, in envelope; AF59/79, number 21.
37 SRO, CO7/10/4/4, 29 November 1938.


40 "Crookston Public School Log Book 4.1.1934 to 4.7.1952," 19 October 1945; SRO, CO2/110/1, 12 November 1901, 8 October 1907, 30 October 1909; CO2/111/2, 7 November 1910; CO2/119/2, 26 October 1900, 25 October 1906; CO2/121/5, 18 October 1915; CO7/5/1/12, 19 July 1937; CO7/5/5/1, 16 October 1919; CO7/5/5/10, 2 November 1943; "Letter to Forsyth, Haddington"; CO7/10/4/1, 5 October 1926; CO7/10/4/2, 31 October 1933; CO7/10/4/4, 29 November 1938.

41 SRO, CO2/111/2, 6 November 1903, 7 November 1910, 4 November 1912; CO2/111/7, 18 October 1919.

42 Monies, pp. 140-141. She only notes one instance of a rural School Board which was prepared to prosecute employers. This was Creich in Sutherland.

43 PP 1898, C. 8908, XXVIII, p. 338.

44 PP 1874, C. 1028, XX, p. xxii.

45 PP 1901, Cd. 640, XXII, p. 516.

46 SRO, CO2/110/1, 16 August 1904; CO2/117/3, 3 October 1900, 2 October 1901.

47 PP 1884-5, C. 4484-1, XXVI, p. 206.


49 Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 11.4.1919 to 6.4.1922, 9 November 1920.
50 Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 11.4.1919 to 6.4.1922, 13 January 1920, 10 May 1921, 12 July 1921, 11 October 1921, 13 December 1921; Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 7.4.1922 to 19.3.1925, 9 May 1922, 13 June 1922, 13 November 1923, 8 July 1924, 14 October 1924, 9 December 1924; Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 20.3.1925 to 23.3.1928, 13 October 1925, 31 May 1926; Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 24.3.1928 to 15.5.1930, 15 January 1929; Midlothian Education Committee, Minutes of Meetings, 20.5.1930 to 10.5.1938, 8 May 1934; Midlothian Education Committee, Minutes of Meetings, 14.6.1938 to 21.10.1947, 14 February 1939. In all these cases employers were fined.

51 SRO, CO7/5/5/9, 16 December 1941, 17 February 1942. He had to pay expenses of £1.3.6.


53 Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 11.4.1919 to 6.4.1922, 11 October 1921; Midlothian Education Authority, Minutes of Meetings, 7.4.1922 to 19.3.1925, 9 January 1923. See also SRO, CO7/10/4/4, 30 November 1937.

54 SRO, CO2/119/3, 28 November 1907, 7 November 1919.

55 SRO, CO2/111/7, 10 October 1919.

56 SRO, CO7/5/1/20, 7 November 1946, 18 November 1946, 16 December 1946.


58 SRO, CO2/111/2, 4 November 1912; CO2/119/3, 5 November 1914.
Appendix 6: Regulating Employment Conditions of Children


2 SRO, AF59/23/2, number 1A.

3 SRO, CO7/3/1/38/1, 7 February 1952.

4 SRO, AF59/71, number 4; CO7/5/1/19, 20 May 1946; CO7/10/4/5, 18 June 1940. Also noted in Field recording, A. Denholm, Musselburgh, 14 September 1995.

5 SRO, AF59/71, Form A; CO7/10/4/6, "East Lothian Education Committee, Regulations for Employment of School Children in 1945 Harvest."

6 SRO, AF59/23/2, number 1A.

7 SRO, AF59/23/12, in envelope.


9 SRO, AF59/72, number 43.

10 SRO, AF59/79, number 8; CO7/3/1/42/1, 18 July 1955; CO7/5/5/4, 13 November 1951.

11 SRO, CO7/3/1/42/1, 18 July 1955; CO7/3/1/43/1, 10 January 1957; CO7/3/1/44/1, 9 May 1957; CO7/3/45/1, 4 September 1958; CO7/5/5/6, 13 October 1959; CO7/3/1/47/1, 18 July 1960. For the 1957 harvest a supervisor, William W. Waite was appointed (AF59/72, number 30; CO7/3/1/44/1, 10 October 1957); in 1958, another, Mr J. R. Brown of Gifford was appointed (CO7/3/1/45/1, 15 September 1958), and in 1959, Mr William J. Field of Dunbar (CO7/3/1/46/1, 21 September 1959).

12 SRO, CO7/3/1/38/1, 21 April 1952.

13 SRO, CO7/3/1/38, 3 March 1953; CO7/3/1/42/1, 10 November 1955.
14 SRO, AF59/23/2, number 1A; CO7/3/1/40/1, 7 April 1955.

15 SRO, CO7/10/4/4, 31 October 1944; CO7/10/4/6, 30 October 1945.

16 SRO, AF59/79, number 10; CO7/3/1/37/1, 7 September 1950, 7 December 1950, CO7/3/1/38/1, 7 February 1952, 3 March 1953, 10 July 1952, 3 March 1953; CO7/3/1/40/1, 10 March 1955; CO7/3/1/42, 10 November 1955; CO7/3/1/43/1, 10 January 1957.

17 SRO, CO7/3/1/40/1, 10 June 1954, 10 November 1955; CO7/3/1/43/1, 6 December 1956; CO7/3/1/46/1, 7 January 1960.

18 SRO, CO7/3/1/38/1, 3 March 1953; CO7/3/1/40/1, 7 April 1955, 10 November 1955; CO7/3/1/46/1, 7 January 1960.

19 For example "Farmer Overworked School Children," Scotsman, 14 November 1962 (farmer from Fife).
Appendix 7: Movement of Irish Workers From Ireland to Britain During the Second World War: Travel Permits


2 Dáil Éireann (Dublin: The Stationery Office), 23 October 1947, columns 841-2; NAD, Department of Taoiseach S12805, "Eire Emergency Powers Order, 1939."

3 Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) House of Commons Official Report, 5th series, 373 (London: HMSO, 1941), 24 July 1941, column 373 (Hereafter Hansard); Hansard, 5th series, 403 (London: HMSO, 1944), 12 October 1944, columns 1935-6; Anne O'Dowd, Tape 11, Tommy Moran, Ballinglanna, Curraun, Achill, 29 March 1980; Anne O'Dowd, Tape 13, Josie Moran, Ballinglanna, Curraun, Achill. Another type of card, the travel identity card, was introduced on 18 June 1947 for people going to Great Britain for other purposes than taking up permanent residence or employment. Travel identity documents were issued until their general withdrawal on 7 April 1952; after that date only aliens were required to carry them (*Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems, 1948-56* (Dublin: The Stationery office, 1956), p. 267).


5 NAD, Department of Taoiseach, S11582A, "Report of an interview with a gaffer from Achill, who called here in connection with travel permits for his party"; "Memorandum of conference on 11 June 1941."

6 NAD, Department of Taoiseach, S11582A, "Letter from Department of Industry and Commerce."

7 NAD, Department of Taoiseach, S11582A, Paper dated 23 June 1941.

8 NAD, Department of Taoiseach, S11582A, "Cabinet Minutes 14 June 1941."

9 NAD, Department of Taoiseach, S11582A, "Cabinet Minutes 1 July 1941."

10 NAD, Department of Taoiseach, S11582B, paper of 28 Sibreán 1944.

11 NAD, Department of Taoiseach, S11582A "Cabinet Minutes 14 September 1943."

12 NAD, Department of Taoiseach, S11582A "Cabinet Minutes 14 September 1943."

13 NAD, Department of Taoiseach, S11528B, "Department of Industry and Commerce, Summary of Attached Memorandum for the Government, 3 Lúl 1945."
14 NAD, Department of Taoiseach, S12728A, "Travel Permit Statistics September 1939 to December 1943 inclusive"; "Department of Industry and Commerce Travel Permit Statistics, January to June, 1945."

15 NAD S11582A, Department of External Affairs 3 Lúl 1941, "New British assurance about conscription"; Department of Taoiseach, S12728A, "Travel Permit Statistics September 1939 to December 1943 inclusive; "Department of Industry and Commerce Travel Permit Statistics, January to June, 1945."
Appendix 8: Improving Conditions of the Squads of Irish Migratory Workers: Union Activities

1 Field recording, J. Galloway, Orchardfield, Kirknewton, 8 August 1995; Field recording, J. Harvie, Dalkeith, 14 August 1995; Field recording, D. Scobie, Edinburgh, 31 August 1995.


3 "Labour For the Potato Crop," Glasgow Herald, 18 July 1918.


10 SRO, AF59/64. "Carrick District Committee. Extract from minutes of state meeting held at Maybole on Monday 2nd September 1918."


12 O'Dowd (p. 192) also states that the 1918 strike was "the only active attempt by the workers themselves to improve their conditions of pay and housing."


Appendix 9: Bishops' (Gresham) Committee for Improving Conditions of Irish Migratory Workers in Scotland

1 SRO, AF59/64, letter of 9 August 1917.

2 NAD AGI G2661 1926, letter of 4 November 1920; "Scottish Bothy Horrors Revealed," Irish Independent, 24 September 1937; SRO, AF59/64, 18 October 1917, 9 October 1917, 10 October 1917, 18 October 1917.


4 NAD, AGI G2661 1926, 4 September 1923.

5 SRO, DD13/1591, "Diary showing work during 1922 of the Committee's Inspector, Mrs G. Bland," p. 10.

6 NAD AGI G2661 1926, 1 February 1923.

7 NAD AGI G2661 1926, 4 November 1920.

8 NAD AGI G2661 1926, 9 December 1920.

9 SRO, DD13/1591, number viii, number xv, "Diary showing work during 1922 of the Committee's Inspector, Mrs G. Bland" (Miss Thornton married during the time she made the reports).

10 For example, SRO, DD13/1625, number iv.

11 SRO, DD13/1625, number iii.

12 SRO, DD13/1603, number iv.

13 SRO, DD13/1603, number iv.

14 SRO, DD13/1603, number iv.
Appendix 10: The Kirkintilloch Bothy Fire Tragedy of 16 September 1937: An Examination of the Incident and the Resulting Legislation


2 Dáil Éireann (Dublin: The Stationary Office), 10 November 1937, column 789; Main Manuscript 1987, pp. 7-8, in the Department of Irish Folklore, University College Dublin; Schools Manuscript 86, p. 269; "Harvesters Drowned," North British Agriculturist, 27 June 1894.


6 P. J. Joyce, A Forgotten Part of Ireland (Dublin, 1910), pp. 160-161.


8 SRO, SC65/25A/13, p. 5, pp. 80-87.

9 O'Dowd, p. 177; SRO, SC65/25A/13, p. 5-6.

10 PP 1917-18, C. 8731, XIV, p. 191.


15 SRO, SC65/25A/13, p. 20.

16 SRO, SC65/25A/13, p. 18.


18 SRO, SC65/25A/13, p. 17, p. 32.

19 SRO, SC65/25A/13, p. 10.

20 SRO, SC65/25A/13, p. 8, p. 20.

21 SRO, SC65/25A/13, p. 52.

22 SRO, SC65/25A/13, p. 41.

23 SRO, DD13/227, Photograph number 6, "Interior of Women's Quarters."


26 SRO, SC65/25A/13, p. 18.

27 SRO, SC65/25A/13, p. 83.


30 SRO, SC65/25A/13, pp. 126-130.

31 Handley, p. 187; Kay, p. 3; Leitch, p. 30.


33 SRO, SC65/25A/13, p. 27.

34 SRO, SC65/25A/13. Also found in many newspapers on the day following such as "Bothy Fire Tragedy: Inquiry Findings," Scotsman, 19 October 1937; "Fate of Achill Youths: Inquiry Verdict," Irish Independent, 19 October 1937; "How Achill Men Died. Suffocation from Fumes in Store,"

35 SRO, SC65/25A/13, p. 100.

36 SRO, SC65/25A/13, p. 89, p. 94.


38 SRO, SC65/25A/13, p. 40.

39 SRO, SC65/25A/13, p. 143.

40 SRO, SC65/25A/13, p. 135.

41 SRO, SC65/25A/13, p. 136.

42 Patrick Duggan, Thomas Duggan, Mary McLoughlin and Kate Ginlay.


44 Anne O'Dowd, tape 18, recorded on 26.8.1980.

45 Main Manuscript 1987, pp. 5-6, in the Department of Irish Folklore, University College Dublin.


47 "Fatal Fire Case 'Should Be Left To Rest'," Glasgow Herald, 1 December 1982.


56 "Kirkintilloch Disaster Fund. Total Sum of £18,233," Mayo News. 10 February 1940.


61 O'Dowd, p. 198.

62 Report of Inter-Departmental Committee ..., 1937-1938, p. 23.

63 Report of Inter-Departmental Committee ..., 1937-1938, p. 17.

64 PP 1924-25, Bills, II, Housing (Scotland) Act, 1925.

65 SRO, DD13/227, number 2.

67 Handley, p. 187.

68 SRO, DD13/1607, number 12.


70 PP 1917-18, C. 8731, XIV, p. 191.

71 The fifth burgh was Lerwick which had made byelaws for fish workers.

72 SRO, DD13/227, number 17. The Town Clerk at Kirkintilloch informed the General Inspector of the DHS "that this matter had never been considered either by the Town Council or the Public Health Committee."

73 SRO, DD13/227, number 5.

74 SRO, DD13/227, Minute paper of 16.9.37.

75 O'Dowd, p. 196.

76 SRO, DD13/227, number 7; DD13/1597, number 47.

77 For example, "Kirkintilloch Disaster Inquiry. Death Due To Carbon Monoxide Gas Poisoning," Glasgow Herald, 19 October 1937.

78 SRO, DD13/227, number 25.


81 PP 1936-37, Cmd. 5462, XI, p. 49.

82 SRO, DD6/484, number 28.

83 SRO, DD6/479, number 37.

84 SRO, DD6/484, number 68.

85 SRO, DD6/484, number 69.

86 SRO, DD6/480, number 7.

88 Handley, p. 188; O’Dowd, p. 198. Both quote Section 18 which he takes to be the Section regulating the accommodation given to the Irish potato squads.

89 SRO, DD13/1607, enclosure to 12; DD13/1625, number lvi.

90 SRO, DD13/1590, number 16.

91 SRO, DD13/1590, number 16, Byelaw 6 (v).


93 SRO, DD13/1608, number 3; DD13/1615, number 30, number 31.

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95 For example Aberdeen (DD13/1593, number 6), Alloa (DD13/1614, number 8), Coatbridge (DD13/1618, number 9), Dumbarton (DD13/1620, number 14), Greenock (DD13/1629, number 8), Kirkintilloch (DD13/1633, number 10), Maybole (DD13/1635, number 2), Motherwell (DD13/1638, number 7), Perthshire (DD13/1639, number 12), Renfrewshire (DD13/1641, number 10); Roxburghshire (DD13/1608, number 7), Selkirkshire (DD13/1609, number 5).

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99 SRO, DD13/1598, number 51, number 54; DD13/1600, number 7. A Minute paper indicates that the file was put away for the duration of the Second World War; DD13/1606, number 16; DD13/1607, number 16; DD13/1612, number 63. A Minute paper indicates that the file was put away for the duration of the Second World War; DD13/1615, number 34; DD13/1619, number 4; DD13/1640, number 9; DD13/1646, number 5. The byelaws were confirmed on 3 May 1944.

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105 SRO, DD13/1614, number 1; DD13/1617, number 3; DD13/1618, number 4; DD13/1619, number 2; DD13/1620, number 2; DD13/1624, number 1; DD13/1626, number 1; DD13/1627, number 1; DD13/1629, number 3; DD13/1632, number 4; DD13/1641, number 1; DD13/1642, number 6; DD13/1643, number 1; DD13/1644, number 7.

106 SRO, DD13/1643, number 6, number 7a.

107 SRO, DD13/1641, number 4.

108 SRO, DD13/1626, number 1; DD13/1642, number 6.

109 SRO, DD13/1629, number 6; DD13/1632, number 4, number 5.

110 SRO, HH63, HH72, HH73.

111 For example G. and D. Maxwell of Market Street, Forfar employed Irish labour.

112 SRO, HH63/7/1, p. 66; HH63/7/2, p. 70; HH63/7/3, p. 73; HH63/7/4, p. 62; HH63/7/5, p. 62; HH63/7/6, p. 57; HH63/7/7, p. 50; HH63/7/8, p. 49.

113 SRO, HH63/30; HH63/47; HH63/49; HH63/67; HH63/80; HH72/13; HH72/37; HH72/39; HH72/60; HH72/132; HH72/143; HH73/13.

115 SRO, HH63/49/12, p. 193; HH72/60/1, p. 218; HH72/60/2, p. 208; HH72/60/3, p. 155; HH72/60/4, p. 171; HH72/60/7, p. 139; HH72/60/8, p. 139.


117 SRO, HH63/47/4, p. 49; HH63/80/4, p. 63.

118 SRO, HH63/67/4, p. 22.

119 SRO, HH72/39/6, p. 15; HH72/60/9, p. 129; HH72/60/10, p. 136; HH72/60/11, p. 147; HH72/60/12, p. 108; HH72/143/3, p. 7.

120 SRO, HH72/37/23, p. 5; HH72/60/11, p. 147; HH72/143/3, p. 9.
### GLOSSARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Achill Workers</strong></td>
<td>Squads of workers employed exclusively for harvesting the potato crop across southern Scotland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AEC (Agricultural Committees appointed by Scottish Executive Committee)</strong></td>
<td>Committees appointed by Scottish Government Departments during the latter years of the First World War and the Second World War to secure increased cultivation and production of crops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Barrel</strong></td>
<td>Container which held either 12 stones or a hundredweight of potatoes for measuring them to be put into sacks or for taking them to market where crops were sold directly from the field for immediate consumption.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Barrelman</strong></td>
<td>Person, usually male, who filled barrels of potatoes. See also timmer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Basket</strong></td>
<td>Collecting container which held potatoes gathered from the ground.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bit</strong></td>
<td>Another term for stent or stint, a length of drill gathered by one or a number of gatherers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blight</strong></td>
<td>Phytophthora infestans, a fungal disease which attacks the leaves, stem then potatoes, which is spread during warm, moist weather.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Boiling</strong></td>
<td>A 'perk' of an amount of potatoes taken by the workers usually at the end of their day's work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bonus Wage</strong></td>
<td>An extra payment given to workers where the employer was pleased with their work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bothy</td>
<td>General term which describes the accommodation given to Irish migratory workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brander</td>
<td>Type of plough with a frame of six malleable-iron bars for a mouldboard for digging potatoes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brat</td>
<td>A coarse apron made from a potato sack for potato planting and gathering.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bucket</td>
<td>Pail shaped container which was used as a primary collecting container for holding potatoes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caithness Committee</td>
<td>Committee on Farm Workers in Scotland of 1936, chaired by The Earl of Caithness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chain digger</td>
<td>Another term for elevator digger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete harvester</td>
<td>Potato harvester which mechanically uncovered the potatoes, separated them from stones, clods and shaws and delivered them into a trailer or potato box.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractor</td>
<td>Person who organised squads and hired them to farmers or potato merchants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crocan</td>
<td>Hook for digging potatoes by hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croman</td>
<td>Handtool with an adze blade for digging potatoes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAS</td>
<td>Department of Agriculture for Scotland. The Scottish Government Department responsible for agriculture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donegal worker</td>
<td>An adult male from County Donegal employed for general harvesting and agricultural work across southern Scotland and northern England.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Double mouldboard plough
Plough with two mouldboards for digging potatoes.

Education Authority
Body of a county or burgh responsible for Education.

Education Committee
Committee of a County Council or Burgh Council which dealt with Education in its area.

EIS
Educational Institute of Scotland, the largest teachers' union in Scotland.

Elevator digger
A potato digging implement composed of a chain or elevator of rods.

Endrig
The strip at the top or the bottom of a field, also referred to as the headrig.

Exemption
1. Temporary. Method which enabled a child to leave school during school hours for a short period, usually for a few weeks, to engage in employment.
2. Permanent. Method which enabled a child to leave school some months before he or she reached the leaving date.

Exemption certificate
Certificate given to pupils who had been granted exemption from school attendance which stated that they had obtained permission to be employed at the potato harvest or in other employment during school hours. See School absentee certificate, white card.

Feathering action
Action of movement of tines on a spinner digger which lifted the potatoes out of the drill rather than knocking them out.

Final container
Collecting container, usually the largest in size, which held potatoes to be sold for immediate consumption or to take potatoes to the pit for storage, or to store them.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First early or earlies</td>
<td>Varieties of potatoes which are the first to mature and can be harvested from mid June onwards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreloader</td>
<td>Lifting attachment developed during the 1950s which was fitted onto the front of a tractor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forewin</td>
<td>A leading digger who controlled the speed at which a crop was dug by the potato graip.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full stent</td>
<td>Term which described when a picker or gatherer gathered the full length of a stent, or length of drill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaffer or ganger</td>
<td>Person, usually a male, in charge of a squad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganging system</td>
<td>System of recruiting labour where squads were hired and recruited by a ganger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow and West of Scotland Potato Trade Association</td>
<td>One of the six potato merchants' trade organisations interested in the development and protection of the potato trade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graip</td>
<td>A three or four pronged fork with flattened prongs used to dig potatoes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gresham Committee</td>
<td>Committee founded to inquire into the accommodation conditions of Achill workers from 1920 to 1922.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groundkeeper</td>
<td>Ungathered potato left in the soil which grows as a weed in the following crop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half Stent</td>
<td>Term which described when a gatherer gathered half the length of stent or amount of drill allocated to them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrowing</td>
<td>Process of pulling a harrow across the soil to bring up potatoes to the surface of the soil which had been left buried by the plough, spinner and elevator digger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haulm</td>
<td>Foliage of the potato plant. See shaw.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamper:</td>
<td>Wicker container used either as an intermediate or final collecting container.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headrig</td>
<td>The strip at the top or bottom of a field. See also endrig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HMI</td>
<td>His Majesty's Inspector. School inspector employed to ensure the provisions of the Scotch Code or the Regulations for Day Schools issued by the Scottish Education Department were fulfilled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoover machine</td>
<td>Term for elevator digger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hot plate</td>
<td>Basic type of stove comprising a metal plate, heated from below.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howk</td>
<td>Verb, 'to dig, delve the soil' which describes the work of the people, usually Irish, employed at the potato harvest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate container</td>
<td>Middle collecting container which held potatoes in a three stage handling system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITGWU</td>
<td>Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennet box</td>
<td>A pallet box which was narrower at the top than at the bottom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maincrop</td>
<td>Potato varieties which mature later than the earlies and traditionally harvested in October.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manned harvester</td>
<td>Complete potato harvester which required workers to separate potatoes from clods, stones and other trash.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanical harvester</td>
<td>Term for complete harvester.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minutes</td>
<td>Short break of ten or fifteen minutes given to workers during the morning and afternoon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of Parliament.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil drum</td>
<td>An intermediate container used to measure the amount of potatoes collected by gatherers who were paid by piecework or by the amount of work they undertook.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallet box</td>
<td>A wooden box for holding potatoes which could be lifted by a tractor foreloader or forklift truck.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permit and employment card</td>
<td>Card given to children who had received exemption from school attendance to work at the potato harvest which stated that they were released from work. It was also used to record the number of days a child had been employed during the period they were released from school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pit</td>
<td>Means of storing potatoes in a field. Potatoes were emptied into a cone shaped heap which was extended lengthways along the side of a field. The potatoes were then covered with straw, and some time later, with soil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMB</td>
<td>Potato Marketing Board. Board responsible for controlling the production of potatoes in Great Britain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potato box</td>
<td>Wooden box which was used to store potatoes throughout the autumn, winter and spring months.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Potato exemption  Term for temporary exemption which enabled children to be released from school to work at the potato harvest. See exemption.

Potato holiday  A school holiday which lasted from one to four weeks during October which let children harvest the potato crop.

Potato plough  Plough, of several types, used to plough out potatoes from the drill in which they grew.

Potato merchant  Person who bought potatoes from another for resale, or who accepted them for sale.

Primary container  First container used to collect the potatoes immediately gathered from the soil.


Rose Committee  The Committee on the Employment of Children in the Potato Harvest in 1956 chaired by Sir Hugh Rose.

Sack  Final collecting container made from paper, jute or hessian which held a half hundredweight or hundredweight of potatoes.

SBH  Scottish Board of Health. Scottish Government Department which managed health issues.

School absentee certificate  Certificate given to pupils who had obtained exemption from school attendance which stated that they had obtained permission to be employed during school hours. See exemption certificate, white card.

School Board  An administrative body responsible for schools and education which operated in a parish or burgh from 1872 to 1918.
Scotch Code Day Code Regulations issued by the Scottish Education Department for the running and administration of day schools in Scotland.

Scottish Farm Farm workers' union.
Servants' Union

Scottish National The National Union for Farmers in Farmer's Union Scotland.

Second Early Varieties of potato which matured later than the first earlies, but earlier than the maincrop and were usually harvested during August and September.

(earlies)

SED Scotch Education Department, later the Scottish Education Department and Scottish Office Education department. Body responsible for organising and responsible for education in Scotland.

Self-propelled harvester Complete harvester with a driving engine which propelled it, rather than powered from a tractor.

Shaw Foliage of the potato plant. See haulm.

SMC School Management Committee. Committee appointed to manage and supervise schools in the area of an Education Authority, under the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918.

Sorter Machine for grading or dressing the potato crop into various sizes and sound from the unsound potatoes.

Spail basket Basket made from thin strips of wood woven together.
<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Spinner</td>
<td>Digging implement which comprised a share, a set of revolving tines and a screen to prevent the potatoes from being thrown too far.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone and clod</td>
<td>Method of separating stones and clods from the ground at the time the potato crop is planted to enable complete harvesters to work more efficiently.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STUC</td>
<td>Scottish Trade Union Congress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary Class</td>
<td>A class between the end of the Primary course and the school-leaving age where children did not intend to continue in education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squad</td>
<td>Group of workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stent</td>
<td>A part of the drill gathered by one or more pickers or gatherers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stint</td>
<td>Another term for stent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tattie graip</td>
<td>A fork with three or four prongs flattened at the end for digging the potato crop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tattie howker</td>
<td>Person employed at the potato harvest, usually from Ireland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timmer</td>
<td>Person who emptied full baskets of potatoes into immediate or final containers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmanned harvester</td>
<td>Fully automated potato harvester with no facilities for separating potatoes from trash.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White card</td>
<td>Certificate given to pupils who had been granted exemption from school attendance which stated that they had obtained permission to be employed at the potato harvest during school hours. See exemption certificate.</td>
</tr>
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This bibliography is organised under the following heads:

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   (C) Scotland
(13) Field work

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Folder 63B. Potatoes. Ploughs: Storage.

Folder 63C. Potatoes. Lifting.

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