PAROCHIAL EDUCATION

AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF

THE DICK BEQUEST, 1833 - 1853

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PART ONE

In the early years of the nineteenth century many
businessmen who had been forced to seek their
fortunes outside the
British Isles found the benefits of their wealth on their
native land by legislative and endowments. The counties of North
Eastern Scotland were particularly favored in this respect, perhaps
because there were few commercial opportunities to both ambitions
and circumstances young men at home. Forbys Academy in Morayshire
was established under the will of George Smith of Cossay. ALEXANDER
MILLS who had pursued a successful career in New York left money
for the foundation of Mills's Institution at Fochabers and another
Feugh seat in the parishes. Dr John Mills, the hereditary President
of the Medical Board at Forres, founded a charity to improve the
standard of poor children in elementary education with a legacy of
£17,000. None of these founders were as generous nor as influential
as John Dick, a wealthy and enterprising mill owner of the counties
of Aberdeen, burgh and Moray.
In the early years of the nineteenth century many Scotsmen who had been forced to seek their fortune outside the British Isles bestowed the benefits of their wealth on their native land by legacies and endowments. The counties of North Eastern Scotland were particularly favoured in this respect, perhaps because there were so few commercial opportunities to keep ambitious and enterprising young men at home. Fordyce Academy in Morayshire was established under the will of George Smith of Bombay. Alexander Milne who had pursued a successful career in New Orleans left money for the foundation of Milne's Institution at Fochabers and another free school in the parish. Dr John Milne, who had been President of the Medical Board at Bombay, founded a charity to improve the access of poor children to elementary education with a legacy of £47,000. None of these, however, were as generous nor as influential as James Dick's legacy to the parish schoolmasters of the counties of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray.

Relatively little is known of the man whose generosity set up the institution that bore his name. Dick was born at Forres in Morayshire in 1743 and although he was reputed to have received a fine education in the parish school only the barest details of his life remain. Like many others he sought his fortune overseas; he went to Kingston, Jamaica, at the age of nineteen where he entered the mercantile house in which he eventually became a partner. After twenty years in the West Indies he retired to London where he continued to add to his wealth by judicious investment until his death in 1828. The modesty of his life in London, living in plainly furnished rooms with few servants and his simple entertaining with
"the fare plain and ample, after a scotch taste in cookery" suggests that his wealth was never comparable to that of the West Indian grandees. In 1828 his estate amounted to a little over £150,000 and as such was a fortune of relatively modest proportion.

William Innes of Raemoir, who has provided the only known biographical details of Dick, first met him around 1800 when he was about sixty years old. Innes was very struck by his physical appearance. "He was a man of about five feet seven inches or five feet eight inches in height, with broad and square shoulders and brawny limbs. His features were strongly marked by the small-pox, broad flat nose, high cheek bones, altogether forming a countenance considered characteristic of a Scotchman". Although he had left Jamaica in the 1780's Dick continued to dress in the West Indian style. His habit of wearing "a single-breasted blue coat, without collar, nankeen breeches, made tight with buckles at the knees, white stockings, high shoes and large buckles" together with his powdered hair, cocked hat and gold headed cane, attracted attention in fashion conscious London. (1)

He was evidently a kindly and thoughtful man for after the major bequests had been made he provided comfortably for his servants and directed that £1,000 should be invested and the interest used to buy coal for distribution in winter to the poor of Forres. Dick's only son predeceased him and apart from a legacy of £36,000 to his daughter the remainder of his fortune was used to establish the Bequest.
The original instruction of his will was that the Principals and Professors of Kings and Marischal Colleges were to manage the fund and apply the annual revenue "to the maintainance and assistance of the County Parochial Schoolmasters .... in the three counties .... excluding the royal burghs". The intention was to form a fund "for the benefit of that neglected, though useful class of men, and to add to their present very trifling salaries". His concern for their meagre income prompted him to insist that the manner of distribution should not lessen the obligations of the heritors and those who were legally required to support the schoolmaster. Dick also ruled that the distribution was to be made in such a way "as shall seem most likely to encourage active schoolmasters and gradually to elevate the literary character of the Parochial Schoolmasters ... taking care that the common branches of education are properly attended to". Apart from a codicil which revoked the appointment of the Principals and Professors and established the Keeper and Deputy Keeper of the Signet, the Treasurer of the Society of Writers to the Signet and eight Commissioners of the Signet as the Trustees of the fund, the will remained the basis on which the Bequest operated. (2)

No other legacy equalled the Dick Bequest in the scale of its application. The rural parishes in the three counties to which it was restricted contained about a tenth of the total population of Scotland. The money which was invested in land securities produced an annual revenue which in the first twenty years amounted to between £3,500 and £5,500. Apart from one or two of the early years this income was in excess of the total
salaries paid to the schoolmasters in the region. In terms of its financial generosity and the number of people likely to be indirectly affected by its work the Dick Bequest was the most significant educational development in North Eastern Scotland in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Under the business-like provisions of the will the Trustees were empowered to appoint salaried officers; a Treasurer to manage the investment of the fund and a Clerk to handle the administration. (3) The first Clerk was Allan Menzies who was Professor of Conveyancing at Edinburgh University. Because of the enthusiasm that he brought to the task Menzies soon became the mainspring of the Bequest. The principles on which the division of the revenue was based, the role of the Bequest as an agency of educational reform, the move towards a standard qualification for schoolmasters, and the introduction of the first meaningful inspection of the schools, were all the result of his recommendations to the Trustees. It was Menzies' decision that the Clerk should also act as the official Visitor for the Bequest and by conjoining a real familiarity with the work of the schools with his executive function he ensured that the Dick Bequest became an influential institution and did not deteriorate into an obscure and ineffective educational charity.

The Trustees were fortunate that between 1831 and 1890 they had two Clerks who should be reckoned among the leading educational thinkers of the period. Menzies continued to visit the
schools until shortly before his death in 1856 when he was succeeded by Professor S S Laurie who was the Visitor until 1890 when improved state inspection made his work superfluous. It was Professor Laurie's opinion that the high regard for the Bequest in the North East was largely due to Menzies personal qualities. The Reports of 1834, 1844 and 1854 reveal his abiding interest in the problems of education and his desire to inform the schoolmasters of remote parishes of developments which would enhance the education they offered. The great advance made in the parish schools was the surest memorial to "his powers of guidance and inspiration". (4)

NOTES
1. G.D. 1/4 189 Report on the Dick Bequest 1854
2. G.D. 1/4 1 Will of James Dick 1827
3. G.D. 1/4 2 Table of Rules and Regulations by James Dick 1828
4. Ian J Simpson Education in Aberdeenshire before 1872 University of London Press 1947
In spite of the many Acts for the establishment of schools passed during the seventeenth century there were many parishes where they had not been erected either because the Acts had been insufficiently binding or because they had been evaded. The Act of 1696 removed the escape clause of the Act of 1633 which had required the heritors to consent before the Bishop could impose a levy for the upkeep of a school, and set out the obligations and sanctions behind the legislation so minutely as to defy misinterpretation. The heritors became responsible for the provision of a school and a dwelling house for the teacher and for his salary, which was to be not more than 200 merks nor less than 100 merks (£5 11s 1½d). The statutory salary remained until 1803 when the rise in the cost of living made a revision a matter of urgency. Under this Act the minimum salary was fixed at £16 13s 5d with a revision every twenty-five years. For the period 1828-54 the minimum salary was £25 13s 4d and the maximum was £34 4s 4d. The Act of 1803 also allowed for the creation of additional schools in large parishes.

The Trustees decided that a detailed survey of the workings of the parochial schools was essential. The Original Returns of 1833 provided a detailed statistical picture of the state of parochial education and, as a result, the historian has a mine of information about the schools of the three counties. (1) The analysis of education in the North East supplied by the Original Returns was the basis on which Menzies framed his recommendations as to the administration of the Bequest.
The financial burden of education was born by the heritors of a parish; these were landowners whose property had a valued rent of not less than £100 Scots (£8 6s 8d). The average number in each parish was a little over six but this figure conceals the disparity between the wealthy parishes around Aberdeen with numerous heritors (Old Machar 102 heritors, Newhills 35, Banchory-Devenick and Belhelvie 17 each) and the upland parts where in the Presbytery of Fordyce four out of six parishes had a single heritor and the Presbytery of Abernethy where six heritors maintained five schools. Where the cost of maintaining the school and paying the schoolmaster fell on a small number of heritors their sense of responsibility was likely to be severely tested, especially if the parish were a poor one.

The area covered by the Bequest (the three counties excluding the royal burghs) was divided into thirteen presbyteries with 123 parishes and schools. Fourteen side-schools had been set up under the Act of 1803; five parishes each had two additional schools so that only nine in all had used the statutory provision. In a great many parishes children had difficulty in attending the school especially in the large hill parishes like Strathdon which was 23 miles long and 7½ broad. It was recorded that in 77 parishes the school was not easily accessible to all the children of the parish and even the provision of side schools at Inverallan and Alvie failed to solve the problem in the highland parish of Cromdale.
The inaccessibility of many parish schools was one of the reasons why so many other day schools existed. In the region there were 528 day schools, including the parish schools, so that 391 establishments were financed either by adventure or endowment. Only twenty-two parishes could not boast an alternative school and these were generally the smaller ones; fifteen of the twenty-two had a population of less than 1,000. There were exceptions to this pattern and Crimond with a population of 879 had four alternative schools. Not unexpectedly more choice existed in those parishes where population and wealth were concentrated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Machar (pop)</th>
<th>25,107</th>
<th>19 schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bellie</td>
<td>2,432</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fordyce</td>
<td>3,364</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peterhead</td>
<td>6,695</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraserburgh</td>
<td>2,954</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keith</td>
<td>4,464</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The school year was normally 10\(\frac{1}{2}\) or 11 months but a few were only open for 9\(\frac{1}{2}\) months. Schoolhours altered with the seasons and although variations existed where the pupils were widely scattered the most common schoolday went from ten a.m. to three p.m. in the winter and from ten a.m. to five p.m. in the summer.
The Original Returns recorded 20,612 scholars in all the day schools which meant that 1 in 10.5 of the population at the Census of 1831 was in school. However, about 50% of these did not attend the Parish School and went to adventure schools and those financed by the S.P.C.K. or the Assembly or a few endowed schools. The figures recorded for the winter session (the numbers were always higher in the winter when less work was done on the land) give a ratio of 1 in 28 of the population receiving their education in the parish school. These figures are not wholly reliable and err on the side of exaggerated attendance. The Annual Returns for 1832-33 show that on average 85 children were enrolled at each parish school. Forty-nine schools had a roll above the average with the school at Inverury being the largest with 179 pupils. Large numbers were a feature of the big rural parishes where educational alternatives were few; in the parish of Kincardine O'Neil which had two side-schools there were no other schools and each parochial establishment had a roll of over 100.

The investigation revealed that a very small proportion of those enrolled (less than 5,000) in fact attended for more than half the year. On average 38 children in each school were present for more than 140 days a year but over half the schools recorded fell below this average. School was evidently a periodic activity and probably only the better scholars attended regularly. In the Presbytery of Aberlour six schools with a total roll of 511 recorded only 175 pupils attending for more than six months; the largest difference being in Knockando'where the roll was 69 but
only 11 attended regularly. In the parish of Dallas the figures were 85 and 16 respectively and in Botriphnie 47 and 8 (2)

The age of the pupils and the years spent in school varied considerably. It was most common to start school at about five and a half and leave at fifteen but there were many exceptions. The youngest entries were the three year olds recorded at Newhills and King Edward and the oldest in the side-schools of Inverallan and Alvie where pupils entered at nine and left at eighteen. The shortest schooling appeared to be that at Old Meldrum where the usual age at entry was seven and a half and that at termination was twelve and a half. The great majority of schools offered nine years of education but the older adolescent and even adult pupil was not uncommon. Eighteen schools recorded a normal leaving age over seventeen years and at Abernethy the attendance of adults in the winter brought some thirty year old pupils. (3)

On the evidence of the numerical returns the parish school took its 'raison d'etre' from the demand for reading. Less than two-thirds of the total roll received any instruction in Writing and less than one-third in simple Arithmetic. (4) The rapid falling off in the numbers attempting the advanced subjects gives a more realistic picture of the work of the parish school than the myth of rural lyceums crammed with 'lads o'pairts'. The lack of demand for English Grammar except in places like Peterhead, Fraserburgh and Huntly suggests that a mastery of written language was only widely valued where wider employment opportunities made it desirable. Greek was taught to 81 pupils
in 39 schools but 23 of these had only a single scholar. Latin was more widely taught and only 23 schools had no-one studying it. The full variety of the curriculum with reasonable numbers in the advanced subjects was generally a feature of those schools situated in parishes with expanding towns like Peterhead, Huntly, Keith and Fraserburgh.

Education in the higher subjects could be an expensive business. Although the most common fee for English was two shillings a quarter and it could sometimes be as little as one shilling the pupils at Peterhead had to pay five shillings. Writing could generally be had at sixpence a quarter though again in Peterhead penmanship cost two shillings and sixpence. The fees for Arithmetic were substantially less in the more rural parishes and sixpence a quarter was usual while in the small towns it could rise to as much as five shillings as at Foveran. Mathematics was invariably expensive and was studied by relatively few. In the towns of Peterhead and Huntly it cost ten shillings and sixpence per quarter and at Aberdour the master charged his two pupils six shillings though for this they also received instruction in navigation. Mathematics was not widely taught and only 44 schoolmasters recorded a fee for it. Geography was listed as a fee paying subject in ten schools though the fees varied from sixpence in Old Machar to ten shillings and sixpence in Peterhead. Latin was offered in the majority of schools at fees of four, five and six shillings a quarter though it could be obtained for as little as two shillings and sixpence in the poor parish of Strathdon and could cost as much as seven shillings and
In 1827 in 906 parishes in Scotland under 50% of the teachers had a four year university education and over a quarter had not been to college at all. (6) In the three counties over 77% of the teachers had a full university course and only 14% had no college education. (7) The unqualified teachers were mainly employed in the side-schools at much lower salaries than a graduate teacher. David Wood the master of the side-school at Shannas in the parish of Deer had fifteen years experience at the age of thirty and was paid ten pounds a year. In Cromdale parish the teachers in the side-schools had "qualifications equal to their emoluments" of £12 16s 7d p.a.. The subdivision of the sum available for additional schools discouraged the appointment of well qualified men.

The mainstays of the schoolmaster's income were his salary and the fees paid by the pupils. The Annual Returns for 1832-33 revealed that by the end of 1833 thirty-one teachers received the full salary allowed by law of £34 4s 4d, or nearly 25% of the 121 recorded, and 17% were paid the minimum of £25 13s 4d. The average income from fees paid was £15 3s 8d, though only forty-five schoolmasters exceeded this average. The schoolmaster in the expanding towns had by far the most lucrative appointment for he could expect a substantial amount from the fees he charged his more numerous scholars in the advanced subjects.
TABLE II

Amount of Fees Paid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peterhead</td>
<td>£ 86 1s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraserburgh</td>
<td>£ 50 19s 3d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huntly</td>
<td>£ 44 15s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keith</td>
<td>£ 44 8s 11d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The disparity between the amount of fees paid in the towns and in the rural parishes was very striking for ninety-five schoolmasters received less than £20 p.a. while eleven received under £5 p.a. (8)
The teachers in the highland parishes were particularly poorly rewarded in this respect and of the £2 4s 0d paid to the incumbent at Cabrach in 1832-33 only four shillings and sixpence was in money "the remainder in labour and equivalents". Fees were evidently very difficult to collect and few did not record that they were owed a considerable portion of their expected fees.
The arrears of £10 at Peterhead were larger than the total earnings of many masters; at Birnie the master was owed £14 and had collected only £4. Nine men recorded that they were owed more than they had received though none could match the £35 arrears of the schoolmaster at Drumblade.

The average income of a schoolmaster including the value of his accommodation and any extra earnings he may have had was £55 12s 4d in 1833 and less than half the teachers exceeded this average. (9) Even the wealthiest schoolmaster at Peterhead was not likely to earn very much more than £140. The legal
minimum stipend for the parish minister was £150 and in the 1830's the average, including the glebe but excluding the manse, was £225. (10) The wealthiest schoolmaster was not as well off as the poorest minister and it is no wonder that many schoolmasters sought to exchange the desk for the pulpit.

TABLE III
Total Incomes of 121 Teachers in Annual Returns 1832-33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income over £100</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>Peterhead</th>
<th>£143 5 4d</th>
<th>0.81%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income £90-100</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Keith</td>
<td>£97 1 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Drumblade</td>
<td>£94 8 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Huntly</td>
<td>£93 11 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fraserburgh</td>
<td>£92 14 0</td>
<td>3.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income £80-90</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Fyvie</td>
<td>£89 4 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Inverury</td>
<td>£85 16 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turriff</td>
<td>£83 6 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rothes</td>
<td>£80 7 11</td>
<td>3.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income £70-80</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income £60-70</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17.07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income £50-60</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income £40-50</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income £30-40</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Belhelvie</td>
<td>£39 1 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dyce</td>
<td>£39 19 10</td>
<td>Presbytery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Newhills</td>
<td>£39 10 3</td>
<td>of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>New Machar</td>
<td>£35</td>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Duthil</td>
<td>£39 3 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although the Original Returns of 1833 had revealed some serious shortcomings in the operation of parochial education, the Trustees emphasized the fundamental value of the schools as they were presently constituted. The association with the national church was held to be a positive advantage and Menzies in his first report noted that "It was undoubtedly fitting that the institutions designed for the moral training of youth, and for impressing on their tender minds the character best suited to render them good men and useful members of society, should be placed under the superintendence of those whose office is conversant with the highest spiritual interests of man". (11) It was also felt that the Church surrounded the school "with a portion of her own sanctity" and that this ensured that it was always valued within the community. Notwithstanding the bitter conflict that was to occur between the Trustees and the Presbytery of Garioch and the furore caused by the ruling that schoolmasters should not act as preaching assistants, the Trustees always supported the principle of ecclesiastical supervision.
The legal provision of a minimum salary, however out of date, was also seen as an advantage. Endowed schools lacked the "stimulus and energy infused by a dependence on fees" and adventure schools which were entirely dependent on fees lacked any buttress against a fluctuation in demand. Menzies rather over-valued the benefits accruing from the payment of fees, though in stressing the contractual responsibility that kept the teacher up to the mark and created a "right of expectation" in the pupil he was reflecting the inevitable result of sub-standard teaching where pupils either did not attend or journeyed to the neighbouring parish. The use of public confidence, as displayed by the numbers on the roll, as one of the criteria for assessing each schoolmasters allowance was to be a reflection of the Trust's belief in the value of demonstrable public accountability. Menzies concluded that the parish school had the advantages of an adventure school grafted onto those of an endowed one with "the benefit attendant upon popular opinion acting as a powerful incentive to exertion, while the legal provision rescues from entire dependence upon, or subserviency to, that opinion". (12)

It was clear, however, that much could be done to improve the quality of the schools and their masters. The most obvious defect in the system was that there was no uniform and prescribed standard of qualification for a schoolmaster. There was no statutory injunction that learning or professional skills were a condition of the office. Menzies objected to the "violation of reason and expediency" that the vitally important office of the schoolmaster "should not command any course of
preliminary study or preparation, but be left open to be aspired to by all, without distinction of age or habits, literary acquirements or natural capacity for communicating knowledge. The weaknesses of such a system were compounded rather than corrected by the Presbyterial examination which was all too often a mere formality; even if an attempt were made to assess the candidate's fitness the examination was legally restricted to those subjects he might be required to teach. The office could thus be filled by unsuitable incompetents provided that they could persuade the Presbytery of the soundness of their knowledge. The Trustees felt that knowledge was not enough and that a teacher endowed with mere learning was like "a husbandman who has laid up stores of seed, but is destitute of those implements and of that knowledge of the capacity of the ground, and its culture, which alone can enable him to sow with judgement and profit". (13)

Because teaching skill was a quality unrecognised by law the Trustees hoped that the Dick Bequest would act as a corrective by attracting the best teachers from the rest of Scotland. (14) The schools in the three counties had emoluments which were at least double those of any other parish school and it was thought that this would serve to make the whole of Scotland "a training school" for the North-East. The Bequest never did work quite like this for the improvement of the parish school and the availability of bursaries at Aberdeen meant that for most of the nineteenth century the area supplied its own teachers who were widely recognised to be the most able in Scotland. The very long delay in the establishment of a training establishment at Aberdeen
may be attributed to the success of the Dick Bequest in requiring the teachers to attain pedagogic standards that were at least as good as those of the Normal School.

The obvious failings of an educational system where immature adolescents could be appointed and aged and incompetent men not be replaced were revealed in the Original Returns and the Report of 1834. A vacancy at Auchindoir in 1833 was contested by a newly qualified graduate of seventeen and another young man who still had to complete two sessions as College. The graduate secured the post and a few months later the other was appointed to Gartly in Banffshire. The Trustees declared that they would "view with regret" the appointment of any immature and inexperienced man who could not "afford confident anticipations of his success as a teacher", and later resolved that no-one could be admitted to the benefit of the Bequest under the age of 21. (15) A further weakness resulting from the appointment of unqualified youths was that they tended to absent themselves for anything between three and five months in order to attend the winter sessions at the University. To remedy this it was resolved to reduce the amount of the allowance on a pro rata basis when such absence occurred. (16)

If youthful schoolmasters presented a problem so did the aged and the infirm. The Original Returns showed that of 137 incumbents, 19 were over 60 and of these only 7 had an assistant. John Mackenzie, aged 75, schoolmaster of Cruden informed the Trust that he would willingly have taken an assistant if he had been able to afford it. (17) The smallness of the legal salary meant that
many men laboured on with declining enthusiasm and efficiency, unable to pay an assistant and thus inadequately serving the needs of the community. The Trustees decided that in addition to the normal dividend they would make extra allowances available in order to encourage the use of assistants. (18) Thus the able but worn out teacher at St Fergus and the incompetent Peter Durno of Drainie who "laboured under a total incapacity to teach" could possibly be replaced. (19) The same provision applied to the infirm so that the task of teaching could be relinquished to a healthier assistant while allowing the schoolmaster to enjoy his salary as a pension.

The inability to pay for an assistant was but a specific reflection of the general inadequacy of the legal salary. The problem, however, was particularly acute in those parishes where a side-school existed. Under the terms of the Act of 1803 a review of salaries took place in 1828 and a sum equivalent to three chalders of oatmeal (£51 6s 7d) was the allotted minimum for a parish with an additional school. Since the heritors were paying for an extra school they were exempted from the other requirements to provide a house and garden. It was the opinion of Menzies that the Act was prejudicial "in lowering the status and diminishing the external respectability of the order of schoolmasters in the districts where it receives effect" (20) In nine of the fourteen additional schools the salary was under £13 and in two cases it was as low as £8 11s 1d. Under these circumstances the Trustees decided to limit admission to the Bequest "to such of those teachers, as by the amount of their provisions and
accommodation were placed in those circumstances of comfort and respectability which, being Parochial Schoolmasters of Scotland they ought to enjoy".

The resolution to use the size of the teachers salary as one of the criteria determining the size of his allowance was a conscious attempt to prevent the heritors evading their legal responsibilities. In the Original Returns it was noted specifically that 13 parishes had paid the minimum salary "expressly and avowedly in contemplation of the incumbent's having the benefit of the Bequest". This could not be tolerated by an institution intended to aid the teachers; the heritors in retaining the difference between the salary actually paid and what might have been paid without the Bequest were enjoying a bounty that was not intended for them. By linking the salary and the allowance the Trustees hoped to encourage the heritors to pay the legal maximum.

The last major weakness illustrated by the Original Returns was the irregular attendance of the pupils. It was shown that 10,405 children appeared on the rolls of 123 schools but that only 4,693 attended for more than six months of the year. In rural districts where the children were needed to work on the land for much of the summer and autumn part-time schooling was almost inevitable. However, the Trustees felt that acceptance without condemnation tended to confirm the practice. The Report of 1834 cited with approval the example of several German states where the hours of school at seed-time and harvest were limited. Accordingly they
decided that both the total number on the roll and the proportion attending in excess of six months should be included in the criteria by which the allowance was calculated.

Menzies was of the opinion that the contractual relationship of the fee which gave "a sensible value to that which ... is indeed beyond price", tended to improve attendance, and that it was the reluctance of the schoolmaster to insist upon the regular payment of his fees that made irregular attendance a matter of little consequence to parents. This notion may be seen in the report of his visit to the school at Dallas; "on looking at the list for last winter it was noticed that of a roll of more than seventy scholars entered since last harvest, only about six had paid any fees, and these of the amount of from 1s to 4s. The disadvantages and impropriety of this were pointed out to Mr Young. He is a native of the parish and has a delicacy in exacting fees. This case, therefore, shows how important it is that, in fixing the principle upon which the Bequest is to be distributed, due regard should be had to render it imperative upon the schoolmasters to take fees from all who can afford to pay". (21)

In commending the resolution of the Presbytery of Garioch that fees should be collected at the beginning of a session and in recording the observation of the Minister of Belhelvie that when fees rose so did attendance the Trustees sought to persuade the schoolmasters to be more rigorous in exacting their due. (22)

In the resolutions that were finally adopted to correct these shortcomings the Trustees decided to use the total
enrollment and the proportion attending for more than six months as well as the amount of fees collected as factors in the computation of the allowance.

NOTES

1 G D 1/4 123-4 Abstract of Original Returns Jan 1833 2 vols
2 G D 1/4 65 Abstract of Returns 1832
3 G D 1/4 123-4
4 G D 1/4 65
5 G D 1/4 123-4
6 James Scotland History of Scottish Education Vol I University of London Press 1964
7 G D 1/4 123-4
8 G D 1/4 65
9 G D 1/4 188 Report on the Dick Bequest 1844
10 Scotland, Op cit.
12 Ibid
13 Ibid
14 Ibid
15 G D 1/4 3 Minute Book 1830-44, 5 Sept. 1833 and 2 July 1834
16 Ibid 2 July 1834
17 G D 1/4 128 Visitation Book 1833
18 G D 1/4 187 Branch I - chap. I
19 G D 1/4 186 Report by Clerk of Trustees on the Operation of the Bequest, the state of the schools and the principle of division. (A handwritten volume which served as the draft for the printed report of 1835 but which contains details of particular schools omitted from the published report)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>G D</td>
<td>1/4</td>
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<td>G D</td>
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</table>

Branch I - chap. II

Branch I - chap. III
PART TWO
By the time the Trustees entered upon the administration of the Bequest at Martinmas 1832 the sum of £17,794 13s 0d had accrued from the interest and dividends on the Dick legacy. A great deal of attention was given to the principles on which the distribution was to be based. As far as the accumulated revenue was concerned the Trustees decided upon an equal distribution based on the assumption that all those currently holding the office of schoolmaster were entitled to have a claim upon the fund. (1) They were not prepared, however, to extend this principle to the future annual distributions, despite a memorandum from a meeting of the schoolmasters in 1829 in favour of an equal division of the annual income. Nor were they willing to allow an automatic claim on the fund in respect of those appointed after 1832. The Trustees maintained that to distribute future funds "without previous investigation or inquiry" would be a neglect of their duty to use the money to improve and elevate the schools and their schoolmasters. (2) They had therefore to devise a means of assessing the merits of schoolmasters of widely differing abilities in very different circumstances.

In keeping with their decision that possession of the office did not confer automatic entitlement to the Bequest the Trustees determined that an independent assessment of the teachers literary eminence and practical skill was necessary. (3) The lack of a basic standard of attainment for schoolmasters and the limitations of the examinations of both the heritors and the Presbytery made this very necessary. Although they took great care
to stress the value of the reports of Ministers and the Presbyterial Committee of Visitation, the Trustees could never have used them in isolation. Presbyterial reports were never uniform. The thirteen Presbyteries were further divided into local committees for the visitation of the schools which meant that the Trustees received reports from between forty and fifty different bodies. Some presbyteries refused to comment on the success or failure of the schoolmaster and limited their investigation to the numbers on the roll and studying each subject. To remedy this the Trustees agreed that the Clerk should make regular tours of inspection to provide an independent assessment to complement that available from other sources.

While the Clerk's visitation could provide a check on the teaching skill of the schoolmaster and to a lesser extent on his scholarship it was clear that a more positive measure was needed if the "literary character" of the school was to be improved. Menzies proposed a solution based on Rule V of James Dick's will which stated that "No Schoolmaster shall be entitled to any benefit from the fund unless he shall first submit himself to an examination of the Managers". It was felt that such an examination could go beyond the visitation of the Clerk, with its emphasis on teaching skill, and be a more realistic test of scholarship. The Trustees, while accepting Menzies' proposal, decided that it would not be proper to impose this examination on those appointed prior to 1832, but that it might be applied to all those appointed after the commencement of the Bequest as a condition of admission to it. In order to allay the fear that this was an attempt to undermine
the Presbyterial examination it was emphasised in the First Report that the examinations were complementary and that the Presbytery "could feel itself relieved, rather than encroached upon by such a measure". It was indeed true that a schoolmaster could not enjoy the benefit of the Bequest without having been approved by the Presbytery but the examination of the Trustees was far more rigorous and it guaranteed a level of attainment that was impossible under the statutory provision.

The Trustees decided that they should use the fund "to encourage the efficiency of the school in all its relations, by making the dividend increase or decrease correspondently with an advance or diminution in any of the elements". (4) The elements on which the allowance was to be based were intended to correct the weaknesses revealed in 1833 as well as fostering improvements. The number of scholars on the roll, the proportion attending for more than six months, the number occupied in the higher branches of study (English Grammar, Geography, Latin, Greek, French and Maths), the schoolmasters salary, the amount of his fees and the number of pupils taught free made up the statistical elements which were the core of the computation. There was also an arbitrary award for merit which reflected the opinion of the Clerk after his visitation. The statistical information was to be supplied by the teachers through the annual returns that they had to submit in order to make a claim. (5)

A simple numerical index was constructed which quantified each element on a common scale and provided a total that
could be used as the basis for the final award.

1 NUMBERS

The total enrollment of a school was the most significant factor in the calculus of index points. Menzies felt that "a numerous attendance of scholars affords a strong positive pre-supposition in favour of the attention and diligence of the Teacher". (6) The fear had been expressed by some schoolmasters that the schools in the more thinly populated areas would be at a disadvantage if the division were based solely on numbers. To counteract this and to demonstrate the value that they placed on the remoter schools the Trustees decided to count numbers in such a way that the maximum benefit could be given to the smaller schools.

"The first 20 Scholars are reckoned at 10 each.
If a teacher has 20 scholars he reckons in respect of these .................. 200
The next 30 Scholars are reckoned 1 each.
If a teacher has 50 Scholars, in respect of those above 20 he counts ............... 30
Total under this head is ........ 230"

The next 50 pupils were to count ½ point each and once numbers exceeded 100 each 5 pupils counted for 1 point. (7) Thus a school with only 20 pupils was allowed 200 points and a school with 150 pupils 265 points. With this very slow progression as numbers increased the interests of the smallest schools were well protected and yet the schoolmaster was still encouraged to attract
more pupils.

II  SALARY

The other major constituent in the calculus was the size of the schoolmaster's salary which had been linked to the allowance to stop the heritors evading their legal responsibility. However, since there was no compulsion for them to pay any more than the minimum, the Trustees felt that they should not penalise a teacher for the meanness of his heritors. Accordingly the minimum salary was counted as 200 points and the maximum as 250 with the sums in between counting proportionately. Thus no great disadvantage resulted from a low salary but an incentive for its improvement was provided. (8)

III  FEES

The reluctance of the schoolmaster to collect his fees had been seen by Menzies as a principal reason for irregular attendance. To correct this and to encourage teachers to be more active in the "higher branches" where fees were more substantial, the amount of fees received became the third major component in the calculation. As with the preceding elements the scale was constructed in such a way that those in the poorer, upland areas, who could not expect much in fees, did not suffer unduly.
"Each £1 in the first £5 to count 20,
£5 fees ........................................ 100 points
For each £1 between £5 and £10 count 2,
thus for £10 fees the sum above £5 counts . 10
For each £1 between £10 and £20 count 1,
so if fees £20 the sum above £10 counts . 10
When fees exceed £20 each £2 counts 1,
so if fees £30 in respect of excess
above £20 count .................................. 5
£30 ........................................ 125 points"(9)

IV ATTENDANCE

In an attempt to improve the proportion of pupils attending school for continuous periods, the schoolmaster was allowed to count two points for every child who attended for more than six months. (10) The daily registration of pupils now became an important and valuable task and the catalogues, issued for the purpose, were always inspected by the Clerk on his visitation.

V HIGHER BRANCHES

The terms of the legacy forced the Trustees to give special credit to schoolmasters who were able to teach these subjects. (11) However, since successful teaching of these would be reflected in the fees paid and probably also in the register of lengthy attendance, the index value was set at one point for each
two pupils studying English Grammar and Geography (up to a maximum of 50 points) and at one point for each scholar studying Mathematics, Latin, Greek and French. (12)

VI GRATIS SCHOLARS

The free education of the poor had been part of parochial education since the Reformation and it had provided a means for social elevation which did much to establish the tradition of the 'lad o'pairts'. Furthermore Menzies felt that it was the main reason why Scotland enjoyed "exemption from that entailed perpetuity of pauperism, under the load of which, property, and the moral well being of society, groan in the sister kingdom" (13) The value of free education for the poor was recognised in the index where one point was allowed for every scholar taught without payment of fees. (14)

VII MERIT

The reward for merit, based on observed effectiveness in the teaching skills and including an allowance for the management of the school, was the only arbitrary part of the calculus. Ten points were given for each subject taught well and for instances of outstanding merit there was a further allotment that could be entered under the heading of 'general' as opposed to 'particular' merit. Awards for merit were not common but when given they could amount to a very substantial improvement in the total index score. The table at the end of this section shows how the index operated
in four parishes and the worth of the merit award may be seen in the dividend of William Hay at Huntly. (15)

Once the final total was calculated it had to be converted to a cash figure. There was no scale of payment related to the numerical score but the totals within a Presbytery gave an order of merit which could be rewarded. The amount available for distribution within a Presbytery was based on what the number of schools would have received in an equal distribution. For example, the sum for distribution between Martinmas 1832 and 1833 was £3,597 13s 3½d. An equal division among the 137 schools would have allowed £26 5s to each; this amount multiplied by the number of schools in a Presbytery gave a total sum that could be divided in accordance with the index scores. The advantage of this method was that the schools in the poorer Presbyteries such as Abernethy and Fordyce were compared only with each other and not with those in the more prosperous or more populous areas.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scholar's Name</th>
<th>Higher Branches</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Geog. Math.</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Particular</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Particular</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Particular</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Particular</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J. Smith</td>
<td>E-4</td>
<td>£34.4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4, 4</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>2, 2</td>
<td>4, 4</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>2, 2</td>
<td>4, 4</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>2, 2</td>
<td>4, 4</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>2, 2</td>
<td>4, 4</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>2, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Ronald</td>
<td>E-4</td>
<td>£34.4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4, 4</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>2, 2</td>
<td>4, 4</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>2, 2</td>
<td>4, 4</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>2, 2</td>
<td>4, 4</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>2, 2</td>
<td>4, 4</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>2, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Hay</td>
<td>E-4</td>
<td>£34.4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4, 4</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>2, 2</td>
<td>4, 4</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>2, 2</td>
<td>4, 4</td>
<td>220</td>
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<td>4, 4</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>2, 2</td>
<td>4, 4</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>2, 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each school in this Presbytery sent teachers no merit allowance. The remainder were all awarded 10 points.

The above represent the highest and lowest dividends. The total teachers received no merit allowance.

*All allowances made in respect of the partial introduction of Inter-Lectoral Methods.*

*All allowances made in respect of the partial introduction of Inter-Lectoral Methods.*

*All allowances made in respect of the partial introduction of Inter-Lectoral Methods.*
NOTES

1 G D 1/4 7 Scheme of Division of Revenue 1832
2 G D 1/4 187 Report on the Dick Bequest 1835 Branch II
3 Ibid
4 G D 1/4 188 Report on the Dick Bequest 1844 Chap. XXI
5 G D 1/4 3 Minute Book 1830-46 15 Jan 1833 and G D 1/4 188 Chap. XXI
6 G D 1/4 187 Branch II
7 G D 1/4 186 Report by Clerk of Trustees on the Operation of the Bequest, the state of the schools and the principle of division
8 Ibid
9 Ibid
10 Ibid
11 G D 1/4 1 Will of James Dick 1827
12 G D 1/4 186
13 G D 1/4 187 Branch I - Chap. III
14 G D 1/4 186
15 Ibid

The increasing enrollment was larger than could be explained wholly by an increase in the population at large. Since 1833 the population in the three counties had increased by 74.3% yet the school enrollment had gone up by 30.2%. It is true that a change in the age structure of the population was occurring throughout sections and that with a falling death rate and a rising birth rate the juvenile population was bound to increase. This
Enrollment to the parish school went up very significantly between 1833 and 1853. The Report of 1854 contained an attempt to calculate the actual total by projecting average numbers for those schools that did not submit returns based on those that had. There is no reason why these figures should not be accepted as substantially correct insofar as they illustrate a pronounced expansion of the school population.

**TABLE V**

Projected Enrollment (marked *) and comparable General Return

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
<th>Average per School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>11,656*</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>10,465</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>15,236*</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>13,291</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>16,853*</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>13,044</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The increased enrollment was larger than could be explained simply by an increase in the population at large. Since 1833 the population in the three counties had increased by 14.3% yet the school enrollment had gone up by 30.8%. It is true that a change in the age structure of the population was occurring throughout Scotland and that with a falling death rate and a rising birth rate the juvenile population was bound to increase. This
was reflected in the increased number of day schools of all kinds in the area from 528 in 1833 to 622 in 1843 and 731 in 1854; an increase a little in excess of 38%. (1)

Menzies and the Trustees saw the 30.8% increase in the numbers attending the parish schools as, in some way, a tribute to the improvements in those schools as a result of the Bequest. Although the Bequest was making schools more attractive it is a mistake to explain the increase mainly in terms of that attractiveness. The total number of scholars in the three counties went up by over 50% from 20,612 in 1833 to 31,745 in 1853. (2) This massive expansion of the school population when set against the 38% increase in school provision places the 30.8% increase of those in the parish school in a clearer perspective.

It is evident that the habit of school attendance increased with the juvenile population. The figures for average attendance show that in 1833 9.4% of the population was in school and that this rose to 12.5% by 1853: if the figures for the total enrollment are used the proportion in school rises to 15% in the latter year. (3) The rise in numbers, while it benefited the schoolmaster's index score, was less a manifestation of the improved effectiveness of the parish school than a reflection of a change in the composition of society. One must look beyond numerical enrollment for evidence of any improvements resulting from the Dick Bequest.
It had been the intention of the Trustees, from the start, to use their influence to drive teachers salaries up to the statutory limit. The resolution to link the salary to the size of the allowance had an immediate and demonstrable effect. The table shows the increases that occurred in 16 parishes during the first full year of the Bequest, once the criteria for the allowance had been publicised. (4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>Salary prior to 1834</th>
<th>Salary in 1834</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alford</td>
<td>£ 29 18s 91d</td>
<td>£ 34 4s 41d</td>
<td>£ 4 5s 64d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boham</td>
<td>29 19 12</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>4 4 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botriphnie</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>8 4 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coldstone</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crimond</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culsalmond</td>
<td>25 13 4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4 6 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daviot</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inverkeithry</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>34 4 41</td>
<td>6 4 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keig</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>4 4 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keith</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midmar</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>7 4 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oyne</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitsligo</td>
<td>32 2 6</td>
<td>34 4 41</td>
<td>2 1 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tullynessie</td>
<td>29 18 10</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>4 5 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turriff</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>6 4 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Deer (Parish with side-schools)</td>
<td>51 6 7</td>
<td>76 19 11</td>
<td>25 13 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

£478 19s 2d £578 8s 0d £ 99 8s 101d
Between 1834 and 1844 there were increases made in a further sixteen parishes with the great majority being brought up to the legal maximum. (5) In the period under review the total augmentations paid by the heritors for increases and newly erected schools amounted to £413 17s 7d, or an increase of 10.9% on the salary bill of 1833. (6) Although it would be wrong to describe these increases as dramatic, it would appear that the Bequest did exercise a definite influence in persuading the heritors of many parishes to pay more than the legal minimum.

The amount of fees received had been incorporated into the calculation of allowances in order to encourage collection and hopefully to improve attendance by giving parents a financial incentive to send their children to school. The total fees rose from the £2,174 15s 4d paid to 137 schoolmasters in 1833 to £3,703 19s received by 146 in 1853. An increase was to be expected given the growth of the school population but when the comparative figures for 123 teachers published in the Report of 1854 are examined they reveal an increase of 60%, double that of the numbers in the parish school.

**TABLE VII**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Fees (£)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>1,867 13 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>2,865 3 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>3,110 14 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It would seem that the Bequest did encourage the teachers to be more vigorous in collecting their fees. This conclusion is supported by the steady decline in the amount of fees owing but unpaid. Of the fees earned in 1832 (see above) a sum of £542 4s 3d or nearly one-third was unpaid at Martinmas 1833 and was still unpaid in May 1834. One hundred and ten teachers were owed a portion of their fees. (7) From 1833 onwards the amount in arrears declined. In the ten years 1832-42 the annual sum in arrears ranged from £542 to £348 (though it never exceeded £400 after 1833) and in the following decade the largest amount outstanding was £395 in 1843 though it did not rise above £200 after 1846. (8)

The Trustees were generally disappointed at the lack of effect the increased payment of fees had on the attendance of pupils. In 1834 they had been content to recommend that fees should be collected in advance but this advice was rarely acted upon and in 1854 only 24 teachers declared that they had adopted the practice. Menzies was convinced that pre-payment was necessary and inveighed against "the lax and desultory manner" of collection which prevailed. He even suggested that the Minister of the parish should be prepared to come to the aid of the schoolmaster and defend him against whatever "odium or reflection" the policy might arouse. (9)

The table overleaf illustrates the average increase in fees and the size of the Bequest allowance in relation to the average salary and other emoluments of the office.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1833</th>
<th>1843</th>
<th>1853</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Salary</td>
<td>£27 14s 8d</td>
<td>£29 5s 3d</td>
<td>£28 17s 11½d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Fees</td>
<td>15 17s 6d</td>
<td>23 5s 10d</td>
<td>25 7s 4½d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Income from</td>
<td>£43 12s 2d</td>
<td>£52 11s 1d</td>
<td>£54 5s 4d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Extra</td>
<td>4 12s 6½d</td>
<td>7 7s 6d</td>
<td>5 3s 2d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emoluments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Value of</td>
<td>£48 4s 8½d</td>
<td>£59 18s 7d</td>
<td>£59 8s 6d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>7 7s 7½d</td>
<td>9 19s 8d</td>
<td>10 6s 2d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Income 1833</td>
<td>£55 12s 4d</td>
<td>£69 18s 3d</td>
<td>£69 14s 8d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Allowance</td>
<td>27 18s 3d</td>
<td>31 6s 11d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from Trust</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Value of Office</td>
<td></td>
<td>£97 16s 6d</td>
<td>£101 1s 7d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* A further 54 teachers in Aberdeenshire received £20 p.a. from the Milne Bequest.

It can been seen from this table that the allowance from the Bequest effectively doubled the income of the teacher. Marjorie Cruickshank in her brief article on the Bequest said that in the first forty years of its operation "individual awards varied between £20 and £50", a notion repeated by James Scotland in his 'History of Scottish Education'. (10) These are under assessments of the value of the awards and are probably best described as statements of the 'average' allowance. A detailed analysis of the way the fund was distributed shows that the smallest allowance in any year between 1833 and 1853 was £20 11s 3d, that the largest was £76 16s 6d and that the maximum award exceeded £50 in six years. The amount available for distribution reflected the state of the economy as rates of interest and

(40)
dividends fluctuated, but the table below indicates that on ten occasions the minimum allowance exceeded the statutory minimum salary of £25 13s 4d. (11).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fund for Distribution</th>
<th>Max.</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>Min.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1833 £3,597 13 3</td>
<td>£35 9 3</td>
<td>£25 10 3</td>
<td>£20 19 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834 £3,670 5 10</td>
<td>37 17 1</td>
<td>26 15 9</td>
<td>23 9 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835 3,518 14 9</td>
<td>36 11 3</td>
<td>25 13 8</td>
<td>21 2 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836–37 5,471 9 4</td>
<td>56 5 7</td>
<td>39 12 11</td>
<td>34 7 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838 3,763 12 11</td>
<td>36 2 5</td>
<td>27 5 5</td>
<td>22 16 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839 4,025 9 6</td>
<td>39 10 6</td>
<td>29 16 4</td>
<td>25 14 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840 * 4,067 2 3</td>
<td>41 11 8</td>
<td>31 4 0</td>
<td>25 14 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841 4,310 8 3</td>
<td>45 2 4</td>
<td>35 4 3</td>
<td>27 18 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842 4,430 3 0</td>
<td>44 17 8</td>
<td>36 7 3</td>
<td>28 14 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843 4,273 19 11</td>
<td>42 1 10</td>
<td>34 1 8</td>
<td>28 14 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844 3,978 1 0</td>
<td>44 18 1</td>
<td>34 1 3</td>
<td>24 7 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845 3,705 3 7</td>
<td>45 16 10</td>
<td>31 4 7</td>
<td>23 10 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846 3,722 0 6</td>
<td>44 18 8</td>
<td>29 19 4</td>
<td>21 9 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847 4,376 18 5</td>
<td>62 8 4</td>
<td>39 14 4</td>
<td>30 0 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848 5,125 16 0</td>
<td>70 19 6</td>
<td>44 11 4</td>
<td>33 15 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849 5,489 6 10</td>
<td>76 16 6</td>
<td>48 7 6</td>
<td>35 19 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850 4,680 9 2</td>
<td>65 0 11</td>
<td>41 6 6</td>
<td>30 2 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851 3,878 10 3</td>
<td>50 19 0</td>
<td>31 17 4</td>
<td>24 2 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852 3,852 10 10</td>
<td>45 4 2</td>
<td>32 1 5</td>
<td>22 15 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853 3,664 8 10</td>
<td>43 1 5</td>
<td>28 15 6</td>
<td>20 11 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Prior to 1840 the average allowance was calculated on the basis of a division among all the claimants. After 1840 the average was pushed up by the exclusion of those claimants whose allowance was being withheld for that year and the division of the whole revenue among the remainder.

(41)
The Dick Bequest by prompting the heritors to pay maximum salaries and the schoolmaster to collect his fees and by the scale of its allowance transformed the lot of many parochial schoolmasters from a state of near penury to one of relative affluence.

(iii)

In 1833 less than 50% of the total enrollment attended for more than six months. (12) The Trustees sought to bring about an improvement by using the number attending for 140 days a year as one of the criteria in calculating the allowance. The annual returns set out below show no dramatic improvement but the decline from 1833 is not what it appears to be for no really exact figures for attendance exist until 1836 after the printed registers were sent out in the autumn of 1835. The really reliable figures after 1836 indicate an improvement of around 10% between 1837-8 and 1851-2 or a material gain of one child in ten attending school in excess of six months.

**TABLE X**

Percentage Attending over 140 days per year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>49.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>40.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>37.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>39.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>40.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was clear in 1844 that the Trustees could not
extend the criteria—on beyond 140 days as they had thought might be possible, for the percentage attending regularly was still too low; the Report of that year insisted that a means had to be found to get children to stay in school for a longer period and noted that parents still did not seem to value education sufficiently. (13) Set against the rise of the school population and the general increase in the demand for schooling the 10% rise for those with extended attendance should perhaps be seen more as a reflection of wider social influences than that of the Bequest. However, the effect on the schoolmaster of the knowledge that improved attendance would affect his allowance and the encouragement that he might have offered to his pupils should not be ignored, even if it cannot be measured.

When it was decided, in 1834, to include English Grammar as one of the 'higher branches' to be cultivated, the Trustees had expressed the hope that it would soon become so widely taught that it would no longer merit a special status. (14) The campaign to extend the teaching of Grammar to all those able to read was one of Menzies' prime concerns and his visitation reports are littered with references to the desirability of Grammar being an essential part of the basic reading lesson. Although the numbers receiving tuition in Grammar had more than trebled by 1844 they represented less than a quarter of the total enrollment and it was decided that to encourage the teaching of Grammar to a greater
proportion of pupils it would remain a 'higher branch' at least for the time being.

An analysis of those registered for the 'higher branches' in the Annual Returns demonstrates just how few pupils did attain the kind of scholarship that tradition and fond memory have associated with the parish school.

TABLE XI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1833</th>
<th>1842</th>
<th>1852</th>
<th>Increase on 1842</th>
<th>Increase on 1833</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enrollment</td>
<td>10,465</td>
<td>13,291</td>
<td>14,145</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Grammar</td>
<td>1060</td>
<td>3712</td>
<td>5047</td>
<td>2235</td>
<td>4887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>4032</td>
<td>6555</td>
<td>2523</td>
<td>5973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>803</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The projections for 1852 suggest that Geography was taught to just over 46% of the enrollment and Grammar to 42%; for the other subjects it indicates that less than 6% were taught Latin, less than 5% Mathematics, less than 2% Greek, with a fraction over one third of a percent being taught French. Although only a tiny part of the school population was engaged with the traditional scholarly subjects this should not obscure the very real expansion that occurred. An increase was to be expected since
the school enrollment had gone up by 30%; however, the figures reveal a growth far in advance of any natural increase. An increase of over 1,000% is revealed for the pupils learning Geography and other increases of 461% for Grammar, 433% for French, 150% for Mathematics, 129% for Greek and 69% for Latin. No matter how small the numbers involved may have been there is no denying that a very great expansion took place in the 'higher branches' between 1833 and 1853. Although the demand for education was growing, especially in the small towns where new opportunities for commercial employment required a facility in mathematical and grammatical expression, it is improbable that this alone could explain the degree of expansion. The only conclusion that can reasonably be drawn is that it reflects the positive encouragement offered by the Bequest on top of the wider social influences.

By 1852 there were 143 such schools in Ayrshire, Dundee, and Kincardineshire. Together these contributed almost a quarter of the enrollment for the 113 schools. Pupils taught free appeared in the calculus to offset the disadvantages of poorer parishes where the amount of fees was small, and to preserve what the Trustees saw as a vitally important part of the Scottish educational tradition. The number of free scholars increased steadily during the period, partly because more children were sent to school, partly because the teacher, buttressed by the Bequest allowance, could be more tolerant of those unable to pay and finally because provision for the free education of poor children in Aberdeenshire had been made under the will of Dr Milne of the Bombay Medical Board.
The regular income from this fund was used to pay £20 per annum to any Aberdeenshire schoolmaster who provided free tuition to 25 poor scholars chosen by the Kirk Session. The effect of the Milne Bequest was to increase dramatically the number of pupils classified as pauper. Alexander Milne who had made his fortune in New Orleans also left funds for the education of the poor in the Parish of Bellie; at Fochabers a large free school for 300-400 pupils was established and the old parish school was removed to the mouth of the Spey where a further 154 were also taught freely.

In 1833, 888 poor scholars had been recorded rising to 1535 in 1843 and 1980 in 1846. This total went up to 3119 in 1847, the first year of the Milne Bequest, and from then on the poor scholars covered by that charity were recorded separately. By 1852 there were 705 such scholars in Banff and Moray and 2391 in the Aberdeenshire schools under the Milne Bequest. Taken together these constituted about a quarter of the enrollment for the 113 schools recorded. Because of the rapid rise of those classified as pauper to comply with the Milne Bequest the Dick Trustees resolved in November 1847 to exclude poor scholars from the allowance made to any teacher under that charity; the remainder of his claim stood as before. (15)

(iv)

The arbitrary awards for merit, which were based on the observed effectiveness of the schoolmaster the methods practised
and the general condition of the school, grew in importance as the years passed. Between 1834 and 1844 allowances under this heading had been relatively few and were usually fairly small. This policy had been adopted deliberately because it was felt that the older teachers should be given time to adapt to the 'intellectual methods' which were being advocated; the Trustees were also aware of their own inexperience and were suitably reticent in pronouncing upon what was good teaching. (16) In March 1844 the Trustees resolved that in view of their familiarity with the work carried on in the schools and with nearly ten years advocacy of the new methodology to assist the teachers, the Bequest was in a position to make bigger allowances for merit with some confidence. (17)

They were careful, however, not to unbalance the operation of the Bequest. The statistical elements remained as the basis of the calculations for it was felt that the evidence of numbers, attendance, and those studying the 'higher branches' etc., provided a proof of the teachers diligence and success at least as reliable as the Clerk's visitation. The effect of the statistical elements had always been to guarantee that the portion of the funds distributed on that basis was about five times greater than the portion allocated according to opinions of merit. The Trustees resolution laid down that although the awards for merit were to increase they would never exceed more than one-sixth of the total funds available. (18) While it may seem that this resolution was merely formalising an existing practice it did in fact result in a changed policy with regard to the merit allowances.
Firstly, the numbers in receipt of such allowances increased substantially after 1844 and in the Scheme of Division of 1849-50 146 of the 188 teachers listed received a merit score of some kind. (19) Secondly, the size of the merit score increased after 1844 so that in the division mentioned above 50% of those with an allowance had a merit score of between 50 and 500 points. Lastly, the real value of the merit allowance increased, for instead of being one-sixth of the calculation for each individual, there was now one-sixth of the whole dividend reserved for merit awards. The exclusion of some teachers and the low awards of others meant that those with large awards got a very considerable sum. In the division for 1849-50, Alexander McWilliam of Wells of Ythan received £38 18s 10d from the Bequest for a total index score of 737 points, having no allowance for merit. William Ogilvie at Dyke had a total of 1231 points with 500 for merit. Apart from the merit allowance the index scores were virtually the same: Ogilvie's dividend was £65 0s 11d so that in this division his merit allowance was worth about £26.

Not to have a merit allowance became something of a disadvantage for a teacher after 1844. Where the absence of an award for merit indicated that the school suffered from a specific deficiency which was not severe enough to deserve the withholding of the allowance altogether, the Trustees often deducted a portion of the total score to make the resulting order of merit and related dividend more appropriate to the quality of the school. Thus at Culsalmond in 1849-50 the statistical elements had totalled 653 points but because of some weaknesses this was cut back to 330
points which gave a dividend of £17 18s 9d instead of around £34. The division of 1849-50 contained nineteen instances where the numerical total was clipped in order to demonstrate the Trustees' dissatisfaction. Where the lack of a merit award was a reflection of an ageing schoolmasters attachment to old methods rather than a glaring deficiency the total derived from the statistical elements was often allowed to stand, as had been the case with McWilliam at Wells of Ythan.

The increased value of the merit allowance and the disadvantage which could result from a failure to secure approval enhanced the influence of the Trustees as agents of educational change.

NOTES

1 G D 1/4 189 Report on the Dick Bequest 1854, chap. XII
2 G D 1/4 123-4 Abstract of Original Returns Jan. 1833
3 G D 1/4 263 Abstract of General Returns 1853
6 G D 1/4 189, chap. X
7 G D 1/4 187, Branch I, chap. III
8 G D 1/4 189, chap. XII
9 Ibid

James Scotland, History of Scottish Education Vol. I pp 296-7

11 GD 1/4 188, chap. XXI - 1833-43
GD 1/4 189, chap. XII - 1844-53

12 GD 1/4 65 Abstract of Returns 1832

13 GD 1/4 188, chap. XXI

14 GD 1/4 187, Branch II

15 GD 1/4 189, chap. XII

16 GD 1/4 188, chap. XXI

17 GD 1/4 3 Minute Book 1830-46, 5 March 1844

18 Ibid

19 GD 1/4 24 Scheme of Division 1849-50

(50)
James Dick had stipulated that his legacy was to be distributed in such a way "as shall seem most likely to encourage active schoolmasters, and gradually to elevate the literary character of the Parochial Schoolmaster". (1) It became apparent, during the first full year of the Bequest, that examination by the heritors and the Presbytery and the inspections of the Presbyterial Committee and the Clerk did not provide an adequate means of assessing or improving the scholarship of the schoolmasters. The Trustees decided to hold their own written examination and all those appointed after 1832 had to pass this test in order to be eligible for participation in the Bequest. (2)

Although the Trustees saw their examination as complementary to that of the presbytery the decision brought an immediate protest from the Presbytery of Elgin. A lengthy reply was authorised which gently set out the position of the Bequest. It was pointed out that to comply with the intentions of the founder some examination was necessary and that "the Certificate of the Presbyterial Examination is general in its terms, merely stating that the Presentee was found on trial duly qualified". The presbyterial examination furnished no data for "forming an estimate of the attainments of any one schoolmaster, much less, the comparable attainments of many." The Presbytery had expressed the fear that the situation could arise where, as the legal authority, it might accept a candidate who was debarred
from the Bequest by failing in the examination. This objection was parried and it was observed that while the Presbytery could offer a general approval the Trustees were in a position to note specific deficiencies which would lead to an improvement in the work done in schools. The Trustees also added that it was not their intention to mark a teacher with an "indelible stain", but by noting his weaknesses to "animate him to higher attainments in the departments which he may have previously less successfully cultivated". For good measure they concluded with the hope that they could examine a man's aptitude to teach which was something the Presbytery could not give any weight to in forming its judgement. (3) Despite the remonstrance by the Presbytery of Elgin and numerous letters from Ministers who protested against the regulation the Trustees were adamant that a satisfactory performance in their examination should be a precondition of admission to the Bequest.

Mr Pyper of the High School in Edinburgh and Mr Mitchell of Edinburgh Academy were asked to set the first examination of 1835. The papers were drawn up on the principle that they should be within the capacity of those who had received a fairly liberal education. English Language and Literature, History and Chronology (Biblical, classical and national), Geography, Latin, Greek, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Mensuration and Trigonometry constituted the written part of the examination and there was also a test of practical teaching. The basic outline for the examination remained the same throughout the period with the addition of a paper in Physics in 1853.
(For details of the papers themselves and the kind of advice offered by the Trustees see Appendix ). In accordance with the minute of May 1835 candidates were allowed three guineas for the expense of travelling to Edinburgh for the two day examination. (4)

It was unquestionably a rigorous test and recent graduates of the University of Aberdeen failed it quite regularly. Indeed some of the Trustees felt that it was altogether beyond the needs of the Parish schoolmaster but Menzies was insistent that although the subjects of the examination were those of the teachers job, the purpose was individual improvement. (5) He maintained that it was "a narrow estimate to measure a Schoolmaster's scholarship by the probable exigencies of his school. Is it nothing that his mind is encouraged and directed in the pursuit of higher acquirements ... If he is to have no such internal resources, and no disposition to cultivate literature or science, with what preservative is he to be armed which shall keep him from sinking in intellect to the level of his pupils and of his daily occupation?". It was also argued that a fairly difficult examination was necessary if an order of merit was to be produced that would enable the Trustees to make a special allowance for a distinguished performance and that it should be "not so easily gained as to excite disdain and minister to inaction nor yet so high as to be beyond the reach of ordinary diligence and perseverance." (6) The examination results for the period 1835-1843 show that 29 of the 56 candidates secured admission at the first attempt and that between 1844 and 1854 24 out of 80 passed first time. The decline in the proportion passing first
time after 1843 is almost certainly due to the very rapid promotion of the most able young men to positions in the church following the Disruption. Even so, between 1844 and 1854 34 passed at the second or subsequent attempt so that 58 out of the 80 were ultimately successful. Of the remainder, eight died or resigned and most of the rest were preparing for re-examination. Although the difficulty of past examinations is hard to judge, Menzies' assessment that "it has not proved insurmountable to a teacher who has never attended a University" while those who had a deficiency could usually correct it by hard work, would appear to be reasonable. (7)

The re-examination of candidates was something which had not been foreseen by the Trustees but which they welcomed once it had occurred. (8) After the examination of 1837, Leslie the schoolmaster at Longside had been restricted to half his due allowance because of his poor performance in Latin, Greek, Arithmetic, Geography and Geometry and his inability to profess Trigonometry. In May 1838 the Trustees turned down his request for a full allowance in return for his promise to sit the examination a second time. However, he re-appeared at the 1838 examination to re-sit his Latin, Arithmetic and Geography papers and although his Latin was still poor the Trustees applauded his perseverance by awarding him five guineas, as the first man to re-sit, and by raising his allowance to three-quarters. Evidently a glutton for punishment Leslie re-appeared again in 1839, passing his Latin though his Geometry and Trigonometry were still below standard; because of his "evident zeal" and their confidence
that he would work to eliminate his weaknesses the Trustees removed all restrictions upon his allowance. (9) Having declared in 1835 that it was not their intention to mark failure with an "indelible stain", (10) the Trustees looked on Leslie's re-appearance as a sign that the examination was regarded seriously and proof that the restriction of allowances gave schoolmasters an incentive to self-improvement.

Some newly appointed teachers postponed their appearance at the examination secure in the knowledge that while their allowance might be withheld, pending their appearance, it was not forfeited. To check this it was resolved in August 1840 that all new appointees should appear "at either the first or second Examination immediately following their election". (11) A failure to comply with this regulation was punished by the forfeit of all benefit until the incumbent was examined; but by allowing at least one examination to go by all candidates had a year to prepare.

In the early years it was possible to get through the examination piecemeal and candidates were allowed to re-sit any single subject in which they were deficient. However, this and the encouragement to re-sit, rebounded against the Trustees intentions, for some teachers although they duly appeared within two years of election began to decide "by their own pleasure the extent of their profession in any one year." (12) This resulted in a tendency for the examination to be broken down into bits and pieces and for it to be dragged on "through years of inadequate
The purpose of the examination in elevating the scholarship of the schoolmasters was in very real danger of being lost when a man like George Stewart of Rhymie was still deficient in Greek, Mensuration, Geometry and Trigonometry on his fourth appearance in 1845, and all the Trustees could do was to threaten the cessation of his already restricted allowance if he were not more successful at the fifth attempt. (13)

The Examination Committee in 1848 complained of a reduced "aim and ambition" that seemed to be satisfied with a piecemeal approach. (14) New regulations were, therefore, adopted in February 1849 to prevent such abuses in the future and to restore the original rigour of the examination as a test of all-round scholarship. (15) Attendance at the first or second examination after election was still mandatory but all nine subjects had to be offered within two years with at least five in the first. Furthermore, no merit allowance was made unless all nine were attempted at the first examination and if any deficiencies remained after the two attempts then all papers, except those marked 'good', had to be repeated. The examination was thus reinstated as a force for the improvement of all-round scholarship and as a result Menzies was of the opinion that "newly elected teachers certainly enter now upon their duties better prepared than in the earlier years of the Bequest." (16)

The Trustees resisted all attempts to get them to relax the rules which denied benefit to those who had not undergone examination. Some who had become Ministers but who had not sat
the examination while a schoolmaster sought retrospective admission but this was always denied.

In May 1849 it was decided to extend the examination to include Assistants who were appointed with a guarantee of succession to the office on the death or resignation of the incumbent. Previously they had been specifically excluded but it was felt that "if the succession was secured to a teacher, he ought to possess the qualifications expected in others who obtain the entire office at their election". (17) This resolution was subsequently absorbed into a wider one requiring all Assistants who had the sole responsibility for a school to present themselves for the examination. The only concession made to Assistants was that their allowances were not restricted for a failure since the allowance from the Bequest was the mainstay of their income unlike the elected schoolmaster who had the legal salary.

One of the great advantages of the Bequest examination was that it included a test of practical aptitude. Although the Normal Schools in Edinburgh and Glasgow had attracted much favourable attention there was no requirement for a parish schoolmaster to have any pedagogic training. In 1835 the candidates were asked to construct the kind of questions they would have asked a class on a passage of English they had just read to them. Even with this very imperfect test Menzies maintained that it was not difficult "to detect that particular talent for separating the leading thoughts and choosing appropriate topics which is the best suited for instructing the young". (18) The test was improved
in subsequent years by bringing in a class from a school (often from Niddry St. School or the Sessional School) for the candidates to question on a prescribed passage. Despite the problems of an unfamiliar class and absence of resources which would make the modern student teacher pale the Trustees were convinced that "excellence discovers itself." The Committee of Examiners, however, were less confident and they believed that the regular inspections by the Clerk and the Presbyterial Committee were more valuable than the artificiality of the practical test. (19) But the real value of the practical test was that it gave recognition to a facet of teaching which was otherwise unrecognised and that by encouraging teachers to make "the art of communicating knowledge to others" an object of study, the benefits of improved scholarship might be passed on to the pupils.

Schoolmasters who did not reach a satisfactory standard in the examination were liable to have their allowances restricted. The policy of restriction was developed to counter the poor performance of men like Alexander Anderson of Strathdon and John Brotchie of Kintore whose "manifest inferiority" and "deficiency on almost every exercise proposed" in the examination of 1836, required the Trustees to "mark the distinction in a strong and unequivocal manner". (20) Both were granted one-third of their allowance as an incentive "to attain the qualifications which they ought to possess." The policy of restriction did act as an incentive. William Donald of Huntly had been restricted
to half his allowance in 1836 as a consequence of his performance in the examination; he reappeared in 1841 and the improvement in his English Literature prompted the Trustees to raise his allowance to five-eighths which was further increased to three-quarters in 1842 to reflect his success in Greek. Donald had to attend the examination for a fourth time in 1843 to demonstrate his competence in Geography before he was granted his full allowance. (21) Similar instances abound in the examiners reports and it would seem that no candidate was admitted to a full participation in the Bequest until he had proved himself in all nine subjects.

In applying similar restrictions for failure in Practical Teaching the Trustees demonstrated their belief in the value of pedagogic skill. David Chalmers of Gamrie had sat the examination on three occasions to remedy scholastic weaknesses and on each appearance had failed the practical test. Eventually the Trustees had to admit him, but only to half his allowance and that on the condition that he spend two months of his vacation at the Edinburgh Normal School. Chalmers met this condition and received the full allowance for a while but he had evidently not made sufficient progress for in 1856, after Laurie's visitation, his allowance was cut to three-quarters and another vacation at the Normal School recommended. (22) Recommendations of this nature occur regularly in the examiners reports. Before the commencement of the Dick Bequest no effective assessment of teaching performance had existed and it was as a direct result of the emphasis on pedagogic aptitude that teachers were made aware of the importance of methodology.
Over the years there was a steady improvement in the all-round capacity of the schoolmasters presenting themselves at the examination. While Latin translation was almost always the best handled section, doubtless because of the emphasis placed on the Latin 'version' in the bursary competitions at Aberdeen, the philological and grammatical aspects of the language often attracted adverse comment. Similar remarks were made about the Greek paper though proficiency in that language was never as general as in Latin. In the early years there were regular complaints about the poor standard of Geography and History and Chronology which it was felt was unforgivable in a schoolmaster. However, by 1845 it was noted that those subjects and English were being "more effectively studied than heretofore". (23) After 1845 complaints about 'arts' subjects in the examiners reports were increasingly rare and it was to the improvement of the mathematical subjects that they directed most of their remarks. The examiners complained almost annually that the standard in Arithmetic and Elementary Geometry was too low. The schoolmasters generally did much better in Algebra and Trigonometry, probably because it was possible to master the basic rules in a short period of intensive study whereas the simpler and more important fundamentals of Arithmetic were not so conveniently organised.

The mathematics papers, which had been the responsibility of Professor Kelland since 1840, were set at the level of a second University course since nearly all graduates took a course at that level as part of their degree. Even so it was felt that "the average amount of skill and attainment should
not be so disproportionate" either to the utility of the subject or "to the extent of knowledge displayed in other branches". (24) In 1846 the examiners reported that of five questions using fractions only two, on average, were worked correctly and that there were many errors of principle "unpardonable in a schoolmaster". (25) The simplest explanation of the mathematical failings of the schoolmasters is that since most of them intended to enter the Ministry the scientific subjects studied at the University received less attention than those of use to a potential Minister.

The Trustees publicised the scope and nature of the examination in order that the candidates should be able to prepare for it. Each was sent the papers for the preceding year as soon as they expressed an intention to appear and the complete papers for 1835-43 were printed and distributed with the 1844 Report to all Ministers and schoolmasters in the three counties. The Professors at Marischal and Kings also received copies of the papers to show to students who aspired to a teaching career. The complete papers for 1853, together with the answers of John Annand of Cairney who had received a special allowance of £21 for his performance, were published as an Appendix to the Report of 1854.

The Bequest examination imposed a standard of scholarship in advance of anything required of schoolmasters anywhere else in Britain. As a result the teachers in the three counties had a degree of expertise over a wide area that was unrivalled and a
teaching proficiency that could only be matched by the products of the Normal Schools.

(ii)

The main test of practical efficiency for all the schoolmasters, whether new appointees or not, was the visit of the Clerk. After an initial inspection of all the schools in the area covered by the Bequest, between March 20 and May 8, 1833, in the course of which he travelled 1,273 miles, Menzies regularly visited one-third of the schools each year using two short tours in the Spring and Summer. Sometimes other Trustees accompanied him which he felt added to the importance of the inspection and in 1846 he had been particularly pleased when Professor Pillans the noted educationist joined him. The Clerk's visit provided an opportunity for exchanging ideas with the teachers and Menzies was always anxious to stimulate discussion; in the Report of 1854 he requested teachers not to acquiesce in observations or criticisms merely out of politeness.

Menzies worked extremely hard on his visitations and after the initial inspection normally limited himself to two schools per day, or three if the parishes were close together. This was very different from some of the days of the 1833 tour; for example, on March 21 he arrived in Elgin at four o'clock after the sixty-five mile journey from Aberdeen and went immediately to the Academy for two hours. The following day he was back at the Academy at seven
a.m. to hear a class in Greek and then after breakfasting with a local Minister went on to visit the schools of St Andrews Llanbryd, Urquhart, New Spynie and Alves. Menzies felt that extended visits were more necessary as the years passed and the pattern of instruction became more varied. Although he employed an amanuensis, at his own expense, after 1843 to deal with the clerical aspects of the visitation Menzies continued to conduct the bulk of the inspections until 1854, just two years before his death.

The inspections encountered the usual hindrances of schools emptied by an epidemic or a local market or the communion season. At Abernethy in 1833 Menzies found the school on "a few days play" following the Presbyterial visit and the schoolmaster "gone up the country to provide firewood". (26) During inspection of the Buchan parishes in the summer of 1843 he found the schools at St Combs and Coatside deserted "the whole population having gone off to Fraserburgh during the herring fishery." (27) The difficulties of travel in the upland parishes created further problems and rivers in spate frequently caused delays. Transport could not always be relied upon and sometimes upset his arrangements. In July 1853 he tried to reach the school at Towie after a morning at Cabrach but it was a difficult journey involving two stages and he did not arrive until after the school had been dismissed at four o'clock. (28) On this occasion a wasted journey was averted by the return of some pupils, induced no doubt by the promise of a holiday.
Notice of an impending visit was not given since the purpose was to see the school "in its everyday condition and ordinary working order." The Clerk never set out to catch teachers napping and in the twenty-one years of his visitations Menzies only recorded two instances when the teacher was not at his post when he should have been. (29) Nonetheless it was a tense occasion and the Visitation Reports contain references to teachers who appeared ill at ease and pupils who seemed unduly reticent and failed to do justice to their mentor. It was impossible to keep his presence in the region a total secret and Menzies noted occasions when the children seemed to have been primed and he was always suspicious when the lessons he observed were repetitions of recent work. Tensions and attempts to mislead him notwithstanding, Menzies felt able to write in the Report of 1854, that the priming of pupils was getting rarer since "the general tendency of the visits has been to encourage".

The Visitors were always well prepared and took with them the Presbyterial Reports which noted strengths and weaknesses and also provided a check on the statistical elements of the teachers claim. The frequency with which Menzies referred to his earlier inspections suggests that these notebooks were also taken on the tour. A report was written for each school, usually on the same evening as the visit, and when the tour was over the cases requiring action were brought before the Trustees. Letters of Advice to the schoolmasters, giving the Clerk's impressions and recommending action where it was appropriate, were used more systematically after 1844. The letters varied but might point out
where the teaching method was at fault; or recommend the extension of certain subjects to more pupils; or note a weakness in reading and spelling that betrayed a lack of care in the basic instruction; or suggest improvements in the content of the ordinary lesson; or indicate faults of manner, discipline and cleanliness of the teacher and the school; or encourage the teacher to visit well run schools. Even when a Letter of Advice was not sent each teacher received a resume of the Clerk's impressions so that there was never any secrecy about the opinion that had been formed of the teacher or the school.

A schoolmaster's claim to be included in the Bequest went far beyond his possession of the office or success in the examination. It had to stand the test of inspection and, as this extract from the report on the school at Drainie reveals, these were always searching. (30)

"found five scholars - the number on the Roll being stated to be 12 - When the Return was made it was 8 - The Schoolroom very smoky, and filthy, one corner being a coal-hole - the rest of the floor however, freshly sanded ....

The teaching is without exception the most unpardonably bad that I have seen. One boy in Latin rudiments, getting it very imperfectly, every word half prompted by the Master - ....

English Reading and Spelling very very bad - One boy reading fine passages in the Collection, who could
not pronounce any word of 2 syllables in his lesson such as 'ardent', 'sublime' etc..

This man is utterly incapable of teaching and the case is clearly one in which some effort ought to be made to provide an efficient schoolmaster."

This man did not know how long some of his pupils had been on the roll and he also had an argument with Menzies about his pronunciation. On the strength of this inspection and the confirmation it gave to the opinions of the Minister and the Presbytery, the Trustees refused to admit Peter Durno to the Bequest.

A further illustration of the importance of the visitation in preserving a standard in the parochial schools by regular inspection and supervision may be seen in the case of Glentanner (a side-school in the parish of Aboyne). Although Andrew Christie had passed the examination and the practical test his allowance was restricted to a half after his first visitation in 1848 "as an incentive to improvement" with a threat of it being discontinued if the grounds of complaint were not removed. An inspection in the following year saw no real improvement and his allowance was forfeited. Following a letter from the Minister that things had improved and requesting another visit the school was inspected in July 1851 and Christie re-admitted. However, the improvement was not sustained and the neglect of Religious Instruction, the careless approach to Arithmetic and the general deterioration revealed in 1854 caused the Trustees to consider a
second exclusion. Reluctantly he was granted one-third of his dividend out of respect for the good opinion the Presbytery had of him but this was accompanied by a threat of forfeiture as in 1848. Subsequent visits in 1855 and 1857 led to his allowance being raised first to a half and then to three-quarters so that the constant supervision and the financial lever exercised by the Trustees must have had some effect. (31)

The teachers were allowed a reasonable amount of time to adjust to the criticisms made of them. When a teachers methods were unfavourably reported his allowance was not reduced, unless it had been based on merit earlier, until after he had received a Letter of Advice noting the defects and a further visit to see if corrective action had been taken. By their policy of regularly imposing, reviewing and rescinding restrictions on allowances in the light of the visitation reports the Trustees reminded the schoolmasters of the importance of their daily work and managed to establish something akin to a basic standard of teaching efficiency years ahead of effective governmental inspection.

In his report on the state of elementary education in the presbyteries of Aberdeen and Fordyce issued in 1842 (the first educational report for Scotland after the appointment of Government Inspectors), John Gibson noted that the teachers of the parish schools were "highly accomplished men". (32) Gibson was prepared to attribute this in no small way to the influence of the Dick Bequest. Menzies too felt that a change had been wrought and he could write in 1853 that "There is now prevalent an entirely different conception of the functions of a Teacher, and there is
not probably a school within the District which does not exhibit now the influence of ideas and methods, the least indication of which in 1833 would have been hailed in any school with congratulation." If the principal educational innovation fostered by the Bequest, namely the use of the 'intellectual' or 'interrogative' method, is taken as a measure of Menzies claim his boast would seem to be justified; of 134 schools recorded in 1833 the intellectual method was only fully used in 7 and partially in 48 with 79 schools utterly attached to the old ways. The Dick Bequest encouraged educational innovation and improvement and its success was largely due to the cumulative effect of twenty years of visitations, Letters of Advice and three decennial reports, all of which had served to bring the schoolmasters of remote and lonely parishes into contact with the most enlightened educational ideas of the time.

NOTES

1 G D 1/4 1 Will of James Dick
2 Menzies proposed the introduction of a written examination in the Report of 1834 (G D 1/4 186) and the Trustees confirmed this in the minute of 28 Jan. 1835 (G D 1/4 3).
3 G D 1/4 3 Minute Book 1830-46, 4 Sept. 1835
4 Ibid 21 May 1835
5 G D 1/4 188 Report on the Dick Bequest 1844, chap. II
6 Ibid
7 G D 1/4 189 Report on the Dick Bequest 1854, chap. III
The career of Leslie may be traced through the examiners' reports contained in the Minute Book 1830-46 (G D 1/4 3):

31 Mar. 1838; 31 Jan. 1839; 5 Dec. 1839

10 G D 1/4 3, 4 Sept. 1835

11 Ibid, 25 Aug. 1840

12 G D 1/4 189, chap. III

13 G D 1/4 3, 23 Dec. 1845

14 G D 1/4 189, chap. III

15 G D 1/4 3, 6 Feb. 1849

16 G D 1/4 189, chap. III

17 Ibid

18 G D 1/4 188, chap. II

19 Ibid

20 G D 1/4 3, 5 Nov. 1836

21 Ibid, 26 Nov. 1841; 13 Jan. 1843

22 G D 1/4 4 Minute Book 1847-58; 21 Dec. 1849;

4 Nov. 1853; 9 Nov. 1854; 10 Oct. 1855; 6 June 1856

23 G D 1/4 3, 23 Dec. 1845

24 G D 1/4 188, chap. II

25 G D 1/4 189, chap. III

26 G D 1/4 188, Visitation Book 1833

27 G D 1/4 138, Visitation Book 1843

28 G D 1/4 148, Visitation Book 1853

29 G D 1/4 189, chap. IV

30 G D 1/4 128

(69)
31 G D 1/4 4, 22 Aug. 1848; 11 Sept. 1849; 21 Dec. 1849; 23 Jan. 1851; 29 July 1851; 26 July 1854; 27 July 1855; 29 April 1857

32 Quoted in Alexander Wright, The History of Education and of the Old Parish Schools of Scotland. Edinburgh 1898
PART THREE

The most striking example of the difficulties the
Defendant could bring to bear is to be found in the very
immediate price of education in the parliaments of the
situation. The disadvantage that, if extended with regard to accommodation, have
already been mentioned, raises questions whether the schoolmaster
at Minto in the parish of Old Kilmore should be admitted to the
benefit when his salary was only £10 per annum. In a very
parish where the real payment was over £7,000 a year he says that "the
parish's conviction of the necessity of an additional school should
be indicated by more substantial grants than the mere allocation
of such a pitiful sum." (3) At Clephan in the parish of Old
Kilmore the side-schoolers (schoolmaster) had been a school supported by
the General Assembly, and the Convener of the scholasposition
professional advancement was a net loss of between six and eight
pounds a year. His salary was £1. The legal limit he had received
from the Assembly, he had to pay a cost of £2 for a draft that had
formerly been supplied from the High Court which he now had to
purchase. (4)

To assist the salaries of teachers in side-schools
the Trustees resolved in 1821 that they should receive no less
than the legal maximum for teachers in a single school, i.e.,
£5 5s. 6d. (31). It was left to the Kirk, by deciding how much
of this amount should be to apply to how much in accommodation through

(71)
The most striking example of the influence the
Bequest could bring to bear is to be found in the dramatic
improvement in the salaries paid to masters in the side-schools.
The depressing effect of the Act of 1803 and the further
disadvantage that it entailed with regard to accommodation have
already been mentioned. Menzies questioned whether the schoolmaster
at Mintlaw in the parish of Longside should be admitted to the
Bequest when his salary was only £10 per annum. In a wealthy
parish where the real rent was over £7,000 a year he felt that "the
heritors conviction of the necessity of an additional school should
be indicated by more substantial proofs than the mere allocation
of such a paltry sum". (1) At Clochan in the parish of Old
Deer the side-school had, until 1828, been a school supported by
the General Assembly fund; the effect of the schoolmasters
professional advancement was a net loss of between six and eight
pounds a year. His salary was £2 10s less than he had received
from the Assembly, he had to pay a rent of £4 for a croft that had
formerly been supplied free like his fuel which he now had to
purchase. (2)

To boost the salaries of teachers in side-schools
the Trustees resolved in 1834 that they should receive no less
than the legal minimum for teachers in a single school i.e.
£25 13s 4d. (3) It was left to the heritors to decide how much
of this amount should be in money and how much in accommodation though
the opinion was expressed "that whatever salary may be allowed, accommodations should be given of a comfortable and sufficient description, as it is evident that by these not only the respectability but the success and efficiency of the Incumbent must in large measure be affected". The resolution was a direct challenge to the statutory provision of 1803 and in effect offered the heritors a choice between what was required by the law on the one hand and the Bequest on the other. The Trustees having set their minimum salary for the side-schools beyond that of the statute were prepared to use their own sanction of exclusion when their conditions were not met, leaving the heritors to be blamed for the disadvantages which would accrue.

The resolution had led to the exclusion of the side-schools in the parishes of Cromdale, Old Deer, Gamrie, Kincardine O'Neil, Lonmay, Longside and New Deer. The corrective measures hoped for by the Trustees were taken almost immediately in Gamrie and Kincardine O'Neil. In June 1834 the heritors of New Deer informed the Bequest that they were increasing their assessment of themselves to raise the cash salaries of the side-school teachers; with the accommodation which was provided the £25 13s 4d minimum which had been set was surpassed and the schools were admitted. (4) Within a year the heritors of Old Deer had added £10 to each of the salaries in their side-schools raising their cash value to £20 and on the promise of new and improved accommodation these too were admitted to the Bequest. (5) By January 1837 the salaries in all but one of the side-schools existing in 1833 had been improved to meet the Trustees' requirement.
St Combs in the parish of Lonmay had to wait until March 1841 to be admitted and even then it was only because forty-four fishermen entered into an obligation to find the £6 0s 6d difference between the Bequest minimum and the improved salary currently paid by the heritors. (6) In driving up the salaries for the old side-schools the Trustees ensured that the teachers in the eight side-schools founded after 1833 were also paid more than the legal salary.

The effect of the Bequest in raising the salaries paid in the ordinary parish school has already been illustrated. Yet the Trustees remained ever watchful to stop the heritors taking advantage of the dependent position of the schoolmaster even when the law was being complied with. The schoolmaster of Kintore was paid a salary of £30 p.a. which was more than the statutory minimum but as Menzies discovered on his inspection he was not provided with anywhere to live and had to lodge with his father some miles away. (7) Furthermore the heritors had instructed him not to ask for a new schoolhouse and to rest content with the small room in the Townhouse which was used for the school. The Trustees argued that the schoolmaster was entitled to the customary compensation of £10 where no dwellinghouse was provided and £2 2s 9d for the garden. (8) This meant that the heritors were defaulting on their obligation to the extent of £7 16s ld, or the amount left when the salary in excess of the minimum (£4 6s 8d) was deducted from the compensation which was due (£12 2s 9d). The heritors at Kintore were informed that until
they augmented the schoolmasters salary by the requisite amount, either in cash or in accommodation, the school would not be admitted. Action of this kind on behalf of a schoolmaster and the frequent representations made to the heritors to improve conditions of service did much to strengthen the good relations which generally prevailed between the Bequest and the teachers and doubtless made them more receptive to the ideas being promoted.

(ii)

When accommodation was not supplied or inadequate compensation offered the Trustees often withheld allowances until the situation was improved. In the case of Kintore this proved very successful and in November 1835 the allowance was released as the new building neared completion. Comparable action was taken to bring about improvements where the accommodation was sub-standard, and during the first ten years of the Bequest the restriction of allowances on the grounds of inadequate accommodation were quite frequent. The side-school at Mintlaw was described by Menzies in 1833.

"... a small thatched house, no floor or ceiling. The ground wet and filthy to a disgusting degree. The turfs sticking through the roof inside. 4 windows, none of which open, so that ventilation can be procured only by opening the door. A bucket of water and a jug in the corner for the scholars to drink."
Such conditions were seen as sufficient grounds for imposing a reservation on the allowance to that school which was not lifted until 1836 when the necessary improvements had been made. Similar reservations were applied at the same time to three other schools all of which eventually led to the heritors upgrading the accommodation. Alexander Hardie of Rathen was regularly prevented from teaching "in consequence of severe rheumatism" contracted in "the wretched damp hovel of a house" which was provided. (10) The reservation of his allowance in 1835 prompted the heritors to make some repairs though Hardie felt they were inadequate and the Trustees seem to have agreed for they released his allowance with a recommendation that he remind the legal guardians of the need for further improvements. (11)

Conditions of service which had been tolerated in the early years rapidly became unacceptable as the Bequest raised the status of the parish schoolmaster. The school at Dallas had been described in 1833 as nearer to a pigsty than a school. (12) "There is no floor either of stone or wood but sand instead mixed with large stones of 2 or 3 inches diameter and peats. The entrance to the School both without and within the building worse than any road ... The partition between the Schoolroom and the door was broken down in several places leaving openings of 18 or 20 inches square, and 4 panes of glass awanting, which had been broken 2 months ago ..."
According to the poor schoolmaster the cold was not felt because the school was always crowded. Following a visitation in 1840 the Clerk was instructed to inform the schoolmaster that although the Trustees had no direct influence over the provision of accommodation they would withhold the allowance until a new school was built. (13) By August 1842 the heritors had built a new school at a cost of £209 7s and the allowance was resumed.

At New Spynie the withholding of the allowance in 1843 and 1844 resulted in both a new schoolroom and a new dwellinghouse being erected in 1845.

After 1844 the number of reservations each year because of inadequate accommodation declined markedly, ranging from one to four a year up to 1850 and none between 1850 and 1853. The very heavy expenditure of the heritors on repairs and new buildings (£9,701 6s 6d between 1832 and 1842 and an average of £1,240 a year for the rest of the period) is an indication of the influence that the Trustees could exercise in the area under the Bequest.

Although the majority of the new buildings were "handsome and of ample dimensions" some erections and improvements did not satisfy the Trustees even if they were new. A number of new schools in Morayshire attracted criticism because there was "no light but from the roof and the means of ventilation insufficient". (14) The need for a well lit and airy schoolroom was recognised by the Trustees and they condemned the practice of removing the disadvantage of a low ceiling by sinking the floor. At St Andrews
Llanbryd they would not release the allowance until a proper schoolroom was erected, the floor in the school "being sunk below the level of the ground". (15) When the Minister submitted an opinion, (attested by a Doctor and an Architect), that the accommodation was adequate, the Trustees promptly sought a second architectural opinion.

The Act of 1803 had stipulated that the heritors should supply a house, "such house not consisting of more than two apartments, including the kitchen". In 1833 the majority of schoolmasters had houses of two or three rooms; in 1844 the average was four rooms and in 1853 with 637 rooms in 132 houses the average was nearly five per house. This and the effective doubling of the teachers income over the period is perhaps the best indication of the improvement in the standard of living "of that neglected, though useful class of men" brought about through the agency of the Dick Bequest.

(iii)

The quality of the education provided in the parish school was not so directly susceptible to influence. It is true that throughout the period allowances were withheld and restricted when the condition of a school was unsatisfactory and the Visitation Reports and the Trustees' Minutes contain innumerable references to the specific weaknesses of schoolmasters. But to maintain the improvements which were sought the Trustees needed a more reliable method than that of biennial inspection; good
teachers had to replace those whose inefficiency required detailed supervision. In any event a teacher who needed such close attention in all probability should not have been in the post.

The Trustees endeavoured to replace inefficient teachers by persuading them either to resign or take a well qualified Assistant. The meagre income enjoyed before the operation of the Bequest had meant that in 1833 only seven of the nineteen incumbents aged over 60 had employed assistants. (16) To mitigate the worst effects of age or incapacity the Trustees made extra allowances available, in addition to the normal dividend, to facilitate the use of assistants. When age was the principal reason for inefficiency the incumbent had to have reached his sixtieth year and sign an agreement to take an assistant before the supplementary allowance was paid. The normal arrangement was that the incumbent retained the salary from the heritors and the supplementary allowance up to a maximum of £12 p.a., while the Assistant received the fees and the dividend from the Bequest. (17) Thus worthy but worn out teachers could be persuaded to give over the charge of their schools to younger men while keeping a modest income in recognition of the fact that there was no obligation on them to retire.

In some cases the Trustees made the continuation of an allowance conditional upon an assistant being hired either to assume the full responsibility for the school or to buttress the teaching of a particular subject. In the division of 1849-50 the master at Crimond had his allowance reserved "until he states
whether he is willing to commit his school to the charge of an assistant", and three others had theirs reserved because they had been dilatory in acting on the recommendation that they should employ assistants. (18) The schoolmaster at Old Meldrum had been advised to take an assistant in 1839 and had seen his allowance withheld from 1840 as a result of his failure to do so. Eventually, and with obvious reluctance, he took one on the miserly terms of eight shillings a week plus bed, board and washing, but only for a six month period. (19) The case of Old Meldrum illustrates one of the major problems in the use of assistants, the conflict with the incumbent who wanted to keep some control over the teaching even though his inefficiency was the reason for an assistant being recommended. To ensure that an inefficient incumbent really was replaced the Trustees resolved that for him to receive the supplementary allowance "entire authority should be transferred to the Assistant". The refusal of the schoolmaster at Old Meldrum to take an assistant on these terms resulted in his allowance still being withheld in 1849-50. (20)

Originally assistants were exempted from the Bequest regulations which applied to the elected schoolmaster, and their qualifications were assessed on the basis of their testimonials. The weakness in this arrangement was that when an assistant was unsatisfactory the Trustees were reluctant to restrict his allowance since it was at least half his income and they did not wish to strike at his subsistence. The problem became particularly serious after 1843 when the crisis in the Church created so many vacancies.
that unsuitable assistants were often hired. A partial solution was found in the withholding of allowances but always after six months notice had been given of the impending action. If the assistant did not resign the Trustees were prepared to stop the supplementary allowance to the incumbent as an additional pressure for the elected schoolmaster was the only person who could dismiss an assistant. (21)

It was finally resolved that all assistants should undergo the examination; this measure was implemented without much difficulty as some had already sat the examination voluntarily. The use of the Bequest to provide a reasonable remuneration to assistants had meant that young men with good qualifications were prepared to take on a post that had no attractions before 1833. The performance of the assistants in the examination tends to substantiate this view for between 1851 and 1853 eleven of the nineteen who entered passed. In 1854 there were 24 assistants in the schools, all had received a university education and all but two had some prior teaching experience. The assistants provided a corps of probationer teachers ready to fill any elective vacancy that occurred and the value of "a class of candidates who have been thus trained and tested" was recognised. (22) By directly sponsoring the use of assistants the Trustees were able to remedy the worst defects of inefficient schoolmasters. As the table shows the assistants became a very significant part of the total teaching force during the period.
TABLE XII

Use of Assistants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>1833</th>
<th>1843</th>
<th>1853</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assistant-Substitutes</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total teaching force</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Trustees only contributed to the payment of assistants where a school was less than efficient. They gave their encouragement, but no money, to schoolmasters who hired assistants on their own initiative because their school had very large numbers or because they felt they had a weakness in a particular subject. The Bequest allowance made it possible for a schoolmaster to hire an assistant as the rise in voluntarily hired assistants from 5 in 1833 to 17 in 1853 illustrates.

While the normal policy of the Trustees was to persuade an inefficient schoolmaster to give way to an able assistant, there were occasions when the incumbent refused or was so utterly incompetent that to rescue the school from collapse he had to be induced to resign. Although it was an encroachment on the jurisdiction of the heritors and the Presbytery, the Bequest was ready to use the funds at its disposal to buy off schoolmasters whose continuance in office was detrimental to local education.
This was the only way an incompetent could be removed for there was no legal sanction that could be applied except for the grossest moral offence.

In the very first distribution of 1832, the Trustees showed their readiness to use this power to the full. The schoolmasters at Edinkellie and Rafford had their allowances withheld pending their agreement to resign. (23) The strength of this lever lay in the fact that the due allowances of 1832, worked out on the principle of an equal division of the sum accumulated since Dick's death, amounted to £129 3s 0d. The teacher at Edinkellie refused to comply and maintained that refusal until his death in 1836 solved the problem. However, David Millar at Rafford persisted in his refusal until 1838 when the Minister persuaded him to negotiate the terms of his resignation with the Bequest. Millar demanded a lump sum of £350 to resign; the Trustees decided that it was expedient to come to an arrangement for the parish had long since demonstrated its loss of confidence in the school. They offered to forward all the sums which had been reserved in his name since 1832, a sum amounting to £246 15s 7d on the condition that he submitted an unqualified resignation within one month. In fact it took a little longer than one month to complete the arrangements but Millar did depart the office on these terms in July 1838. (24)

The same distribution had also excluded Peter Durno of Drainie from the Bequest until he took an assistant. The delays
and obstacles that Durno created prevented the implementation of that recommendation but he was persuaded by Menzies and the local clergyman to negotiate his resignation in 1836. The Trustees were sufficiently anxious to be rid of him that they agreed to his terms which demanded a portion of the arrears due to him, his full allowance from 1832 to 1836 and the retention of the salary from the heritors for life. (25) Further objections were raised and it was not until 1839, after six years of pressure, that the Trustees finally got his resignation on payment of £285 in arrears and £15 p.a. from the heritors. (26) The case of Drainie illustrates the security of tenure that the parish schoolmaster enjoyed. It must be concluded that if the Dick Bequest had not been in a position to offer such an attractive 'golden handshake' then Durno and others like him would have stayed on in their office, with disastrous effects on the schools.

At Insch the Trustees had to pay £250 to buy the schoolmaster an annuity of £27 for his lifetime on top of the £12 p.a. the heritors agreed to pay; (27) the payment of £150 and the retention of the dwelling house was needed at Botriphnie; (28) the schoolmaster at Tomintoul received £250 and the one at Leochel £200. (29) Robert Middleton of Slains, whose allowance had been restricted in 1839 and later withheld was tempted to retire by the offer of £300. (30) An identical policy was used to dislodge assistants who proved unsatisfactory. In all cases of negotiated resignations the Trustees never paid a lump sum that exceeded the amount of the allowances that had been reserved.
Because of their activity in securing the resignation of some teachers and forcing assistants upon others it was almost inevitable that the advice of the Bequest should be sought about appointments to vacant offices. Menzies advised the Trustees that they could not interfere directly in appointments firstly because they had no legal right to do so and secondly because such an action would inhibit the discretionary character of the Bequest. (31) This advice was accepted but the Trustees demonstrated their concern that only the best men should be appointed by issuing a circular to the clergy offering suggestions on the qualities expected in a schoolmaster and noting that "the candidate will be preferred who shall produce evidence of his having previously taught with success". (32) In a letter to the Rev. Anderson of Boyndie after the schoolmasters resignation the hope was expressed "that in proceeding to fill up the vacancy every exertion will be used to secure the best teacher who can be got to accept the office". (33) The letter also advocated wide publicity in the press, advice which was in keeping with the resolution that all vacancies "should be extensively publicised in the provincial newspapers and in the North British Advertiser". (34) The visitation reports for 1833 show that Menzies often read the Bequest rules to a Minister in whose parish there was a vacancy. The success which attended the Bequest ruling on immature appointments is an indication of the indirect influence that could be exercised.

In November 1838 the Trustees declined to appoint a
successor to the assistant at Udny and in 1843 they acted similarly towards a proposal from the Presbytery of Fordyce with regard to the office at Edinkellie. (35) There was no legal authority for direct interference but it was decided that candidates for an office might sit the Bequest examination so that a presbytery could then give whatever weight it liked to the result. This did occur during the competition for the vacancy at Alves but as a result of objections which were later raised it was resolved that the first contact between the Bequest and a teacher should be after his election. (36) This preserved the legal niceties and apparently limited the influence of the Bequest but it should be remembered that assistants had been allowed to enter the examination since before 1844, so that they might qualify for full admission on obtaining an elected office. With a body of assistants in the region, many of whom had thus already proved their scholarship and who might also have attended the Edinburgh Normal School, the choice of the heritors was in fact restricted if they wished to choose a man of proven abilities. That 33 assistants were appointed as elected schoolmasters during the period suggests that their value was recognised and it also demonstrates how the operation of the Bequest was able to influence the qualifications of the candidates and the criteria used to select them.

The Report of 1854 stated that there were now enough experienced teachers in the three counties to make prior teaching experience a 'sine qua non' of appointment. The report also recommended the electors to visit candidates in their schools if at
all possible in order to form a better impression of a man's ability. Through the advice that they offered, the regulation concerning age, the consequence of the examination and the policy of encouraging the use of assistants, the Trustees contrived to exercise a very real influence over appointments despite the regular disclaimers to the contrary.

(iv)

The decision of the Trustees in July 1834 that the appointment of youthful schoolmasters was "directly calculated to be injurious to the interests of education" and that no-one might be admitted under the age of 21 had an immediate and striking effect. The average age at election of the teachers in office in 1833 had been 20.42 years with some like Charles Cruickshank of Glass being appointed at 16. The evidence of the returns made by 62 appointees between 1833 and 1843 shows that only nine were under age and that these had all been appointed before 1840. Moreover the average age at appointment was 26.75 years. There were no exclusions on the ground of immaturity between 1840 and 1843 though after the Disruption they were more frequent as fifteen elections of teachers under 21 occurred after 1843.

The age regulation never applied to assistants because it was difficult to fill such posts except with the younger, newly qualified graduates. Even so there was only one assistant appointed after 1851 as young as 18 and the average age of the assistants at appointment was 21.75 years; by 1853 the assistants were older at
appointment than the masters had been in 1833.

The Original Returns of 1833 showed that one-seventh of the schoolmasters were over 60 years of age with the oldest, George McNaughton of Tarves, still active at 81 after 60 years teaching in the parish. The visitation of 1833 revealed that there were a considerable number of aged and infirm teachers who were in need of assistance. Alexander Tocher of Macduff, aged 78, was blind but still did some work in the school for he had a barely competent assistant who was the best he could get with the meagre amount he could afford to pay.

The Trustees devised an arrangement which provided elderly teachers with an income in their voluntary retirement. The assistant received the school fees and the allowance from the Bequest - worth about £56 14s 3d, on average, between 1844 and 1854 - while the incumbent retained the salary and got a supplementary allowance from the Bequest - worth about £41 p.a. (37) In the first ten years of the Bequest this arrangement was made with 21 old or infirm schoolmasters, and by providing a secure pension for such men the Trustees undoubtedly kept the parish schools functioning as effectively as possible.

Robert Innes, the insane schoolmaster of Cullen, presented a problem that the Bequest failed to solve. When Menzies
reported in 1833 that he was "at present wandering at large in Aberdeenshire" he had already been deranged for four years and his relatives had hired an assistant. The Trustees were reluctant to make an allowance to a lunatic, even if he were the legally responsible schoolmaster, and sought counsel's opinion only to find that under the terms of the will they had to deal with the legal incumbent or his representatives. They tried without avail to come to an arrangement and by 1836 the school had ceased to function entirely. Yet the case of Cullen attracts attention not merely because of the bizarre situation of a lunatic teacher who could not be dismissed, but because it was one of the very few instances where the Bequest was not able to enforce its wishes.

The Trustees even attempted to secure the moral improvement of some erring teachers by the restriction of allowances. Menzies found William Webster of Rothiemay to be a "successful teacher" when he inspected the school in 1833 but learned that the school had not been open in the previous week "on account of Mr Webster's being in a state of intoxication during several successive days". (38) By reserving his allowance it was hoped that he might be persuaded to resign or take an assistant.

Alexander Cheyne of Monquhitter was a regular topic of discussion at the Trustees meetings. He too was addicted to "improper excesses" and on one occasion had absconded during a drinking bout going to London and leaving the school unattended for three weeks, an escapade that brought him dismissal as an elder of the church. (39)
However, he was a good teacher who used the 'intellectual method' quite successfully and the regularity with which his allowance was reserved, granted on good conduct and then removed on his next lapse, would suggest that the Trustees were trying to use the allowance to effect his reform.

(v)

The problem of masters absenting themselves from their schools for several months during the winter in order to attend the university was discussed in July 1834. (40) The Trustees recognised that the usual reason for these absences was "the prosecution of literary and theological study" for preaching and the Ministry. It was Menzies' view that since the office of schoolmaster was a worthy calling it was reasonable to expect a man to complete his education before entering it and that regular absence was not in keeping with the responsibilities of the office. (41) The inconvenience caused by teachers who were preparing for another profession was tolerated because it was felt that the ministerial candidates brought superior abilities into the ranks of the schoolmasters which would not have been present without the prospect of advancement from the desk to the pulpit. But the damage resulting from the schoolmaster's absence during the period of maximum attendance was sometimes not rectified for months. To discourage lengthy absences it was resolved to restrict the allowance in proportion to the time spent away at College. Fears were expressed in some clerical quarters that this regulation would discourage able young men from preparing for the
ministry but these proved to be groundless and the number of schoolmasters studying for clerical qualifications remained high during the period.

The regulation was tolerably successful in encouraging masters to remain at their posts. The table shows that for the ten years after 1834 the number of restrictions for absence at college was relatively small. The increase in restrictions after 1844 reflected the vacancies in both the Established and the Free Churches which encouraged more schoolmasters to complete their theological training.

**TABLE XIII**

Annual Restrictions for Attendance at University

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In recognition of the changes that were taking place the Trustees decided that instead of the portion of the allowance being absolutely forfeited it could be made available to a temporary substitute if certain conditions were met. (42) This was a sound decision for they were faced with a rising number of clerical aspirants and without an attractive financial reward very few able men would act
as a replacement for the short period of a winter session. The conditions were that the schoolmaster gave the Trustees at least one months notice of his intended absence, specifying the amount he proposed to pay the substitute and forwarding the latter's testimonials when he had been chosen. If the Trustees then considered that the substitute was sufficiently qualified the schoolmaster was allowed to attend the university and his deducted proportion would pass to the substitute. By this measure the needs of the pupils were not totally neglected during the schoolmasters absence.

The immediate response to the revised regulation was that six schoolmasters gave notice of their intention to spend the winter of 1848-49 at the university. To make the temporary engagement as a substitute a little more attractive the Trustees resolved that the remuneration paid by the schoolmaster should be at least £1 per week. (43) Approval of the substitute was never automatic and the Trustees often refused to accept the teachers nominee when his qualifications seemed inadequate. In 1854 the nominations of the schoolmasters of Alvah, McDuff, Pitsligo and Monymusk were rejected because none of the substitutes had received a university education. (44) In expecting graduates to act as substitutes the Trustees sought to maintain the quality of parochial education even in the schoolmasters absence. No approval was given for a substitute where it was felt that the condition of the school merited the teachers remaining in attendance, as was the case with Banchory Devenick and New Pitsligo in 1850. (45)
Abuses still occurred, however, and when John Rannie of Coull notified the Trustees of his intention to go to college again he was informed that no allowance could be made to the substitute since it was the second winter in succession he had been absent from his post. A warning was also delivered that he would risk losing the remainder of his allowance if his school seemed deficient at the next visitation. In fact Rannie suffered two separate restrictions of his allowance, in 1851 and again in 1855, due to the deficiencies observed in his school after his winter absence. That his latter abatement was because he had accepted the post of Murray Lecturer at Kings for the session was not considered relevant and it may well have been that the deterioration caused by the three month absence of such an able man was very pronounced. (46)

Although they could not prevent the inevitable absences of men whose sights were set on the Ministry the Trustees did succeed in minimising their effects. Had it not been for the Dick Bequest many schools would have been closed or left in the charge of incompetent guardians during the winter sessions.

(vi)

In the first part of the nineteenth century it was not unusual to find those parish schoolmasters who had no clerical aspirations pursuing occupations totally unconnected with teaching. Generally these occupations represented an attempt to supplement the
official salary and so it was understandable that the Trustees should consider such activities unnecessary after the institution of the Bequest allowances. At the time of the first distribution the allowances of five schoolmasters were held back while the Trustees decided on the propriety of a schoolmaster having another occupation. (47) As a result George Carr gave up his grocery shop in Logie Buchan and James Anderson, master of the side-school at Clochan, his barely profitable bakery. The schoolmaster at Tarland who was factor to Lord Aberdeen and Mrs Gordon at a salary of £60 p.a. found this employment more attractive though he could not be persuaded to resign until 1836. The teachers at Tyrie and Keith-hall had farms which they were allowed to retain provided the schools remained efficient even though the Trustees felt that a second job was "calculated to detract from the habits of steady and undivided attention to the duties of a teacher." (48) It proved too much for the master at Tyrie for a visitation in 1837 found only three children in the school and no entries in the registers for over three months; he was excluded from the Bequest until he gave up the farm. (49) No one appointed after the commencement of the Bequest actively pursued another occupation and the few who had done so prior to 1832 were gradually persuaded to cease as the economic necessity was removed.

Over one-third of the masters appointed between 1833 and 1853 disclaimed any intention of pursuing any other profession, which suggests that teaching was becoming a worthy occupation in its own right; but ninety-nine of the 155 appointees
were preparing for the ministry. (50) After they had obtained their licence many schoolmasters took up engagements as preaching assistants either to their local Minister or to the clergymen of a neighbouring parish. While the Trustees accepted the utility of having teachers prepare for the ministry since it brought able men into the profession, they were anxious to prevent excessive involvement in ecclesiastical affairs. Accordingly it was resolved in February 1839 "to withhold the benefits of the funds from such schoolmasters as now have, or shall hereafter form, permanent engagements as Preachers or Preaching Assistants". (51) This merely regularised the action they had taken in 1837 when the schoolmaster at Boharm had been made to relinquish his post as a preaching assistant to the minister of Rothes as the price of remaining in the Bequest. (52) The Trustees expected a clerical protest and attempted to defuse it by soliciting the opinions of distinguished clerics in the universities almost all of whom supported the resolution which did not prevent preparation for the ministry or preaching but simply guarded against the consequences of over-committment. (53) Nonetheless this decision provoked a bitter controversy with the Presbytery of Garioch in the course of which many of the old grievances, both real and imagined, were revived. Throughout this first really explicit conflict with the legal guardians of the schools the Trustees maintained a firm adherence to their resolution and eventually, after some petulant non-co-operation, even the Presbytery of Garioch had to comply or see its teachers excluded.
The fact that this regulation could be enforced and the extra-mural activities of the schoolmasters limited, despite clerical opposition, is proof that the Dick Bequest had become the real authority for educational supervision in the three counties.

NOTES

1 G D 1/4 128 Visitation Book 1833
2 Ibid
3 G D 1/4 3 Minute Book 1830-46, 5 Feb. 1834
4 Ibid, 5 June 1834
5 Ibid, 21 May 1835
6 Ibid, 23 Mar. 1841
7 G D 1/4 128
8 G D 1/4 3 11 Nov. 1833
9 G D 1/4 128
10 Ibid
11 G D 1/4 3 5 Nov. 1836, 28 Sept. 1837
12 G D 1/4 128
13 G D 1/4 3 4 May 1840
15 G D 1/4 4 Minute Book 1847-58, 22 Aug. 1848
16 G D 1/4 123-4 Abstract of Original Returns, Jan. 1833
17 G D 1/4 188 Report on the Dick Bequest 1844, chap. XX
18 G D 1/4 24 Scheme of Division 1849-50
19 G D 1/4 3 7 Aug. 1839, 15 July 1840, 15 Aug. 1842
9 Dec. 1842
20 G D 1/4 24

21 As occurred at Kinellar where the resignation of the Assistant was sought in 1848 and the Trustees were forced to suspend the extra allowance to the incumbent in 1850 (G D 1/4 4, 10 May 1850)

22 G D 1/4 189, chap. V

23 G D 1/4 7 Scheme of Division 1832

24 G D 1/4 3 10 Feb. 1838, 12 July 1838

25 Ibid, 4 Aug. 1836

26 Ibid, 3 July 1839

27 G D 1/4 4 10 Oct. 1855

28 Ibid, 24 May 1850

29 Ibid, 8 May 1854

30 Ibid, 11 Sept. 1849

31 G D 1/4 3 16 Mar. 1833


33 G D 1/4 3 28 Jan. 1835

34 Ibid

35 Ibid, 5 Nov. 1838, 3 Nov. 1843

36 G D 1/4 189, chap. III

37 Ibid, chap. V

38 G D 1/4 7; G D 1/4 128

39 Ibid

40 G D 1/4 3 2 July 1834

41 G D 1/4 189, chap. V

42 G D 1/4 4 3 May 1848

43 Ibid, 8 Dec. 1848

44 Ibid, 22 Dec. 1854

(97)
45 G D 1/4 24

46 G D 1/4 4 9 Nov. 1849, 4 Dec. 1850, 29 July 1851,
28 July 1852, 22 Sept. 1854, 27 July 1855

47 G D 1/4 7

48 G D 1/4 3 21 May 1835

49 Ibid, 5 Sept. 1837

50 G D 1/4 127 Record of Teachers 1833-53

51 G D 1/4 3 21 Feb. 1839

52 Ibid, 28 Sept. 1837

53 Details of the correspondence were entered in the Minute Book
for the meeting of 21 Feb. 1839 (G D 1/4 3)
CONCLUSION

Although the administration of the Dick Bequest has been the main pre-occupation of this thesis the Bequest was a force for educational reform beyond the material circumstances of the schoolmaster. The Report for 1854 took stock of the situation prevailing in the schools and showed that the Trustees saw themselves as advocates of educational improvement over and above the measurable objectives of the first twenty years. (1)

The changing political circumstances of the nineteenth century convinced Menzies of the need for a liberal educational response. Formerly there had been too little regard for "the inherent claims of humanity to the highest culture of the powers of every member of society". He recognised that in the era of increased political awareness and the progressive extension of the franchise education was vital and "of all the means for giving a salutary influence to extended privilege, the most obvious and effective is to raise the intellectual and moral condition of those upon whom political power has thus been conferred". While Menzies was hopeful that the traditional religious character of the Parish School would act as an antidote to "democratic license" he nonetheless acknowledged that a society with representative government required the schools to produce "reflecting characters capable of appreciating, while they discharge, the responsible trust devolved upon them - capable of forming a discriminating judgement". To achieve this laudable goal the schools were recommended to
concentrate on forming the capacity for independent action among the pupils rather than measuring a good education by the amount of information acquired. The schools had to "breathe an elevated spirit and be animated by a high intellectual activity". That improvements along these lines occurred in the parish schools of the North East during the middle and later nineteenth century was largely due to the influence of the Dick Bequest.

The teacher, as the source of all "the creative power of the school" was the principal target of the reforming activity. The operation of the dividend encouraged the schoolmasters scholarship and teaching skills but the Trustees also emphasised the need for moral worth and a sympathy for the pupils. In the Report of 1854 the characteristics felt to be desirable in a teacher were set out at great length. The views of Luther, Niebuhr and Arnold, among others, were cited "more fully than would have been requisite, had there been reason to suppose that the work of those writers were generally or readily accessible to those for whom this report is intended". After twenty years, during which the main weaknesses of the parochial system had been eliminated, the managers of the Bequest were in a position to turn their attention to the nature and purpose of education. The Report illustrates this in the concentration on the philosophical context of education which had become possible with the attainment of the material objectives of the early years.

The discipline prevailing in most Scottish schools was held up for reconsideration. The Trustees maintained that it
was more than a matter of good order. Their view that discipline could only really come from the development of independent moral principles in the pupils must have seemed dangerously idealistic to many parish dominies. However, the suggestion that the atmosphere of the school should be one of "LOVE and TRUTH and PIETY" (Menzies' capitals) was not left as a naive statement of faith as so often occurs in educational writing. Menzies systematically set out the advantages of cultivating a sense of duty in the children and the disadvantages of severe punishments. The habitual sternness of the Scottish schoolmaster, it was felt, had to be modified for "there is no room for the kindly growth of a child's native powers under the depressing influence of a Teacher's asperity of language or manner".

A more universal attention to the needs of all those in school was also recommended in 1854. The lower pupils were not to be neglected and teachers were urged to remember that it was upon the less academic "principally that education will bestow its marvellous blessing". The teacher who continually passed over the ordinary pupils to deal with the Latin scholars ran the risk of creating a sense of discouragement in "intelligent boys of being set down as incapable". Similar observations were made about the need to pay particular attention to the needs of the younger children who were just beginning in school.

The suggestion was made that the operational efficiency of the schools could be improved still further if teachers could be persuaded that pedagogic training was an essential
preparation for the office. This insistence on the value of training was in keeping with the long established policy of the Bequest and on many occasions the payment of an allowance had been conditional upon the recipient's attendance at the Normal School. In commending Professor Pillans' 'Principles of Elementary Education' and citing the experiences of Cuvier in Holland who insisted on proper attention being given to the humblest details of school administration, Menzies hoped to make the traditionally academic schoolmaster of the North East more alert to the fundamentals of good organisation. Laurie's observation in the 1860's that many teachers in the area were still unaware of the value of a timetable would suggest that the teachers were resistant to the training that was recommended. (2)

Pressure from the Dick Bequest was the principal reason why the 'intellectual method' had come to be accepted as the normal practice in the parish schools. The old method of reading without understanding and handling numbers without an awareness of the principles had become virtually a thing of the past. This was markedly different from the early years when the Visitation Reports had noted many occasions when children read fluently passages of which they had not the slightest comprehension. Between 1833 and 1853 the improvement in the quality of the education offered showed itself in the increased numbers to whom Grammar and Geography were taught, in the introduction of graduated series of schoolbooks, and in the teaching of Mathematics and Latin to more pupils in a more efficient manner. The foundations laid in the first twenty years of the Bequest were the basis for the

(102)
elevation of the work of the parish schools which enabled Sellar and Maxwell to record in their report to the Education Commissioners in 1866 "that the teachers are more highly educated, and that the whole tone of the parochial school is higher in these counties where the Bequest applies than in any other part of Scotland". (3) The Endowed Institutions Commission in 1878 revealed that of the 205 graduate teachers in Scottish elementary schools no less than 134 were in the Bequest area. It was also noted that of 1,507 pupils studying the higher branches beyond the third stage 408 were in the Bequest schools; similarly 198 of the 574 pupils in the elementary schools who were preparing for the university were in the three counties. (4) Without the careful management and enlightened policies of Menzies and the Trustees in the early years it is unlikely that the Bequest would ever have developed such a commanding influence.

James Dick had intended that his legacy should "form a fund for the benefit of that neglected, though useful class of men", the Parish Schoolmasters, "and to add to their present trifling salaries". The distribution was to be made in such a way as would "encourage active schoolmasters" and gradually improve their literary character while "taking care that the common branches of education are properly attended to". All these things and much more the Dick Bequest did and, in so doing, made the schools of the three counties the epitome of the parochial system.
NOTES

1 G D 1/4 Report on the Dick Bequest 1854
2 T R Bone, School Inspection in Scotland 1840-1906, University of London Press 1968
3 Cited in Simpson, Education in Aberdeenshire Before 1872

Analytical questions were set in the examination papers, and on the examination day candidates had to demonstrate their ability to write in modern English. Later examinations consisted of a form of a single piece - a passage with questions on the spelling, comprehension, grammar, vocabulary, appreciation and literary comparison. There were also general historical and biographical questions related to the author and his literary contemporaries, and as such there was no basis on knowing what was going to appear. A wide familiarity with the accepted canon of literature was expected. The main feature of the examination was the test of the candidate's knowledge of the form of the piece rather than the story for itself.

Literary and Historical: For the period covered by this work, this was a demanding paper. Firstly, there was an overall similarity year by year and secondly the scale of knowledge expected was very extensive. The first examination of 1839 had 34 questions; 29 of these dealt with Greek and Latin history, 4 with the Medieval period and there was a single 'modern' question. The papers of 1839-40 were sectionalised into texts, Greek, Latin, French, and Scottish and English.
English Grammar and Literature. The examination centred around the comprehension and analysis of a passage of English Literature. Occasionally two pieces of comprehension were set as in 1836 when analytical questions were set on 'Paradise Lost' and an extract from Wycliffe's Translation of the New Testament had to be rendered into modern English. Later examinations followed the form of a single piece - Paradise Lost, Bacon's Essays, Hamlet, Faerie Queen etc - with questions on the meaning, accentuation, grammar, etymology, appreciation and literary comparison. There were also general historical and biographical questions related to the author and his literary contemporaries. Since there was no means of knowing what was going to appear a fairly wide familiarity with the accepted classics of literature was expected. The main feature of the examination was the test of the candidates knowledge of the form of the piece rather than his feeling for it.

History and Chronology. By any criterion this was a demanding paper. Firstly there was no real similarity year by year and secondly the scale of knowledge expected was very extensive. The first examination of 1835 had 34 questions; 29 of these dealt with Graeco-Roman history, 4 with the Mediaeval period and there was a single 'modern' question. The papers of 1836-38 were sectionalised into Sacred, Graecian, Roman, and Scottish and English
In 1839 the questions were all on the Biblical and Graecian periods while the following year they were exclusively Roman and in 1843 exclusively Biblical. The paper of 1842 was notable insofar as it dealt with what was ultra-modern history; there were two sections, one covered the making of the British Empire in the eighteenth century, the American War of Independence and the struggle for India and the other with the Napoleonic Wars. Questions were aimed at testing factual knowledge and names, dates, battles and genealogies were the prevailing topics. The paper covered the broad history of European civilisation and the Biblical history was evidently expected to be familiar to all candidates.

Geography. The geographical knowledge of the teachers had to be as extensive as for the history paper. In 1841 a candidate had to be able to state the populations of the following towns in order of size, Manchester, Sheffield, London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Aberdeen, Paisley, Glasgow, Dundee and Edinburgh; to name the country with the highest general elevation in Asia; to know the longitudinal position of the most westerly point in Europe; to give the ancient and modern names of the four great lakes of Cisalpine Gaul with the names of the tributaries down to the Po; they were also expected to have a knowledge of European, Asian and North American topography. A noticeable omission was the virtual lack of questions on the geography of Scotland apart from the odd question on the course of the Tweed or the names of the principal headlands.
Latin. A prose piece, usually a narrative passage from Roman history, was set for rendering into Latin from English. There were two pieces for translation from Latin into English; the prose was usually from Livy or Cicero and the verse from Virgil or Horace. There were also supplementary questions on the historical context of the passages, their grammar, construction, scansion and the conjugation and declension of words.

Greek. The paper consisted of two passages for translation from Greek into English. One piece was invariably from the Greek Testament while the other was normally from Xenophon though on occasions a portion of Homeric verse was included. Because the candidates were expected to have a good knowledge of the New Testament the injunction was often printed on the paper that the Biblical piece was "To be translated closely into English prose, without following the language of the Authorised Version". The questions that followed the translation concentrated on the parsing of words and grammatical accuracy was clearly the main requirement.

Arithmetic. A mastery of fractional and decimal calculation was needed and a candidate might have to "Multiply 5½ by 4½ and divide the product by 2/3 of 5", as well as extracting the "Square root of 2 to five decimal places" (1835); in another the task was to "Reduce .704545 to a common fraction" and discover the square root of 3038049. Familiar Arithmetical problems appeared in these papers involving A and B in journeys towards each other at different speeds.
and computing the moment of collision; others involved the digging of ditches by teams of labourers and a single man. The Arithmetic examination was not overtly difficult but did demand a mastery of the basic principles.

B ADVICE TO CANDIDATES

"To candidates preparing for Examination in September 1854 the following hints may be of consequence.

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1 In examining on Geography, a familiar acquaintance must be presumed with at least, the outline of the Geography of the globe at large, and its great leading features and countries. In addition to this, a knowledge as extensive as possible of Physical Geography were in a very high degree desirable. But the examination will mainly turn upon the detailed Geography of Europe - more particularly that of Great Britain and Ireland; together with that of ancient Palestine. Questions in Classical Geography will be confined to ancient Italy, Greece and Asia Minor.

2 The examination on History and Chronology will relate almost exclusively to the principal events and dates in these four departments — Sacred, British, Grecian and Roman History.

3 In the department of English, a general acquaintance may be expected with the history of English Literature, its chief epochs, and their characteristics; together with the lives
and leading works perhaps, of some of the great writers in each period. On this subject Spalding's History of English Literature may be recommended; or Chambers' Cyclopaedia of English Literature, will furnish the Student with a valuable series of appropriate specimens, in addition to a critical history of the same subject. The main object and drift of the examination, however, will be to test, with reference to a particular passage, the Candidates knowledge of the sources and structure of the English Language - its etymology and syntax, and the application of the principles of general grammar to the construction and resolution of English phrases and sentences. Critical taste, acuteness and general scholarship, will not, of course, be overlooked. The principal recommendation to be given under this head is the attentive study of some such treatise on the structure and grammar of the English Language, as Latham's Handbook of the English Language.

4 The field of Examination for Sept. 1854, will be limited in Latin to the Germania of Tacitus, and the Third Book of the Odes of Horace, along with a Latin version; In Greek to the Gospel by Luke, the First Book of Xenophon's Anabasis, and the First Book of the Iliad.

5 In the study of Greek, accuracy and precision should be aimed at from the outset. With this view the Student ought, in the first place, to confine his reading for some time to Attic prose alone; endeavouring by rigorous practice to acquire an
exact mastery of its common forms of inflexion and conjugation, whether regular or irregular, and a firm hold of the ordinary Greek Grammar. And for the same end, while encouragement will be given to higher acquirements by the occasional introduction into the Examination Paper of a short passage from Homer, the main and by far the most important part of the examination will always be made to turn upon a thorough knowledge of Attic prose. In the next place, while the Grammar which the Student employs should be accurate and trustworthy, his Lexicon should not only be equally so, but correspond with the former as closely as possible. Those of Liddell and Scott, of Donnegan, and of Dunbar may be recommended. It is only necessary to add, that the Student should constantly have at hand, and refer to, his list of Irregular and Defective Verbs, with their several parts in use, and their modes of conjugation.

6 For attaining due proficiency in Geometry, little can be suggested beyond a careful study of Euclid, and the actual application of the different propositions, as they are successively acquired, to the solution of exercises.

7 With respect to Arithmetic, it cannot be too strongly impressed that a loose facility of mere calculation is not enough; that the theory - the ground and reason of the several rules and processes should be clearly understood, by the help of some such treatise as De Morgan's, or Professor Thomson's of Glasgow, and in particular, that Proportion and Fractional Arithmetic should
be thoroughly mastered. In future examinations, the exhibition of high proficiency in the principles, and of great readiness in the processes of Arithmetic will be strictly demanded.

It has been gratifying to perceive of late, the indications of a marked advance in the knowledge of several of the subjects of examination - especially Geography, English Literature, History and Chronology.

Still, however, the attention of Candidates is particularly requested to Arithmetic, Geography and Greek.

Edinburgh, 1st Sept. 1853
Primary Sources, Manuscript and Printed, in the Dick Bequest Collection in the Scottish Record Office.

G D 1/4,1 Excerpt from will of James Dick 1827
G D 1/4,2 Copy Table of Rules and Regulations by James Dick, 1828
G D 1/4,3-4 Minute Books, 1830-46, 1847-58
G D 1/4,6 Deeds relating to the Bequest, 1832
G D 1/4,7,14,24. Schemes of Division (Yearly, 1832-90)
G D 1/4,65-86 Abstract of Returns (Yearly, 1832-89)
These give, by presbytery and parish, the name of schoolmaster, number of pupils, subjects and numbers studying each, salary, fees, repairs and remarks.
G D 1/4, 123-4 Abstract of Original Returns, Jan. 1833.
These give, by presbytery and parish, the extent of the parish, number of heritors, valued rent, real rent, population by 1831 Census, number of scholars, number attending in summer and winter, number attending private schools, number of persons above six years of age unable to read, number above eight years of age unable to write, accessibility of parochial school to children in the parish, date of last presbyterial examination, hours of attendance in summer and winter, greatest distance travelled to school, numbers present in Jan. 1833, age of entering and leaving, number of scholars studying each subject and fees, name of schoolmaster, age, years at college, family,
assistants, salary, provision by heritors of school and dwelling house, annual value of accommodation, rooms, school fees, emoluments, endowments and fees of private schools and clergymen's opinion of schoolmaster.

G D 1/4, 125 State of claims on arrears, 1833

G D 1/4, 126 Reports relative to Dick Bequest accounts, 1833

G D 1/4, 127 Record of teachers 1833-53. Details, by parish, the name of teacher, date of birth, date of election, where educated, which university attended, number of sessions, subjects studied, experience as a teacher, whether intended for another profession, marital state and number of family, system taught, date and cause of resignation.


G D 1/4, 186 Report by Clerk of Trustees on operation of bequest, the state of the schools and the principle of division, 1834. A manuscript report which served as the basis for the printed report of 1835, but with details omitted from the printed version.

G D 1/4, 187, 188, 189. Reports on Dick Bequest, 1835, 1844, 1854.

G D 1/4, 255 Reports of examinations of teachers, 1835.

G D 1/4, 256, 257. Examination papers 1835-43.

G D 1/4, 262, 263. Abstracts of General Returns, 1843, 1853. As for the abstracts of Original Returns but with revised population figures and details of school books used.
Secondary Sources


Alexander Wright, History of the Education and the Old Parish Schools of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1898.