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Blurring the Boundaries: school board women in Scotland, 1873–1919

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The number of women who served on school boards in Scotland was not large, and generally they stood for election on an explicitly gendered platform in a way men did not, and most concentrated on the domestic education of girls. The work of the best known of these women, Flora Stevenson, who served on the Edinburgh School Board from the first election in 1873 until her death in 1905, shows that there were opportunities to broaden the scope of their activities and influence the general working of the board. Stevenson's social origins as well as her philanthropic and feminist interests suggest that she was representative of school-board women. However, she is also seen as exceptional: for example, she was one of only a few women elected to chair a board, and to believe that poor boys as well as girls would benefit from being taught domestic subjects, while she was unique in voicing concern that the increasing emphasis on such subjects in the female curriculum was at the expense of girls' academic education. The aim here is to place Stevenson within the wider context of school-board women in Scotland.

School boards were set up in Scotland with the 1872 Education Act, and lasted until 1918. They were to be elected every three years, and voters were owners or occupiers of property above £4 annual rental; each had as many votes as the board had members (generally from five to fifteen).[1] Women were eligible to vote and to stand for election, though the number of women who served on school boards in Scotland was not large: in the first election (1873) to the country's *c*.980 school boards, only seventeen women to 5645 men were returned.[2] Generally school-board women stood for election on a platform which focused on the domestic education of girls and insisted on the need for

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ladies to oversee it. However, the work of the best known of these women, Flora Stevenson, who served on the Edinburgh School Board from 1873 until her death in 1905, shows that there were opportunities to broaden the scope of their activities and influence the general working of the board through the committee structure.[3] Her work on the school board also reflected her commitment to feminism and philanthropy. As Eleanor Gordon has pointed out, most of the women who were involved in local government in Scotland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries used their positions to advance causes espoused by the women's movement: whereas their unsalaried work did not challenge the notion of separate spheres for the sexes, 'let alone the contemporary notion of women's essentially moral nature', it provided them with 'the opportunity to carve out a public space, and to push back the boundaries of their lives' as well as 'a training in organisational and administrative skills'.[4] This article will examine how school-board women contributed to such a blurring of the boundaries between the public and private spheres, and will place Stevenson within the wider context of school-board women in order to assess how representative she was.[5]

As we shall see, her social origins (wealthy upper middle class) as well as her philanthropic and feminist interests suggest she was representative, at least until the early twentieth century when a few working-class women were elected, such as Maggie (or Lila) Clunas and Agnes Husband in Dundee and Agnes Hardie in Glasgow.[6] The latter remained a minority, however: as Robert Anderson has noted, 'most women members came from the upper middle class, and were leisured spinsters or widows, involved in a wide range of social and charitable activities and in the general women's movement, including both suffragism and the campaign for entry to the Scottish universities'.[7] The *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* includes a number of such women: for example, Jane Arthur (Paisley School Board, 1873–85), who advocated health education in board schools and campaigned for women's entry into Glasgow University (p. 18); Mary Burton (Edinburgh School Board, 1885–97), who supported both female suffrage and Irish Home Rule (pp. 54–55); Minna Cowan, another suffragist, also on the Edinburgh Board (1914–19), with a keen interest in child welfare which she continued to promote on the Education Authority (p. 81).

Many of the long-standing philanthropists were often regarded as continuing a paternal interest in charity, such as Grace Paterson and Jessie Moffat.[8] Some, like Jane Arthur (Paisley) and Dinah Pearce (Govan), were perceived as partners in philanthropy with their businessmen husbands: indeed, when her husband died, Jane set up the Arthur Fellowship to promote the medical education of women.[9] However, as will be discussed below, even those school-board women who were involved in charitable activities considered lady philanthropists who went into schools to be amateurs in need of supervision. They were, after all, dealing with trained teachers, while increasingly board women were calling for qualified and salaried female inspectors of domestic work.

Still, the 'civilising' influence which ladies were considered to exert on the poor, especially the girls, was valued and they continued to visit schools after the 1872 Act, under the auspices of the boards and the authority of the lady members. Thus, in 1899, Mrs McNab, first elected to the Perth School Board in 1894, submitted a list of ladies

to report on cookery and laundry.[10] Female board members themselves were regular visitors to schools, inspecting the girls' industrial work, while the Edinburgh School Board set great store by female visitors, who were deemed 'Lady Managers'.[11] Jane Arthur in Paisley urged the appointment of lady managers on the Edinburgh model, who were introduced in 1879.[12] Such unpaid work by both lady visitors and female board members may be seen as part of a process of the 'professionalisation' of philanthropy, in which they laid the basis for an acceptable public role for women in one of the key institutions of Scotland's civil society.

Flora Stevenson's counterpart in Glasgow, Grace Paterson, first contested a board election in 1885, and went on to serve seven terms.[13] Paterson was one of the first two women (the other was Margaret Barlas) elected on a ladies' platform to Glasgow's School Board, and indeed both that election and the following one (1888) saw more women standing for school boards throughout Scotland. They were encouraged by the re-election of the first female members in Edinburgh: besides Stevenson, Phoebe Blyth served between 1873 and 1881, and when she retired, Mrs Margaret Bain was co-opted and then elected the following year.[14] Though numbers remained small, they did grow: for example, Andrew Bain shows that in Fife two women from prominent local families were returned in the second election (1876) and by the final decade of the school board, a total of twenty-one women in the county had campaigned successfully.[15] Glasgow also had the example of the neighbouring town of Paisley, where Jane Arthur, whose husband had significant business interests in Glasgow as well as Paisley, was a school board member from 1873 until 1885.[16]

Thus, on another board (Govan) to which two ladies were also first returned in 1885, Mrs Dinah Pearce, wife of a shipbuilder and Conservative MP, argued that the election of women had established the principle of having female representatives.[17] This was certainly the case for larger boards. Though both she and the other female member, Miss Helen Ferguson, resigned in November 1886, only halfway through their first term of office, two of the fifteen candidates who were successful at the next election in Govan were women, Miss Hamilton and Mrs Watt; and in the 1891 election the two women returned were Mrs Ferguson, who served until 1900 and Miss Findlay, who was re-elected in that year. This example seems to show that the usual number of women on larger school boards was two: in the 1903 election, two women were returned to the Govan Board, Mrs Craig and Miss Maud May, but Jane Findlay, standing for a fifth term, was defeated.[18] There were, however, three women on the Edinburgh Board from the mid 1880s until 1905: in 1885, Miss Christina Rainy, Flora Stevenson and Miss Mary Burton; in 1888, Mrs McBride replaced Miss Rainy; and in 1891, Miss MacBean, who served one term, succeeded Mrs McBride. Although only Stevenson and Burton sat on the 1894 board, from the next election until her death, Stevenson was joined by two women: Mrs Kerr (who served two terms), Miss Jane Hay, Mrs Inglis and Miss Anne Kerr, who each served one term.[19] From Stevenson's death in 1905 until 1914, there were two female members of each board: Lady Steel (who was co-opted on Stevenson's death and served until 1909), Miss Lesley MacKenzie (to 1914), and Mrs Louisa Gulland (1909–19). In the final board, Mrs Gulland was joined by Miss Minna Cowan and Mrs Selcraig Murray.[20] In Glasgow, at the last election (1914) when the

School Board had been expanded to twenty-five members, five women were elected: Mrs Mary Mason (1905–19), Miss Kathleen Bannatyne (1908–19), Mrs Mary Lynch, Miss Catherine Cuthbertson and Mrs Nora Allan.[21]

It took longer for women to break through in the smaller cities and towns. Thus in Dundee, which was regarded as a 'woman's town' due to the high proportion of female workers in the textile industry, there had been calls for the election of a lady in 1873, yet one was not returned until 1894 (Jessie Gordon Shaw, who served to1900).[22] Where women stood for election to smaller boards, they relied on the support of local individuals, rather than ladies' platforms. Thus in Ardrossan, whose board had seven members, the local newspaper published a letter in April 1891 from a man who supported the candidature of Miss Jessie Moffat, standing for a second time, and applauded one of the five Church of Scotland candidates for withdrawing in her favour.[23] Moffat continued to serve until ill health forced her resignation in 1901. She died the following year, after which no woman stood for election until the board was replaced by the much larger Ayrshire Education Authority (with seven divisions and forty-two seats) in 1919. Of the four women candidates in the first election, only one, Mrs E. S. Fraser, was returned.[24] In the final election to this Authority, there were seventy-two candidates including seven women, of whom three—Mrs Catherine Stewart, Mrs J. Climie, and Mrs McNab Shaw—were successful.[25] Climie and Shaw both stood on a Labour Party platform, rather than as lady candidates, though Shaw at least was also a feminist.

Indeed, by the time of Flora Stevenson's death many of the lady members were or had been working women, such as Lila Clunas (an elementary school teacher) and Agnes Husband (who ran a dressmaking business with her sister). They were both on the Dundee Board and both socialists who became full-time political activists, the latter the first of two women elected to Dundee Parish Council in 1901 on which she served until 1928, the former elected to the Dundee Town Council in 1943, serving until 1964. Clarice McNab, who had taught music in Leith, was a member of first the school board and then the local council (1913), the first Labour Party woman elected to a town council in Scotland.[26] She married in 1918 and moved to the west coast in 1921, where as Mrs Clarice McNab Shaw she was elected to Troon town council and, as noted above, became a member of the Ayrshire Education Authority in its last term. The Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS) reported that one of its fellows, Miss J. Stuart Airlie, had been elected to the Paisley School Board in May 1903 after a long career in teaching, though she soon resigned due to ill health.[27] Jane Hogg, who served three terms on the Stirling School Board from 1888 and took a particular interest in 'the care of female education' in which she 'more than justified her election', had been a teacher in Stirling before marriage in 1858; mother to six children, she was widowed in 1876, when she became a journalist and newspaper proprietor, as well as a philanthropist.[28] Daughter of a dominie on Shetland, Christina Jamieson, a member of the Lerwick School Board from 1916, was a committed suffragist who had trained as a pupil teacher before becoming a writer.[29]

Generally, the churches tended to dominate small boards, which had an insignificant number of female members, though there were exceptions: for example, in the 1876

election, Miss Grieve was elected one of five members of the Teviothead Board in the Borders; Miss Mitchell was one of seven in an uncontested election to the Kilmarnock Board in the south-west; Mrs Wemyss came top of the poll for the eight-member Wemyss Board in the east; and, at the end of the century, Julia Struthars was elected to the Glassford Board in Lanarkshire, a parish with a population of only 1321 in 1901.[30] Few of the smallest boards (five members), however, had female members, and fewer still were elected in the tiny parishes of the Highlands. Again, there were exceptions: in 1879 Mrs Morrison was elected one of nine members of Lochbroom Board in the north-west.[31] Another was Mrs Ellice, who was on the Glengarry Board in Inverness-shire from 1888 until 1903.[32] In such sparsely populated areas, few qualified for the franchise. For example, it was reported in 1896 that at the Torridon polling station (in the western Highlands) only thirty-nine male and eleven female persons of the crofter and cottar class had votes at the previous county council election, but not a single one of them qualified for a vote in the school board election. As a result, 'the whole school board electorate of the district consists of one landlord, nine of his servants, one of another landlord's servants, three teachers, one inn-keeper and one merchant'.[33]

In contrast, in both Glasgow and Edinburgh, once there was a 'ladies' platform' there were usually at least two and sometimes three female members of the board who were supported by the Association for Promoting Lady Candidates at School Board and Parochial Elections, which included male academics, clergy, professionals and businessmen. Although not all women who contested elections in these cities stood on this platform, the majority were feminists: an example is Mary Burton, who was nominated for election to the Edinburgh Board by Phoebe Blyth. The latter had shared the first ladies' platform with Stevenson. When Burton, a member of the Society of Friends, died in 1908, she bequeathed £100 to the Edinburgh Women's Suffrage Association 'to be expended in any movement which may be made for the admission of women to sit as members of parliament, either at Westminster or in a Scottish Parliament'.[34] Most female board members, however, were, like Flora Stevenson, staunch unionists, and many were Liberals. Stevenson was the only one recorded as being of the opinion that the department of education should remain in London rather than be devolved to Edinburgh, since at Westminster it 'could view matters with a wider perspective'; it would also be seen to be 'quite as important as the other great Departments of Imperial Administration, and it was essential for it to be in touch with the Imperial Parliament as for any other Departments that governed the state'.[35] All board women nevertheless agreed with her that education was a local responsibility with national significance.

When Flora Stevenson was elected for her tenth term in 1900, she was again one of three lady member (alongside Miss Kerr and Mrs Inglis), and that year she was elected to chair the Board itself.[36] In this, she was unusual but not unique.[37] Where Stevenson was exceptional among lady members was in the number of terms of office she served (eleven consecutively). Still, while many served only one or two terms, a significant number were members for between nine and twenty-one years (that is, between three and seven boards), and some continued to serve after the 1918 Education (Scotland) Act replaced school boards with education authorities, which were much larger bodies, but still elected. Thus, the experience of school-board women was not lost. For

example, Minna Galbraith Cowan, a Conservative and suffragist, was elected to the Edinburgh Board in 1914 and served until 1919. She then became the first convenor of the statutory local advisory council of the Edinburgh Education Authority in 1919 and two years later was directly elected to the Authority, serving until the 1929 Local Government Act abolished them. Throughout the 1920s, Minna Cowan was still seen as the ladies' candidate and was supported by the Edinburgh Women Citizens' Association (EWCA), one of whose aims was to secure adequate representation of women in local administration, as well as in the affairs of the nation and the empire.[38] The EWCA may be seen as successor to the Association for Promoting Lady Candidates at School Board and Parochial Elections.

Not only is Cowan an example of continuity between female members of school boards and educational authorities, but she was co-opted to the education committee of Edinburgh City Council in 1930, though as Sue Innes noted, her role was much diminished.[39] Another example of continuity between the boards and the education authorities, but from a lower social class, is Margaret Bain, who had been a pupil teacher and later a certificated teacher for the Aberdeen School Board. She had left the profession on marriage in 1897, but was co-opted onto Aberdeen School Board in 1918, and the following year was elected to the Education Authority for Aberdeen. Poor health, however, meant that she did not stand again.[40] Christina Jamieson, a member of the Lerwick School Board from 1916 and its chair in 1918, was elected to the Education Authority.[41] There was also some continuity in Glasgow: for example, Miss Kathleen Bannatyne was elected to the School Board in 1908, 1911 and again in 1914, and was one of five women elected to the forty-member Glasgow Educational Authority; another was Mrs Nora Allan, first elected in 1914.[42] In Dundee, Agnes Husband (elected in 1907) did not serve a full term on the School Board, but she did do so on the Education Authority which succeeded it (1919–23).[43]

Grace Paterson's twenty-one-year career on the Glasgow School Board (which was responsible for around 20% of all Scottish schoolchildren in that period) confirms that, while most female board members concentrated on the domestic education of girls, there were opportunities to broaden the scope of their activities and influence the general working of the board. Although she convened only one committee, on industrial classes, throughout her time on the Board she sat on the committees for teachers and teaching, pupil teachers, evening and science classes, school attendance, educational endowments, religious instruction, and physical training.[44] Her successors, including Mrs Mary Mason (1905–19), Miss Kathleen Bannatyne (1908–19) and Mrs Hardie (1911–14), served on a similar variety of committees.

On the smaller school board in Paisley, Mrs Jane Arthur came top of the poll in the first election (1873) and even chaired the first meeting of the Board, but she gave way to a man.[45] She sat on the committees for finance, school management, school statistics, and pupil teachers, and convened the committee for industrial and domestic economy classes from her second term, as Grace Paterson did in Glasgow.[46] Most small boards, however, did not have such elaborate committee structures. An example here is the Cathcart School Board, to which Mrs Isabella Pearce was elected in 1894, along

with eight men. At the first meeting the chairman proposed setting up a new standing committee for industrial work and domestic economy, with Mrs Pearce as convenor. The records show that she called a meeting of this committee only twice: the first time, on 29 May 1894, when she stated that so far as she had been able to ascertain, there did not appear to be anything 'industrial' for the boys in any of the schools under the board; and the second simply to acknowledge receipt of a letter asking permission to open a dressmaking class in one of the schools. Pearce seems to have judged that it had no power, and indeed it was no longer listed when she was re-elected in 1897. The organisation of this board was that each of its four main schools had a standing committee while there was an overarching finance committee. It was these school committees which made the decisions regarding industrial work, including the appointment of cookery teachers. Hence, in her second term Mrs Pearce became convenor of the finance committee, as Flora Stevenson did in Edinburgh, and of one of these school committees.[47] Where Pearce differs from Stevenson and Paterson is that she served only two terms and that her politics were socialist. All three, however, were supporters of female suffrage, like the majority of women in this sample: indeed Paterson joined the Glasgow branch of the Women's Social and Political Union in 1906, of which Pearce was a leading member.[48]

Of course, women's status as board members was 'special' in that they were seen as representing a particular interest, similar to the various clerical board members. However, though women standing for the first time tended to emphasise their commitment to the domestic training of girls, it subsequently became one of a number of policies on which they campaigned. Thus, when Miss Jessie Moffat stood again for the Ardrossan School Board in 1897, this concern came fourth of her five grounds, with the focus being her proven experience over nine years in the general work of the board, and a 'willingness to grasp the question of higher education and deal with it in a broad and liberal way'.[49] Commentators during elections certainly saw lady candidates as useful, even necessary, to represent what they perceived to be female interests, both the domestic education of working-class girls and the position of schoolmistresses. Indeed, the EIS reported anxiety among Edinburgh schoolmistresses over the rumour that Flora Stevenson might have been too ill to stand again in the 1888 election. The schoolmistresses 'as a body' agreed to ask her to be a candidate:

> They considered it absolutely necessary that one like Miss Stevenson, who was so well acquainted with educational matters, who took an interest in teachers and scholars alike, who had such a large amount of experience, energy and zeal, and who would be fully able to face the different questions which were likely to arise in the New Board, should be a member of it.[50]

While it was generally accepted that lady candidates put themselves forward as the point of contact between female teachers and the board, some critics considered Stevenson to be too close to the schoolmistresses. It was reported in 1897 that the Board heard complaints that they were paid better than anywhere else in the country, and were very well off compared to their counterparts in England where many headmistresses were said to receive less than female assistants in Edinburgh.[51] The grievance was not just about the cost to the city's ratepayers, but that it hurt smaller and poorer

boards in Scotland. Flora Stevenson and the other lady members, however, defended the pay rates as 'ensuring the best teachers'.[52]

Perhaps not surprisingly, the EIS invited Stevenson, whom it made an Honorary Fellow in 1892, to address its annual congress in 1894 and 1900 (both school board election years), by which time women constituted the majority of board teachers.[53] In 1894, she reflected the views of lady board members in her insistence that educational efficiency 'must depend on the teachers who are to carry it out' and that the teacher's influence was 'the most important that goes to form our national character, because it is in the school that the foundations of individual character are laid and it is the individual character that goes to make up the sum of the character of the nation'.[54] For the 1900 congress, Stevenson had been asked to address the theme of 'an ideal board school education for girls', but explained that she was strongly in favour of 'Scotland's traditional system of co-education' and declared that her ideal should apply to both sexes. She was not taking issue with the notion of separate spheres, but rather with the charge that a board school education 'destroys and discourages the desire for domestic service in our girls'. Where she departed from the general position held by lady members was in her view that board schools were 'not intended to do more for girls [than for boys] in preparing them for any special trade or profession'.[55]

Stevenson was unusual, though not unique, in her belief that poor boys would benefit from being taught domestic subjects, and her concern that the increasing emphasis on such subjects in the female curriculum was at the expense of girls' academic education. She pointed out that female pupils already spent up to five hours a week on sewing; if cookery was added, they would have little time left for academic work, let alone the basics of literacy and numeracy. She was not opposed to teaching domestic science to the older girls but criticised the expectation that they spend up to three years on it 'when the requirements of the Code might be satisfied by any ordinarily intelligent girl in one year'. In her view it was harsh that a girl should thus be precluded from entering more than one of the higher subjects.[56]

Stevenson was more representative in her determination that the teaching of practical, or vocational, subjects should be on a par with those considered 'academic' subjects. As Mrs Carlaw Martin, a member of the Dundee School Board, complained to the EIS congress in 1907, when domestic subjects were first introduced they were looked at 'askance': 'we had to come slowly to an understanding of the educational value of utilitarian subjects, and of the relation of hand-work to the brain development which was assumed to be the teacher's exclusive aim'.[57] In fact, in the infant schools of both Dundee and Edinburgh, boys as well as girls were taught sewing and knitting.[58] When the Reverend Dr Begg declared to the Edinburgh Board that 'there were many things that girls might have pointed out to them' through the teaching of domestic economy such as the 'evils of debt', Stevenson retorted that this lesson was one of 'common morals and that boys ought to be remembered in this way as well as girls'.[59] Mary Burton was blunter than Stevenson, and perhaps because of her outspokenness Burton was considered a 'faddist'. In the 1888 election she argued for 'the desirability of having boys taught to work a sewing machine, and the girls to hammer nails', and was presented as representing 'the utilitarian domestic view of education, tempered

with the principle of equality of the sexes'.[60] Despite what was considered the 'quaint practicality' of her views, she was elected: indeed, she served four consecutive terms (1885–1897).

This position was definitely not expected of school-board women. In the election of 1882, Professor David Masson, a key supporter of the ladies' platform in Edinburgh, stated that the first qualification for a woman to sit on the board was 'general benevolence', including an idea of what education meant; secondly, 'good sense' with 'a sufficient amount of ordinary and even extraordinary business talent'; and thirdly, 'enough time to devote to their duties'.[61] Stevenson and the majority of her counterparts certainly fitted the bill; but in terms of appeal to the electors, most female candidates differed from Stevenson in the emphasis they put on declaring themselves the champions of the domestic education of poor girls. When Grace Paterson first stood for election in Glasgow, she gave as reasons for supporting lady candidates the 26,000 female pupils in the board's schools. She pointed out that adult women, whether they worked in 'factory, office or family', had little time for self-improvement, however much they might desire it. Hence her intention to concentrate on schoolgirls' domestic training and her anxiety to take 'an active part in the control and management' of the city's public schools. She pointed out that she was already involved in the management of the Glasgow School of Cookery (she was its honorary secretary, 1876–1907), but admitted that it did not reach the majority of schoolgirls. She claimed that male-dominated school boards were apathetic about domestic training and relied on untrained teachers, on 'ordinary cooks or lady philanthropists' when 'there was more to teaching cookery than showing the preparation of particular dishes—nutrition and economy, for example'.[62]

Paterson was committed to the professionalisation of domestic science and cookery teachers; and like many other female candidates, she was very critical of the bias toward more narrowly academic schooling shown by most boards. Not only did school-board women seek parity between the academic and the practical, they saw domestic education as imparting skills which were not just for the home, but of benefit to women in the workplace. Minna Cowan stated the general position in 1914: she believed 'in allowing the clever boy or girl an open channel from kindergarten to the University', but accepted that 'every child could not be expected to do that'. Hence, she emphasised the need for teaching 'industrial and practical subjects', and expressed concern that 'among women the drift seemed rather to be an underpaid typist than a skilled dressmaker or an efficient cook'.[63]

Indeed, several female board members were, like Paterson, champions of the teaching of cookery in board schools.[64] Margaret Black, like Stevenson a Liberal, was elected to the Glasgow School Board in 1891 on a temperance platform.[65] She had qualified as a cookery teacher in Kensington after being widowed in 1874, and was highly regarded as a teacher, being made a Fellow of the EIS in 1885. Her first teaching appointment was at Grace Paterson's School of Cookery, and when Black resigned in 1878, she set up her own West End School of Cookery in the city, which was recognised by the Education Department as a training centre in 1885. Both Paterson and Black (who served two terms on the Board) sought to promote the teaching of cookery as a

respectable profession for middle-class women. Black and the women she trained offered cookery courses across the country from Dumfries to Inverness, not only to schoolgirls but as evening classes for adults, including school board mistresses. Paterson, moreover, was determined to have the training received in cookery schools and later domestic science colleges accepted as a form of higher education, opening up an increasing number of 'caring' professions related to the health as well as the education of the city's poor.[66]

Paterson, in addition, did not limit herself to board schools but also sought to reach poor girls who remained outside the national system of education, notably in the Catholic schools. She worked with the elected Catholic members of Glasgow's School Board and especially with the Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, who sat on the Board of Directors of the Glasgow School of Cookery. He was an enthusiastic supporter of her efforts to extend the teaching of domestic economy in Catholic schools, which he considered would raise the status as well as the living standards of the community.[67] Paterson, however, may have been unusual in the degree to which she collaborated with the Catholic clergy, although Jessie Moffat, who had links with Paterson through the School of Cookery, seems to have worked well with the Roman Catholic representative on the Ardrossan Board whose election was described as 'popular' not only among his parishioners.[68] Nevertheless, female candidates, even on a shared platform, could be divided by anti-Catholicism. For example, the issue of providing 'free books' for Catholic schools dominated the 1909 election in Edinburgh. There were three candidates on the ladies' platform: Mrs Lesley Mackenzie, Mrs Louisa Gulland and Lady Steel. The latter declared that she deplored the existence of denominational schools, preferring a national system, but pointed out that since the Board was overwhelmingly Protestant, it would be impossible for Catholic publications to be included among the free books. Moreover:

> If there was one thing that Scottish history taught them it was the futility of penalising people in matters of conscience, and to refuse the poorest of their children free books because of the religious opinions of their parents was, in her view, unworthy of their grand old Scottish Presbyterianism.[69]

The other two ladies disagreed: they were elected while Lady Steel lost.

Generally, however, the women had a considerably broader constituency than men representing minority religions, notably Catholics and Episcopalians. As Callum Brown has noted, Catholics never gained more than a fifth of the seats on city boards, and even on the largest school boards (Glasgow, Edinburgh, Govan), contested elections tended to produce a 'denominationally balanced membership which instituted a solidly Presbyterian form of religious education in the classroom'.[70] The voting system, according to Robert Anderson, was a crude form of proportional representation designed to secure places for religious minorities.[71] Thus the first Aberdeen School Board consisted of six members of the Free Church and five of the Established Church, one Catholic and one Episcopalian, and women did not achieve representation until the end of the century: the first woman elected to the board was Mrs Isabella Mayo, in 1894.[72] The voting system, however, could also be used to favour female candidates. It

appears to have achieved similar, though fewer, results for female candidates as for Catholics; and though the latter fared better than the ladies outside of the main cities in the west of Scotland, each regularly had two or three candidates elected in the major cities and one in some of the small towns. Andrew Bain has shown that in east-central Scotland, women were more likely than Catholics to be elected in Fife, whereas the position was reversed in West Lothian; but while he found instances where women on Fife boards were asked to take the chair, no Catholic on West Lothian's boards was.[73]

Robert Anderson has observed that 'while all male candidates were labelled by religious denomination, the women were not'.[74] In fact, female candidates were often welcomed as a non-sectarian balance to the churches. There was widespread concern over sectarianism, including the assumption by the Church of Scotland of its 'fancied right to have to do with educational matters'.[75] In the 1879 election, concern was expressed in Edinburgh that if the ladies were defeated, the board would be composed 'of ministers and men who are ready to do what the ministers bid them to do'.[76] Moreover, some clergy agreed: at a meeting in support of the two lady candidates in Govan in 1885, the Reverend Robert Howe said that their focus was on domestic skills and health, and that they had no 'selfish or sectarian aims'.[77] While no woman was selected as a church candidate in board elections, in elections to the educational authorities in the 1920s, a few women stood as representatives of churches: for example, in Edinburgh in 1921 Miss Mary Williamson and Mrs Isabel Morgan for the Church of Scotland, and Miss Eliza Munro, Mrs Alice Ross and Miss Minna Cowan for the Joint Churches Committee. A number of these women were also supported by the EWCA.[78]

Thus school-board women may indeed be seen as enlarging women's sphere. Robert Anderson, however, argues that 'the election of women to school boards compensated rather meagrely for the loss of an important role' since 'under the school board regime, separate girls' schools and their ladies' committees disappeared'.[79] This is a view shared by Lindy Moore:

> in practice, upper middle-class women and female members of the landed gentry probably had less influence under the school-board system, based on political and economic power, than previously when they could point to social class and gender as their qualifications for establishing and managing separate charity and subscription schools for girls and the poor.[80]

Certainly, ladies had traditionally been involved in the provision of education for the poor, focusing on the domestic training, particularly sewing, of girls.[81] However, doubt had been cast on the impact of pre-school-board educational philanthropy, with complaints in the mid 1860s that such benevolent ladies considered teaching in schools for poor girls need not be of the same standard as in those for boys, and indeed that compared to the boys the girls learnt 'less than nothing'.[82] Moreover, it is difficult to see gender empowering such upper-class charitable ladies before 1872, but not school-board women. The latter after all had to present their cause on public platforms and however low the poll itself might be, school-board hustings seem to have been lively, with women as well as men prepared to heckle. Further, as we have seen, women on school boards did not supplant, but rather promoted the continued involvement of, female philanthropists in the schooling of poor girls.

True, whatever their social origins or politics, the majority of school-board women did not openly challenge patriarchy, working with the men rather than against them. This undoubtedly imposed constraints on the women in terms of at least appearing to accept male leadership. Nevertheless, those who served more than one term broadened the scope of their remit from domestic training of girls into general health and welfare issues for both sexes. Although Andrew Bain records that Mrs Eliza Watson 'was unusual among Fife women in her unremitting pursuit on the boards of general social amelioration', she clearly had counterparts elsewhere in the country.[83]

Moreover, there were considerable numbers of married and widowed female board members. Other examples include Mrs Pickering, who was returned successfully for the Govan School Board in both the 1911 and 1914 elections.[84] Indeed, of the four women (Kathleen Bannatyne, Agnes Hardie, Mary Mason and Annie Turner) who stood for election to the Glasgow School Board in March 1911, only Bannatyne was single.[85] Married women generally were seen to have the support of their husbands: for wealthy couples, the wife's school-board work was an extension of their philanthropic commitment, and for socialist couples, it was integral to their political activities.[86] At least half of this sample of female board members, however, never married. Glasgow in particular was noted for the high incidence of spinsterhood in the later Victorian period due, it has been argued, to 'the massive emigration of young men from Scotland and the attractions of the city to young women seeking to make their own way'.[87] Obituaries for school-board women, not only for Flora Stevenson and not only in the major cities, show that these spinsters were not regarded as a 'surplus' or 'redundant' women.[88] Rather they were celebrated for dedicating their working lives to education in the local community.[89]

Yet, as noted above, while school boards were part of local governance, the female members saw such work as integral to national affairs. Indeed, most were committed imperialists: for example, Phoebe Blyth was convenor of the ladies' African committee of the Church of Scotland; Minna Cowan wrote *The Education of the Women of India* after a study tour of the country in 1912; and Christina Rainy was eulogised after her death by the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland for her efforts in aid of the mission in India, naming a women's hospital in Madras after her.[90] Another example is Jane Hay, who was a delegate of the Edinburgh branch of the Scottish Armenian Association and went to relieve distressed Armenians in 1897: the first dish she served up at the soup kitchen in Athens was Scotch broth. On her return, she declared that she hoped 'to devote her energies to matters closer to home', and she was elected to both the parish council and school board of Coldingham in Berwickshire on the south-east coast.[91] Thus, these women's religious beliefs also led them into the political arena.

That so few school-board women are included in the *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* is testament to the lack of personal papers for so many of them. This makes it difficult to construct a collective biography beyond the general points already noted: the majority were well-off middle-class single women belonging to Protestant denominations and already engaged in charitable activities; many were involved in feminist campaigns; the vast majority were unionists while considerable numbers had

party political sympathies and affiliations. There are hints of strong networks which went beyond school-board women, notably between Edinburgh, Glasgow and the west of Scotland, which reached out to the rest of the country: their contribution to education was local, but they sought to extend their influence to a national level. Thus, Flora Stevenson's sister, Louisa, spoke at a women's conference in Aberdeen in October 1888, in an effort to persuade women in local organisations to return women as members of school and parochial boards.[92] As noted above, a considerable number of these women had imperial interests, and viewed their work on school boards as another aspect of their contribution to 'public spirit', defined by Louisa Stevenson as 'recognition of individual responsibility with regard to the interests of our country generally and more particularly of the town or district in which we live'.[93]

I have argued elsewhere that the range of Grace Paterson's activities shows that she, like Flora Stevenson, more than fulfilled the expectations of service expected of middle-class women, especially spinsters.[94] In general, female members of school boards demonstrated women's capacity for the caring professions and for management, and made the case for a larger female representation on public bodies.[95] Of Flora Stevenson, the EIS declared that her death meant the loss, not just to Edinburgh but to the whole of Scotland, of 'a pioneer for women in public life'.[96] While most school-board women remained local figures, there is proof enough to generalise, from a contemporary judgement of Grace Paterson, that they were 'no merely ornamental' figures, and that their fame was akin to Christina Jamieson's, regarded as one of Shetland's most 'notable and talented women'.[97] There is also evidence to suggest that many school-board women were strong personalities. When Flora Stevenson was elected to the parochial board in Edinburgh, a member objected on the grounds that she was a woman. He explained that whereas Queen Victoria was also a woman, the Queen was only a kind of figurehead, but Miss Stevenson 'gangs into everything'.[98]

The number of women elected to school boards the year after Flora Stevenson's death had grown to seventy-six.[99] Despite the increase over the previous three decades, it is difficult to assess the influence of so few. Certainly, Stevenson was in a tiny minority of women elected to chair a board or convene a committee other than the industrial (that is, domestic economy) committee. Lindy Moore argues that such women were exceptional, and that however significant they might have been as role models, they nevertheless give 'a misleading impression of the presence and influence of women in Scottish local educational governance in general', pointing out that 'they were perceived and grouped in terms of gender and allocated responsibilities accordingly'.[100] Certainly, men dominated the education system, and assumed female board members would concentrate on the girls' domestic training. However, the female contribution was broader than that. The evidence here suggests that school-board women saw themselves as partners and not handmaidens to the men, for although the women stood for election on an explicitly gendered platform in a way men did not, their committee work shows they were not restricted to it. The sustained work of female members through the committee structure enabled them to help shape policy. The ladies' platform in school-board elections may indeed have reinforced traditional notions of women's place, but as Jane Martin has argued for London, it also blurred the

boundaries between the private and the public spheres.[101] As the women discussed here have shown, their work on school boards was complemented not only by philanthropy but also by other public offices, for example on parish and town councils, as well as in the labour movement, by involvement in church committees and feminist campaigns, notably for suffrage and higher education for women. Thus, however numerically insignificant, the example of female members of school boards helped secure women, especially but not exclusively from the middle class, a respected and valued place in public life.

Notes

[1] Robert Anderson (1995) *Education and the Scottish People, 1750–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 313.
[2] Lindy Moore (2000) Women in Education, in H. Holmes (Ed.) *Scottish Life and Society, Volume 11: Institutions of Scotland: Education* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press), pp. 316–343, p. 331.
[3] See Helen Corr (2004) on Stevenson, Flora Clift (1839–1905) in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*ODNB*) (Oxford: Oxford University Press; online edn). See also the entry in Elizabeth Ewan, Sue Innes & Sian Reynolds (Eds) (2006) *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* (*BDSW*) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), p. 337.
[4] Eleanor Gordon (1990) Women's Spheres, in W. Hamish Fraser & R. J. Morris (Eds) *People and Society in Scotland. Volume 2, 1830–1914* (Edinburgh: John Donald), pp. 206–235: 225–226.
[5] This study is based on a sample (including Stevenson) of sixty-six women who sat on twenty-five school boards in Scotland. For comments on membership in east-central Scotland, see Andrew Bain (2003) The Beginnings of Democratic Control of Local Education in Scotland, *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 23(1), pp. 7–25: see in particular pp. 15–16, 18–19, 21–22.
[6] See *BDSW*, p. 77 for Clunas (though her membership of the school board is not recorded); p. 159 for Hardie; and p. 175 for Husband.
[7] Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p. 171.
[8] For Paterson, see *The Bailie*, 15 April 1885, p. 2, Mitchell Library Glasgow Room (MLGR), Glasgow; for Moffat, see *The Ardrossan & Saltcoats Herald*, 24 November 1902, p. 4.
[9] See *The Glasgow Herald*, 27 May 1907, p. 10 for an obituary of Jane Arthur; Anthony Slaven & Sidney Checkland (Eds) (1986–1990) *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography 1860–1960* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press), 2 volumes, vol. 1, pp. 337–338 for James and Jane Arthur and vol. 2, pp. 229–230 for William Pearce, husband of Dinah.
[10] Perth & Kinross Record Office, CC1/5/13/15, Perth School Board Minute Book (1898–1900), p. 837.
[11] Edinburgh Central Library (ECL), YL353. Edinburgh School Board Minute Book, Sixth Triennial Report of the Proceedings of the Board, 1888–1891.
[12] Glasgow City Archives (GCA), CO2/5/8/15/1, Paisley Burgh School Board Minutes.
[13] See the entry in *BDSW*, pp. 289–290.
[14] ECL, YAY764, *New Edinburgh Almanac* (1874), p. 856; (1882), p. 961.
[15] Bain, 'The Beginnings of Democratic Control', p. 18. See also A. Bain (1998) *Towards Democratic Control in Scottish Education: the social composition of popularly elected school boards in Fife, 1873–1919* (Linlithgow: A. Bain).
[16] See the entry in *BDSW*, p. 18. See also Maureen Donovan Lochrie on Arthur, Jane (1827–1907), *ODNB*.
[17] GCA, DED1/4/1/5, Govan Parish School Board Minute Book, vol. 5, entry for 8 November 1886.

[18] GCA, DED1/4/1/5, 8, 10, 13, 16 & 19, Govan Parish School Board Minute Books.
[19] ECL, YAY764, *New Edinburgh Almanac* (1886), p. 1033; (1888), p. 1069; (1891), p. 1075; (1894), p. 1009; (1904), p. 1144.
[20] ECL, YAY764, *New Edinburgh Almanac* (1906), p. 1156; (1910), p. 1259; (1915), p. 1143.
[21] GCA, DED1/1/1/9–22, Minutes of the School Board of Glasgow.
[22] *The Dundee Advertiser*, 18 February 1872. Thanks to Esther Breitenbach for the information on Shaw. For Dundee as a 'woman's town' see Christopher A. Whatley, David B. Swinfen & Annette M. Smith (1993) *The Life and Times of Dundee* (Edinburgh: John Donald), p. 113.
[23] *The Ardrossan & Saltcoats Herald*, 17 April 1891, p. 7.
[24] *The Irvine & Fullarton Times*, 18 April 1919, p. 2.
[25] *The Ardrossan & Saltcoats Herald*, 30 March 1928, p. 3.
[26] The first woman to be elected to a town council in Scotland was Lavinia Malcolm, in Dollar in 1907, who went on to become the first woman provost in 1913. An 'ardent Liberal', she was elected to Dollar School Board in 1909. See the obituary in *The Glasgow Herald*, 3 November 1920, p. 9. See the entry in the *BDSW*, pp. 246–247 for Malcolm and p. 318 for McNab.
[27] *The Educational News*, 16 May 1903.
[28] See the *BDSW*, p. 168.
[29] See the *BDSW*, pp. 182–183.
[30] *The Educational News*, 27 May 1876, 29 March and 5 April 1879. Highland Council Archives (HCA), CO1/5/6/1, Minute Book for the School Board for the Parish of Glassford.
[31] *The Educational News*, 17 May 1879.
[32] HCA, CI5/11/1, Minutes of the Glengarry School Board.
[33] HCA, CR5/2/1, Minutes of the Applecross School Board, entry for 14 January 1896.
[34] *The Scotsman*, 4 June 1909, p. 8.
[35] ECL, Edinburgh School Board Press Cuttings, vol. 3, p. 58: *Evening News*, 7 March 1903.
[36] ECL, YAY764, *New Edinburgh Almanac* (1901), p. 1162.
[37] See, for example, Bain, 'The Beginnings of Democratic Control', p. 18, for Fife.
[38] ECL, XHQ1599, Edinburgh Women Citizens' Association (EWCA) Annual Reports, 1922–28. For the EWCA, see Sue Innes (2004) Constructing Women's Citizenship in the Interwar Period: the Edinburgh Women Citizens' Association, *Women's History Review*, 13(4), pp. 621–647.
[39] Sue Innes on Cowan, Minna Galbraith (1878–1951), *ODNB*. See also the entry on Cowan in the *BDSW*, p. 81.
[40] See the *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 8 August 1922 for an obituary. Bain followed two other local teachers, Mrs Skea, who retired from the Aberdeen Board in 1908, and Christina Farquharson-Kennedy who served until 1914. Thanks to Alison McCall for the information on these Aberdeen Board members.
[41] See the *BDSW*, pp. 182–183.
[42] *The Glasgow Herald*, 10 April 1911, p. 9 & 30 March 1914, p. 10. See also GCA, DED2/1/1–11, Minutes of the Education Authority of Glasgow, 1919–30. Bannatyne resigned soon after due to ill health, so did not serve a full term on the Education Authority
[43] See the *BDSW*, p. 175.
[44] GCA, DED1/1/1–9, Minutes of the Glasgow School Board; MLGR, *School Board of Glasgow General Summary of Work 1873–1903*.
[45] See also Bain, 'The Beginnings of Democratic Control', p. 22, where he records that in West Lothian, one of three women returned declined the opportunity of becoming chairman for the term.
[46] GCA, CO2/5/8/15/1, Paisley Burgh School Board Minutes.
[47] GCA, DED1/2/1/2–3, Cathcart Parish School Board Minutes. She was also a member of another school committee.

[48] See the entries on Pearce, also known as Lily Bell, in the *BDSW*, pp. 290–291, and on Paterson, pp. 289–290.
[49] *The Ardrossan & Saltcoats Herald*, 26 March 1897, p. 1.
[50] *The Educational News*, 14 April 1888.
[51] ECL, Edinburgh School Board Press Cuttings, vol. 2, p. 171: *Evening News*, 19 January 1897; *The Scotsman*, 20 January 1897.
[52] ECL, Edinburgh School Board Press Cuttings, vol. 3, p. 74: *Portobello Advertiser*, 20 March 1903.
[53] The EIS was not in favour of school boards, preferring education to come under local government, as it saw elections allowing 'cranks' or those fixated on cutting spending on to the board. See, for example, *The Educational News*, 24 March 1906. A number of female board members, however, were fellows, including Margaret Black in Glasgow and Mrs Carlaw Martin in Dundee.
[54] *The Educational News*, 17 March 1894.
[55] Edinburgh, whose economic base lay in the professions and in the retail and service sectors, had the highest demand for female servants in Scotland. Yet even there, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the most common sector of female employment was industrial work. See R. Rodger (1985) Employment, Wages and Poverty in the Scottish Cities 1841–1914, in George Gordon (Ed.) *Perspectives of the Scottish City* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press), p. 35.
[56] ECL, Edinburgh School Board Press Cuttings, vol. 1, p. 22: *The Scotsman*, 6 December 1877.
[57] Educational Institute of Scotland Archives, Edinburgh, Congress Proceedings, 1907, pp. 81–92, p. 83.
[58] See, for example, ECL, YL353, Edinburgh School Board Minutes, Seventh (1891–1894) & Eighth (1894–97) Triennial Reports, pp. 134, 125.
[59] ECL, Edinburgh School Board Press Cuttings, vol. 1, p. 25: *The Scotsman*, 14 February 1878.
[60] ECL, Edinburgh School Board Press Cuttings, vol. 1, p. 199: *The Scotsman*, 21 January 1888.
[61] *The Scotsman*, 13 March 1882, p. 6.
[62] *The Glasgow Herald*, 7 April 1885, p. 3.
[63] ECL, Edinburgh School Board Press Cuttings, vol. 4, p. 235: *Evening News*, 1 March 1914.
[64] See Helen Corr (1990) 'Home Rule' in Scotland: the teaching of housework in schools, 1872–1914, in Judith Fewell & Fiona M. S. Paterson (Eds) *Girls in their Prime: Scottish education revisited* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press), pp. 38–53, p. 43; Tom Begg (1994) *The Excellent Women: the origins and history of Queen Margaret College* (Edinburgh: John Donald), pp. 38–40.
[65] For Black, see the entry on Paterson in *BDSW*.
[66] See W. Thompson & Carole McCallum (1998) *Glasgow Caledonian University: its origins and evolution* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press), pp. 5–14, for Black and Paterson.
[67] GCA, Hill and Hogan Bequest, Sederunt Book of Directors of the Glasgow School of Cookery, cutting from *The Glasgow Herald*, 3 October 1889.
[68] *The Ardrossan & Saltcoats Herald*, 6 April 1888, p. 5.
[69] ECL, Edinburgh School Board Press Cuttings, vol. 4, pp. 26–27: *Evening News*, 16 March 1909.
[70] Callum G. Brown (1997) *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), p. 143.
[71] Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, pp. 166, 170.
[72] T. R. Jamieson (1996) *Aberdeen in the 1880s: a view from within* (MLitt, University of Aberdeen), p. 120. For Mayo see the entry in *BDSW*, pp. 261–262.
[73] Bain, 'The Beginnings of Democratic Control', p. 19. Bain also gives an example (p. 22, Polmont in Falkirk) where cumulative voting excluded women when the one person/one vote system would have resulted in at least one woman returned.
[74] Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p. 170.
[75] *The Ardrossan & Saltcoats Herald*, 25 March 1876, p. 5.
[76] ECL, Edinburgh School Board Press Cuttings, vol. 1, p. 65: *The Scotsman*, 7 April 1879.

[77] *The Glasgow Herald*, 18 April 1885, p. 7.
[78] ECL, Edinburgh School Board Press Cuttings, vol. 5, pp. 8–10: *The Scotsman*, 9 & 11 April 1921.
[79] Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p. 171.
[80] Lindy Moore (2006) Education and Learning, in L. Abrams, E. Gordon, D. Simonton & E. J. Yeo (Eds) *Gender in Scottish History since 1700* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), pp. 111–139, p. 127.
[81] See Rosalind K. Marshall (1983) *Virgins and Viragos: a history of women in Scotland from 1080 to 1980* (Chicago: Academy Chicago), pp. 252–256.
[82] PP, XXV Education Commission (Scotland), Report on the State of Education in the Country Districts of Scotland, by A. C. Sellar and C. F. Maxwell (Edinburgh, 1868), p. 98.
[83] Bain, 'The Beginnings of Democratic Control', p. 25, n. 29.
[84] *The Glasgow Herald*, 7 April 1911, p. 12 & 10 April 1914, p. 8.
[85] *The Glasgow Herald*, 24 March 1911, p. 13. Only Mrs Turner was unsuccessful.
[86] See, for example, the entries on Agnes Hardie (p. 159), who served one term on the Glasgow Board (1911–14) and Isabella Pearce (pp. 290–291) in the *BDSW*.
[87] Stana Nenadic (1996) The Victorian Middle Classes, in W. H. Fraser & Irene Maver (Eds) *Glasgow. Volume II: 1830–1912* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), p. 70.
[88] See, for example, *The Ardrossan & Saltcoats Herald*, 28 November 1902, p. 6 for Jessie Moffat; *The Educational News*, 30 September & 7 October 1905 for Flora Stevenson; *The Glasgow Herald*, 27 May 1907, p. 10 for Jane Arthur; and 30 November 1925, p. 6 for Grace Paterson. For a discussion of the 'redundant woman' question see Eleanor Gordon & Gwyneth Nair (2003) *Public Lives: women, family and society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press), ch. 6.
[89] See also Bain, 'The Beginnings of Democratic Control', pp. 18–21 for women's contribution to education in east-central Scotland.
[90] See Helen Corr (2004) on Blyth, Phoebe (1816–1989), *ODNB*; for Cowan, see the entry in the *BDSW*, p. 81; for Rainy, see *The Scotsman*, 22 May 1908, p. 10. See also Minna Galbraith Cowan (1912) *The Education of the Women of India* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier).
[91] *The Scotsman*, 10 March 1897, p. 12; 2 November 1901, p. 12; 24 October 1913, p. 1. See also Lesley A. Orr Macdonald (2000) *A Unique and Glorious Mission: women and Presbyterianism in Scotland 1830–1930* (Edinburgh: John Donald).
[92] *The Aberdeen Journal*, 11 October 1888, p. 7. My thanks to Alison McCall for alerting me to this source.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Jane McDermid (2007) Place the Book in their Hands: Grace Paterson's contribution to the health and welfare policies of the School Board of Glasgow, 1885–1906, *History of Education*, 36(6), pp. 697–713.
[95] Obituaries often made this point: see *The Glasgow Herald*, 27 May 1907, p. 10 for Mrs Jane Arthur and 30 November 1925, p. 6 for Grace Paterson.
[96] *The Educational News*, 30 September 1905 & 7 October 1905.
[97] *Glasgow Evening News*, 1 December 1925, p. 3; *BDSW*, p. 183.
[98] *Recollections of Louisa and Flora Stevenson* (1914) (Edinburgh: Printed for private circulation), p. 50.
[99] This was proportionately more than on the school boards of England and Wales when they were abolished in 1902 and replaced with unelected bodies: see Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People*, p. 170.
[100] Moore, 'Education and Learning', p. 127.
[101] See Jane Martin (2003) The Hope of Biography: the historical recovery of women educator activists, *History of Education*, 32(2), pp. 219–232, p. 231.