

Archival Research Conducted to Explore 20th Century Policies Affecting Gypsy/ Traveller Communities in Scotland

June 2025

Archival Research Conducted to Explore 20th Century Policies Affecting
Gypsy/Traveller Communities in Scotland

Report produced on behalf of the Scottish Government by the Third Generation Project,
University of St. Andrew's

Authored by

**Ali Watson, Bennett Collins, Anya Bodine-McCoy, Oliver Eastwood, Martin
Jernigan, Loulou Rasmussen and Milan Wood**

Edited by

Jamie Hinch

Third Generation Project

Research Team:

Prof. Ali Watson OBE, University of St Andrews

Dr Bennett Collins, University of Aberdeen

Anya Bodine-McCoy, University of St Andrews

Oliver Eastwood, McMaster University

Jamie Hinch, University of Oxford

Martin Jernigan, London School of Economics

Loulou Rasmussen, University of St Andrews

Milan Wood, University of St Andrews

June 2025

Dedication

We dedicate this report to the late Kevin 'Kev' McKay, his family, and to the survivors/victims of the 'Tinker Experiments'.

Acknowledgements

The research team would like to thank all of those who gave their valuable time to the conduct of this research. Eight of us were involved in the work of researching and writing this final report, but we would also like to thank the other members of the Third Generation Project team who provided additional commentary and research assistance at various points in the research and writing process: Yara Alansari, Henry Hall, Martin Ladekarl, Viktor Lopez-Rosso, Sonya Matthew, Freya O'Donnell, Zi Zi Wardle, Ben Youd and Maya Zealey. Thank you to the members of the Research Advisory Group created by the Scottish Government, who met with us regularly throughout the research process to consider the progress of our work. Thank you also to the representatives of organisations, or predecessor organisations, who are mentioned in this report – Aberlour Trust, Barnardo's, Children First, Church of Scotland, COSLA (representing local authorities/councils), Police Scotland, Quarriers, the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry and the Scottish Episcopal Church - who were so helpful when engaging with us in the final stages of the report. We would also like to thank the many archivists, academics, allies and colleagues in Scotland and across the world who provided us with their time and with their advice over the project period.

Institutions

- Aberdeen City and Aberdeenshire Archives
- Angus Council Archives
- Blair Castle Archives
- Children First
- Clackmannanshire Archives
- Dundee City Archives
- The Elphinstone Institute
- Highland Archives Centre
- Lochaber Archive
- National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, University of Manitoba, CA
- National Records of Scotland
- Nucleus: The Nuclear and Caithness Archives
- OnFife Archives
- Perth and Kinross Archives
- RAJPOT
- Stirling Council Archives
- Tasglann nan Eilean, Comhairle nan Eilean Siar
- University of Aberdeen
- University of St Andrews
- University of Stirling

Individuals

- Dr Paloma Gay y Blasco, University of St Andrews
- Keren Guthrie, Estate Archivist, Blair Castle Archives
- Martyn MacLean, Children First
- Ken MacLennan

- Jennifer McMillan, Quarriers
- Lori Oschefski, President, British Home Children, Canada
- Dr Malcolm Petrie, University of St Andrews
- Paul Ramsay, Bamff Estate
- Niall Scott, Vice Principal (Communications), University of St Andrews
- Professor Becky Taylor, University of East Anglia
- Rachael Thomas, Archaeology for Communities in the Highlands
- Carol Wishcamper, former Commissioner of the Maine Wabanaki-State Child Welfare Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Last, but foremost, we would like to thank those members of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland who we consulted with, and whose advice guided us in the research process, and especially the members of our Scrutiny Board whose consideration and guidance was so invaluable.

Table of Contents

DEDICATION.....	2
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	3
ABBREVIATIONS.....	8
CONTENT WARNING.....	9
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY.....	10
INTRODUCTION	10
CLARIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH AIMS.....	10
A BRIEF HISTORY	11
THE UK GOVERNMENT AND THE SCOTTISH OFFICE.....	11
THE SCOTTISH LOCAL AUTHORITIES.....	12
THE CHURCHES.....	13
THE CHARITIES.....	14
CONCLUSION & KEY FINDINGS	15
1. INTRODUCTION	17
RESEARCH SCOPE.....	17
RESEARCH PROCESS, LIMITS AND OBSTACLES	18
REFINING THE RESEARCH PARAMETERS	21
CHAPTER SUMMARY	23
2. HISTORICAL CONTEXT	24
INTRODUCTION	24
A BRIEF HISTORY	24
CHAPTER SUMMARY	25
3. THE UK GOVERNMENT AND THE SCOTTISH OFFICE	27
INTRODUCTION	27
CHAPTER STRUCTURE	27
LEGISLATION THAT DIRECTLY IMPACTED THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL WELFARE OF GYPSY/TRAVELLER COMMUNITIES IN SCOTLAND	28
Pre-1895 legislation	28
Post-1895 legislation	30
The 1895 ‘Scottish Traveller Report’	32
Early 1900’s Departmental Committees	34
Post-World War II Research and Advisory Committees.....	36
CHAPTER SUMMARY	38

4. THE SCOTTISH LOCAL AUTHORITIES.....	39
INTRODUCTION	39
IMPACT OF HOUSING POLICIES	40
SUB-STANDARD ‘BUILT’ HOUSING DESIGNATED FOR GYPSY/TRAVELLERS IN SCOTLAND	41
Case Study: Ross and Cromarty.....	43
USE OF FORMER MILITARY SITES FOR EMERGENCY HOUSING	50
CHAPTER SUMMARY	51
5. THE CHURCHES	52
INTRODUCTION	52
THE KIRK YETHOLM EXPERIMENT.....	52
POST-KYE SCHEMES AND THE ACTS REPORT	53
THE ROLE OF THE HOME MISSION COMMITTEE.....	55
THE EVOLUTION OF CHURCH INVOLVEMENT.....	56
CHAPTER SUMMARY	59
6. THE CHARITIES.....	60
INTRODUCTION	60
THE ROYAL SCOTTISH SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN (RSSPCC).....	60
OTHER CHARITIES	62
The Aberlour Trust.....	63
Barnardo’s.....	65
Quarriers	65
CHAPTER SUMMARY	66
7. THE POLICE.....	67
INTRODUCTION	67
MONITORING AND ENFORCEMENT OVER SITES AND CHILDREN	67
CHAPTER SUMMARY	70
8. CONCLUSION AND KEY FINDINGS	72
DEHUMANISATION	73
ASSIMILATION AND CULTURAL GENOCIDE	74
RECOMMENDATIONS	77
SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT	77
LOCAL AUTHORITIES.....	78
POLICE.....	79
CHARITIES AND FAITH-BASED INSTITUTIONS	79
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS	79

MEDIA INSTITUTIONS	79
APPENDIX 1: TIMELINE OF EVENTS SURROUNDING THE 'TE'	81
APPENDIX 2: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	87
INTRODUCTION	87
COLLECTION OF ARCHIVAL MATERIALS	87
Identifying relevant sources of information	87
Archival visit procedure	89
Post-collection analysis	89
COMMUNITY CONSULTATION AND QUALITY ASSURANCE	90
THE DRAWBACKS OF ARCHIVAL RESEARCH	91
APPENDIX 3: LIST OF ARCHIVES VISITED	94

Abbreviations

CCWT	Central Committee on the Welfare of Tinkers
CoS	Church of Scotland
KYE	Kirk Yetholm Experiment
PTNH	Policy of Toleration and Non-Harassment
RSSPCC	Royal Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children
SCAI	Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry
SHRC	Scottish Human Rights Commission
SNSPCC	Scottish National Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children
TE	Tinker Experiments

Content Warning

This report contains reference to materials that use discriminatory language, and that describe policies and practices that caused significant harm and distress to Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland, and beyond.

Executive Summary

Introduction

This report outlines the results of archival research commissioned by the Scottish Government in March 2023 and conducted to explore 20th century policies affecting Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland, specifically those policies that are colloquially known as the 'Tinker Experiments' (TE).¹ The abbreviated aims of this research were:

- To establish a timeline of key events involved in the implementation of these policies.
- To identify any available records on key decisions made by National Government departments as well as the roles of collaborating institutions/stakeholders including Scottish local authorities and the Church of Scotland.²
- To estimate the extent to which these policies were implemented.

The tender document also recognised the need for 'high quality analysis' which is something that was prioritised in the tender bid, as well as throughout the subsequent research process.³ Additionally, it was recognised in the tender document that the aims of the research would be refined and operationalised during the research process, and also that in addition to forced housing in substandard sites across Scotland, the policies under examination may have resulted in the forced removal of children from Gypsy/Traveller communities, and that evidenced instances of this should be highlighted in the subsequent report. Finally, the tender document required that this report have a clear explanation of the methods used alongside clearly articulated findings and actionable recommendations.⁴

Clarification of the Research Aims

As previously stated, this research began with three initial aims. The research tender required an understanding of how these aims would be refined and operationalised, the results of which were the following:

1. The TE was initially thought to be a series of largely government-sanctioned and -led policies for the forced housing of Gypsy/Traveller families in substandard accommodation and on substandard sites, across Scotland that may have also resulted in the forced removal of children from Gypsy/Traveller communities. This present research uncovered clear evidence that this relationship between forced housing and forced child removal was much clearer than had been anticipated. Examples of this forced transfer of children included:

- the removal of children from their families to be placed in temporary care.
- the forced transfer of children to industrial schools,⁵ sometimes in a different geographic location to that from which they were removed; and
- the permanent removal of Gypsy/Traveller children in Scotland from their families through adoption domestically or overseas.

The archival evidence demonstrated that the TE could not therefore be analysed solely as a housing policy but rather needs to be viewed as a much wider initiative.

2. While this research locates the role of the UK national government, and specifically the Scottish Office as a primary actor in the construction and enforcement of such policies, the evidence that was discovered also demonstrated that local authorities, churches, charities, the police and the media collectively assisted in constructing the environment that permitted the TE to occur.⁶ In refining and operationalising the aims of this research, the TE cannot be decoupled from the wider environment of policies of marginalisation, discrimination and persecution that have been ongoing against Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland for centuries.

3. The archival evidence demonstrated that the institutional and societal desire to forcibly assimilate Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland extended before 1940 and continued beyond the 1980s (the suggested 'boundary points' for the TE that were highlighted in the original tender document written by the Scottish Government). This can be seen in state-based legislation such as the Trespass (Scotland) Act of 1865, which remains in place, and in non-state initiatives to assimilate Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, such as the Kirk Yetholm experiment. This research also highlighted a post-1969 watershed in terms of local authority site provision for Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland. A Scotland-wide Policy of Toleration and Non-Harassment (PTNH) of Gypsy/Travellers lasted between 1977 and 2001, and this report will briefly outline the way in which this operated.

A Brief History

Gypsy/Traveller communities have been central to Scotland's socio-political and socio-cultural landscape, featuring in written records going back to the 12th century. It remains likely, however, that people were maintaining a nomadic lifestyle in Scotland even prior to that.⁷ For a significant part of this time there have been policies in place in Scotland that have negatively impacted Gypsy/Traveller communities. This includes the first 'anti-Gypsy' law in 1541 which marked the beginning of a sustained period of discrimination where Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland faced the possibility of execution and deportation. By 1783 most of this legislation had been repealed but by then it had had a significant impact on Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland, forcing some to assimilate and even to deny their identity for fear of persecution. Subsequently new legislation was introduced that, though it did not always mention Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland specifically, nevertheless had a disproportionately large impact on Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland, resulting in their assimilation and forced settlement into housing projects, campsites, and caravan sites. This history shares similarities with the experiences of other nomadic peoples facing discrimination from 'settled' societies.

The UK Government and the Scottish Office⁸

Following the analysis of a wealth of archival materials, clear evidence was found of three distinct forms of government activity impacting Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland that either directly connect to the TE or that laid the foundations for the policies

associated with the TE to be able take place.

1. Legislation that directly impacted the social, economic, and cultural welfare of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland:

This report specifically highlights four pieces of legislation: the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Act (Scotland) of 1854; the Trespass Scotland Act of 1865; the Children Act of 1908 and the Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act of 1960. These four pieces of legislation, though not specifically targeting nomadic peoples, nevertheless made it increasingly difficult for Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland to find legal stopping places and contributed to a hostile environment towards Gypsy/Travellers. This legislation also created the possibility that Gypsy/Traveller children could be taken from their families if they did not 'settle', which contributed to wider assimilation efforts.

2. National government/Scottish Office-led committees:

This report focuses on several national government/Scottish Office-led committees, namely the Departmental Committee on Habitual Offenders, Vagrants, Beggars, Inebriates and Juvenile Delinquents first convened in 1894; the Departmental Committee on Tinkers launched in 1917; and the Departmental Committee on Vagrancy in Scotland, whose report was published in 1936. This report highlights the significance of the work of these committees including evidence that the Report of the 1895 Departmental Committee on Habitual Offenders, Vagrants, Beggars, Inebriates and Juvenile Delinquents was especially significant given the recommendations that it made that were later used to guide policy and discussion. This effectively provided a mandate for key government, local authority and civil society actors to manage, and intervene in, the lives of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland. Witness statements given to the 1895 Committee frequently used language that was dehumanising and made calls for assimilationist policies that are reflected in the Report's final recommendations. Similar language was used in subsequent committee reports that are also evidenced here.

3. Direct public commentary on Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland in both Houses of Parliament.

During the research period, there was evidence uncovered of debate in the Westminster Parliament, often concerning the housing and education of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, with Gypsy/Travellers frequently being referred to as a 'problem'. The sentiments expressed demonstrate that overall, the commentary in Parliament largely added to the narratives that appeared present within the legislation pre- and post-1895 rather than dissenting from it. These kinds of comments also demonstrate that policy-oriented discussion around the treatment of Gypsy/Travellers took place both within Scotland and at the UK-wide level.

The Scottish Local Authorities

This report outlines evidence that local authorities were at the heart of how policies relating to Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland were actioned, and how the experiences of the

TE played out. Specifically, local authorities enacted policies that were clearly sanctioned, and that were sometimes undertaken in collaboration with, the Scottish Office. This is evidenced by the existence of policy recommendations from Committees, memos from the Secretary of State for Scotland and national government reports. At the same time, the UK government, and the Scottish Office, saw local authorities as a key stakeholder in 'dealing' with the issue of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland.

Specifically, this report highlights evidence of three forms of forced and/or discriminatory housing policies used against Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, namely:

1. Specific sites designated for the use of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, including the provision of an assortment of 'built' housing (e.g. Nissen and Nissen-type huts, repurposed military infrastructure, disused houses). These were known by government agents to be substandard including that they were frequently without amenities such as electricity and plumbing. This category also includes later purpose-built housing that was also deemed to be substandard (e.g. for reasons of over-crowding).
2. Specific sites designated for the use of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, but with no provision of 'built' housing, nor of facilities, and often located far from local amenities (e.g. council-run campsites).
3. The use of military sites, sometimes in urban areas, for emergency housing for Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland to live together with others. Such housing was again substandard (e.g. the former Castlehill Barracks in Aberdeen which is frequently referenced as 'slum housing') and could result in the 'ghettoisation' of Gypsy/Travellers, alongside other under-privileged groups.⁹

On the basis of the research conducted for this report, and without the benefit of being able to utilise the 'lived experiences' of the victims/survivors of the TE (which was the remit of a second research tender that was never awarded) archival evidence strongly suggests that the provision of the previously defined 'built' sites (form 1) was more prevalent in the 1940s and 1950s and that the provision of substandard sites without housing (form 2) was more prevalent in the 1960s and 1970s.

Overall, this research found evidence of at least one of the three forms of forced and/or discriminatory housing policy used against Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland in twenty-seven of the thirty-two present-day council areas in Scotland. Of the remaining five, there was evidence that two council areas - Orkney and Shetland – had 'solved' their Traveller 'problem' some time ago with archival materials highlighting that Gypsy/Travellers residing there had already been housed. This suggests that there may have been policies of forced settlement in place in Orkney and Shetland at some point in the 19th and/or 20th Centuries. Further research is required to confirm this. Overall, the evidence that was found was extensive and was frequently underpinned by rhetoric reflecting the normalisation of assimilatory and dehumanising attitudes towards Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland.

The Churches

This report examines the role of churches in the TE, with a specific focus on the

Church of Scotland.¹⁰ Our research uncovered evidence that central church institutions, individual congregations, as well as individual ministers and members of these congregations frequently acted upon their own agenda independent of government policy - although sometimes guided by or guiding it - to intervene in the lives of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland. Specifically, church representatives spoke with landowners to secure land and approached the government and local authorities with ideas to address issues they perceived as important within Gypsy/Traveller communities, as well as those between Gypsy/Traveller communities and the wider 'settled' population. This research also found evidence of instances when church representatives contributed their opinions to governmental enquiries and worked with local authorities to ensure that certain policies were undertaken.

In looking at the actions of particular denominations, the report highlights the central role that the Church of Scotland (CoS) played in establishing schemes, often framed as 'experimental' and undertaken through child welfare and housing projects, to initiate the assimilation of Gypsy/Traveller communities into settled society. The report findings demonstrate that the CoS was involved in assimilatory housing and child welfare programmes for Gypsy/Travellers at both the national and local levels in Scotland. This includes the Kirk Yetholm Experiment which was the first example of a housing 'experiment' involving Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland. As evidenced in this report, the Church of Scotland's continuous engagement with Gypsy/Travellers throughout the 20th Century played a significant role in creating the social situation faced by Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland during that time.

The Charities

This research examined the work of multiple charities - including the Royal Society for the Protection of Cruelty to Children (RSPCC), the Aberlour Trust, Barnardo's and Quarriers. Each of these charities had their primary focus as child welfare, and each charity played a slightly different role while operating in Scotland during the timeframe that is the focus of this report. Across the range of material that we examined we found evidence of child removal, and of subsequent placement in industrial schools and in military training ships. There was also evidence to suggest that Gypsy/Traveller children in Scotland were over-represented in child welfare institutions, and the research team also found evidence of Gypsy/Traveller children in care. We know that Barnardos and Quarriers had child migration programmes, but without the names of individual children, or records displaying the identities of Gypsy/Traveller children, we could not confirm their passage overseas. This is a fruitful area for further research, and we would also note the work already being carried out by researchers in this area.

The Police

The evidence collated for this report suggests that the police played a multi-faceted role in 20th century policies impacting Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland. They upheld the legislation that the national government put in place, enforced local authority byelaws, and acted as key informants for the national government (Scottish Office) and local authorities in the surveillance of Gypsy/Traveller communities. There are two key roles that the police played that we would specifically highlight.

1. There were numerous instances within the archival materials of police visiting and monitoring Gypsy/Traveller sites, mobility, and educational provision.
2. The police played a significant role, backed by the legislation, in the enforcement of Gypsy/Traveller sites in Scotland, often being the primary actor to implement the closure of 'unauthorised' sites and the subsequent removal of Gypsy/Traveller families to other locales.

Additionally, evidence was also found of police representatives who gave evidence, and other opinion, including that which appeared to support the idea of separating Gypsy/Traveller children from their parents.

Conclusion & Key Findings

This report marks the first time that the Scottish Government as a devolved institution has sought archival evidence on 20th century policies specifically affecting Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland. The evidence presented in this report on the policies, events, and actions that led to, and implemented, the 'TE', and how they were actualised, is only a fraction of the evidence that exists in archives across Scotland, and outside of it. Moreover, of the extensive range of archival materials that were gathered and analysed in reaching the conclusions of this report, only a fraction are specifically quoted here given the need to keep this report to a manageable length.

Most significantly, this report is based on archival research and so does not include the lived experiences of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, whose voices are essential to establishing a full picture of the TE. This report does, however, establish a mandate for future research into the historical persecution of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland. In the end, it must be recognised that no archive can represent a single experience, and no history can be told through a single narrative, especially for such a diverse set of communities living in virtually every part of Scotland today. This report therefore cannot purport to be representative of everything that occurred, but rather is the beginning of qualifying why and how the 'TE' took place.

This research locates three significant patterns that answer these latter questions: the unequivocal dehumanisation of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, especially in being categorised as a people that collectively practiced a backwards or undeveloped way of life; the practice of systematic control, primarily by government-based key stakeholders, in forcibly segregating, surveilling, and/or managing the everyday actions of Gypsy/Travellers; and the forced assimilation of Gypsy/Travellers into the wider settled population of Scotland. On this latter point, the connection between the forced assimilation of minority and Indigenous peoples and cultural genocide is one that has been gaining wider traction amongst both legal and academic scholarship, with even some governments going so far as to admit this connection themselves. In the case of the 'TE' and their intent to erode the collective cultural practices and identity of Gypsy/Travellers, there is need to consider, and to explain, that the context within which the TE occurred is best understood as cultural genocide.

“The tinkers are the forgotten people of Scotland. Although as a race, or a mixture of races, they form an ancient part of our society, their way of life is so alien from that of the overwhelming majority that they have in effect been ostracised from society. The very word ‘tinker’ is derogatory, they prefer to be called the travelling people...

... In the past tinkers have been treated as a caste, all of whom should either be neglected or forced to conform. The road to a solution of the problem and to happier times for those who want to help is to treat them as individual families. Families who are anxious to preserve the traditional itinerant ways must be allowed to do so. Those who are sunk in the listless degradation of permanent camps must be given a chance of housing and regular employment. Otherwise they will remain refugees in their own land.”

The Scotsman, Saturday 30 December, 1967¹¹

1. Introduction

Research Scope

This report outlines the results of archival research commissioned by the Scottish Government in March 2023 and conducted to explore 20th century policies affecting Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland. The Scottish Government noted in the tender document that this research was commissioned in response to calls made by “members of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland for a formal apology for historic state policies supported by successive Government departments (particularly the Scottish Office) in collaboration with Scottish local authorities and the Church of Scotland”.¹² The research presented in this report was specifically directed by the original research tender “to locate and examine archival materials pertaining to a set of government policies and actions around the forced settlement and housing of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland between 1940 to 1980s (i.e. prior to devolution),¹³ or what has subsequently been frequently referred to colloquially, including within the news media, as the ‘Tinker Experiment’”.¹⁴ The aims of this research, as laid out in the original tender document were:

- To establish a timeline of key events involved in the implementation of these policies. This should include reporting on the key dates of implementation, which are thought to have been during the period of the 1940s to the 1980s.
- To identify any available records on key decisions made by National Government departments, especially the Scottish Office, in relation to the inception and operation of the policies and the roles of collaborating institutions/stakeholders including Scottish local authorities and the Church of Scotland. This should include decisions that instigated the policies (working back from 1940 to 1900), in addition to decisions made during the period of implementation.
- To estimate the extent to which these policies were implemented, in terms of the number, scale and locations of sites across Scotland and, where records allow, the number of individuals affected. Where possible, the Contractor should seek to produce evidence-based case study examples of the lived experiences of individuals and families in the Gypsy/Traveller communities affected by the policies.

The tender document noted the need for high quality analysis and raised the expectation that the above research aims would be refined and operationalised. It also stated that:

“In addition to the forced housing in substandard sites across Scotland, these policies may have also resulted in the forced removal of children from Gypsy/Traveller communities. While it is envisaged that this research will predominantly focus on the housing aspect, the contractor will be also be [sic] required to report on any instances of forced adoption identified through this research.”

The tender document also asked for a set of actionable recommendations, which are provided at the end of this report. The timeline of key events in the TE is presented here in Appendix 1. An accompanying auditable database in Excel, providing details of materials identified through the keyword search of collections, was also created as a separate output.

Definitions

Before going further, this report must define exactly who is being discussed when the terms 'Scottish Gypsy/Travellers' versus 'Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland' are used. This research project recognises Scottish Gypsy/Travellers as an ethnic group, protected by the Equality Act 2010,¹⁵ that is relationally connected to a historic nomadic, cultural way of life that has existed for hundreds of years in the lands known today as 'Scotland'.¹⁶ In stating 'relationally connected', it is recognised that the decision of who is kin remains a process of collective self-determination, as is the case for many marginalised minority and Indigenous peoples elsewhere.¹⁷ As with other Indigenous peoples across the globe,¹⁸ collective self-determined identification means that the recognition politics of who is kin, and who is not, remains an internal process that should not be dictated by non-Indigenous institutions, frameworks, or ethics.¹⁹ The Scottish Gypsy/Traveller identity is one that is thus not an identity measurable according to external recognition factors such as genetic identification, the active practising of Gypsy/Traveller traditions, bearing names often associated with Scottish Gypsy/Traveller families, or living outside of the modern-day boundaries of Scotland. There is plenty of research that demonstrates that the gatekeeping of identity based on these aforementioned factors is one means of continuing and exacerbating paternalistic relationships of control over the population of a particular group.²⁰ We differentiate, then, 'Scottish Gypsy/Traveller,' from the phrase 'Gypsy/Traveller in Scotland', where the latter alludes to Scottish and Irish Travellers, as well as Roma from Central/Eastern Europe and English Romani who live or lived in Scotland. We would also note that the use of the term 'Traveller' is one that has been ascribed to label those maintaining a nomadic cultural lifestyle that is often in contrast to the values of the 'settled community',²¹ but that Scottish Gypsy/Travellers themselves may not identify as Traveller but may instead self-define as 'Nacken' or 'Nawken'. Some Scottish Gypsy/Travellers may also identify as 'Indigenous Highland Travellers'.²² Finally, throughout this report, reference will be made to materials that include pejoratives used to describe members of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland. Such words have a historic origin, but we would also note that many such words remain in use today. The reader will see such words throughout the body of this report, referencing their use in archival materials. We would note, however, that the continued use of such words within wider contemporary society should be recognised as pejorative, and a form of racist language.²³

Research Process, Limits and Obstacles

Appendix 2 outlines in detail the research methodology underpinning this report. As an archival research project, this report recognises that this research is inherently

limited to an understanding of the existing archival evidence in explaining how and where the TE came to be realised and what its impacts were. In addition, archives remain contentious sites of research and must be challenged for the versions of history found within them.²⁴ Archives usually preserve and curate information, as well as the perspectives of actors that dominant institutions consider valuable. It is for this reason that many communities and peoples attribute archives as not only a site of their marginalisation, but also as a source.²⁵ This is particularly the case for communities that have oral cultures, and where written records of their history, produced by members of those communities, do not actually exist.²⁶

Our approach to archival sites throughout the research process, in common with the research practice of numerous researchers examining materials that involve the histories of marginalised communities,²⁷ has been to read ‘against the grain’ of the materials that we gathered. This involved noting and remarking upon whose voices were found, and whose were not, how those materials were presented, and what these voices did or did not say. In reading against the grain, within the archival materials that we collected there was little to no representation of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, either in terms of self-representation through submitted materials or through testimonies collected by non-Gypsy/Traveller stakeholders. The fact that Gypsy/Traveller communities have very rarely written their own histories²⁸ means that any socio-historical account is dependent upon the piecemeal collection of written documents and oral evidence. As such, we would be remiss if we were not clear that guiding questions and assumptions impacted the investigations that were conducted in the archives. For this reason, it was the practice of the research team to consistently revisit these guiding questions and assumptions throughout the research process to maintain the objectivity and integrity of the research. A different demographic makeup of researchers might have viewed the materials differently or been able to reach different conclusions than we have.²⁹ For example, those more closely connected temporally and culturally to the TE might have been able to see additional references to Gypsy/Travellers. As a result, the research teams limited knowledge of Gypsy/Traveller-specific geographical locations, cultural euphemisms, and the Nacken language, demonstrates the need for researchers, particularly those from Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland, to uncover what may have been missed.³⁰

In addition to consulting numerous official institutional materials located in archives across Scotland (listed in Appendix 3) the research team also consulted Hansard (the official record of all Parliamentary debates), numerous peer-reviewed research articles and monographs and made extensive use of newspaper archives, which includes online resources from the British Newspaper Archive, and paper copies of newspapers held alongside other archival materials (e.g. at Highland Archives). Examining newspaper archives was both a way to provide additional sources for this research (e.g. narrowing down dates, providing additional avenues of inquiry) and a way of examining another ‘institution’ in Scotland (i.e. the media). Newspapers offered reflections of general attitudes of the public and provided evidence as to the nature of historic policies and the ways in which Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, and the narratives that surround their communities, have been described.³¹ Furthermore, the research team would note from the outset, as will be the case in the later recommendations, that much more research still needs to be done. The research team recognises the limits of

this research and its confines to the walls of the archive. This is especially important to note given the following two issues relating to the contract tender issued by the Scottish Government.

First, this research was undertaken in response to one of two invitations to tender for research expertise issued by the Scottish Government in January 2023, both of which were designed to explore the same policies, but with different methodologies – this present one focused on archival research, and a second one which was designed to focus on the lived experiences of victims/survivors of the TE and specifically on gathering first-person testimonies. Had both contracts been awarded they would have complemented each other, with findings from each feeding into the other as the research process progressed.³² Specifically, the human impact of evidence found in the archives could have been able to be explored in interviews; and interviews might have also uncovered additional events that could have led to further examination, substantiation, and/or elucidation of the archival work. Despite two contract tender processes (the initial one in January 2023, and a further one in November 2023) the ‘lived experiences’ contract was not awarded meaning that the overall research commissioned by the Scottish Government lacks the testimony of Gypsy/Traveller victims and survivors in being able to outline the impact of the policies that have been evidenced by the wealth of archival materials examined during the research process, and that have subsequently been summarised in this report. In all research processes that consider the impact of policy upon marginalised communities - whether created and undertaken by government or by civil society actors - the testimony of those victims/survivors who have been impacted by such policies is vital to understanding both their intergenerational and contemporary impact. Because this report is based on archival research, such testimony is not available here. Where possible, we will include some direct quotations from books written by Gypsy/Traveller authors that are directly relevant to the analysis. Although these voices are reported second hand, it is important to highlight these especially because some articulate feelings of resistance and refusal. Thus, in addressing the key findings of this research, and acknowledging the context that the TE policies operated within, the focus of this report will be on key stakeholders but with the constant awareness that the voices of the most important stakeholder – Scottish Gypsy/Travellers – are largely absent.

Second, the research team needs to make note of the resource-based obstacles associated with this project. From the outset, the research team knew, and accepted, that the funding of £30,000 provided for this work would likely be insufficient compared to what would be required to meet the remit of the research aims laid out in the initial contract tender. Our team included members with previous experience observing the workings of Indigenous child welfare inquiries in Canada and in the United States. Such inquiries have some parallels with this present research in terms of historical scope, and key stakeholders, and so the research team were aware from the start that such a funding amount would yield limiting results. This was confirmed after conversations with archivists at the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR) based at the University of Manitoba, who were able to locate and contextualise the efforts that were required, and their respective financial costs when conducting inquiries, both in the archives and with victims/survivors.³³ As a result, a substantial amount of volunteer hours (i.e. at least five times what each person received financial compensation for by

the end of the writing and review process) were committed to this project by every member of our team both to ensure the integrity of this inquiry, and the high quality analysis that was required. This is to say that the substantial findings of this report reflect efforts that went far beyond the amount received for this project. For example, this research was able to clearly evidence and identify a range of policies affecting Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland, as well as the impact of these, something that allowed this research to be able to characterise the nature of the structural violence faced by Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland during the timeframe that is the focus of this report.³⁴ Looking back, working to the contracted hours would not have yielded these results.

Simultaneously, this report remains limited in two key ways. The page cap of this report, requested to be approx. 50 pages, means that it has only been able to present a fraction of the materials that were found.³⁵ There were many more instances in the archives of the use of derogatory and dehumanising language and discriminatory and assimilatory sentiments. Second, despite our visits to multiple archives sites, and our analysis of thousands of pages of archival materials and documentary sources, we are aware that there remain archival sites either unidentified or unvisited, and archival documents either unread or unanalysed, due to the time and financial limits of this project. We feel these points are important to state at the outset in order to emphasise that this present research calls further inquiry that is both comprehensively funded and community-informed, or preferably community-led. Nevertheless, both the types of materials we engaged with and the timeframes we examined created a strong picture of the dominant narrative. While we engaged with a variety of materials, the bulk were published by the government, local authorities and other institutional bodies (e.g. council minutes, reports, official correspondence etc.) and should be considered representative of the consensus of that actor. Finally, it is important to note that the timeframes presented in this report were selected without bias. During the data gathering process, we gathered as much as was possible, rather than limiting ourselves to where we would be most likely to find relevant material (for example, going through decades of council minutes as opposed to just a few years). With these points in mind, this report will now turn to an examination of how the research parameters were refined.

Refining the research parameters

The TE was initially thought to be a series of largely government-sanctioned and -led policies for the forced housing of Gypsy/Traveller families in substandard accommodation and on substandard sites, across Scotland that “may have also resulted in the forced removal of children from Gypsy/Traveller communities”.³⁶ This research uncovered clear evidence that this relationship between forced housing and forced child removal was much clearer than had been anticipated. Specifically, the evidence demonstrated, as will be seen in the following pages, that there was ultimately an extensive set of actions to remove Gypsy/Traveller children from their families and communities, either combined with forced housing policies, resulting from them, or happening concurrently alongside them. Examples of this forced transfer of children included:

- the removal of children from their families to be placed in temporary care.

- the forced transfer of children to industrial schools³⁷ sometimes in a different geographic location to that from which they were removed.
- the permanent removal of Gypsy/Traveller children in Scotland from their families through adoption domestically or overseas.

The archival evidence therefore demonstrated that the TE could not be analysed solely in relation to housing policy. Rather the TE needed to be viewed within the context of a much wider set of policies impacting Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland which were put in place by a range of stakeholders. Together these policies brought about the forced cultural assimilation of Gypsy/Traveller communities, families, individual adults, and children.

Second, in terms of this range of stakeholders, while the role of the UK national government, and specifically the Scottish Office, as a primary actor in the construction and enforcement of such policies can be located, the evidence that was discovered demonstrated that the work of the TE was complemented by the actions of local authorities, churches, charities, and the media, both through active cooperation and through independent yet parallel activities. Clear evidence was found in the archival record that these interventions in the lives of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland were often couched in paternalistic attitudes and in the language of ‘good intentions’, although paradoxically, it was acknowledged that many of these efforts “have been for the protection of the [settled] community rather than the welfare of the tinkers”.³⁸ In refining and operationalising the aims of this research, the TE cannot be decoupled from the wider environment of policies of marginalisation, discrimination and persecution that have been ongoing against Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland for centuries. It should also be noted, as has also been noted by members of Gypsy/Traveller communities across Scotland, that there are clear parallels in the documented experiences of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland with the documented experiences of other marginalised peoples, such as the Maori of Aotearoa/New Zealand; the Indigenous peoples of Canada, Australia, and the United States; and Travellers in Ireland. Such experiences have been characterised by both outside researchers and members of affected communities as cultural genocide.³⁹

Third, the archival evidence demonstrated, as noted also in the timeline presented in Appendix 1 of this report, that the institutional and societal desire to forcibly assimilate Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland extends centuries before 1940 and continued beyond the 1980s (the ‘boundary points’ for the TE highlighted in the original tender document). In terms, however, of the beginnings of the TE, the Kirk Yetholm Experiment (outlined in chapter 5) which began in the Scottish Borders in 1829 and was led by the Church of Scotland, was the first iteration of many assimilatory projects that would take place in the nineteenth and 20th centuries,⁴⁰ particularly after the seminal Report from the Departmental Committee on Habitual Offenders, Vagrants, Beggars, Inebriates, and Juvenile Delinquents, published in 1895 (see chapter 3). As an example at the other end of the date spectrum, in 1977 a policy on toleration and non-harassment (PTNH) came into force which gave police powers to force Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland onto official sites or to move Gypsy/Travellers out of a council area if all official sites were full.⁴¹ This policy ended in 2001 but arguably during its operation it led to an extension of the policy environment that had enabled the forced sedentarisation, and police

harassment of, Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland. This research then had to consider a range of policies and set the parameters for what would be examined within a wider understanding of which policies contributed to the TE as an attempt at the forced assimilation of Gypsy/ Travellers in Scotland, who was complicit in this attempt, and when these actions ultimately began.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has introduced the aims and scope of this archival research examining policies affecting Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland commonly described as the 'TE'. This chapter outlined definitional questions around the naming of the communities with which this report is concerned. This chapter has also given a brief overview of the research process, as well as the limits and obstacles to it. A fuller account of the methodology underpinning this report can be found in Appendix 2. The next chapter adds further context to this research by providing a historical background to the TE. This will put in place some of the broader historical detail necessary to gain a fuller understanding of the later evidence and analysis.

2. Historical Context

Introduction

This chapter begins at a similar point to other studies in focusing upon the presence of Gypsy/Travellers in Scottish history,⁴² with a discussion referencing the earliest mentions of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland in the historical record. This chapter ends with a brief examination of events in the nineteenth century that serve to set the scene for the examination of policies affecting Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland that are the subject of this report.⁴³

A Brief History

Despite being treated as outsiders throughout history, Gypsy/Traveller communities have been central to Scotland's socio-political, socio-cultural, and socio-economic landscape.⁴⁴ There are many publications that outline at least parts of this historic context, but we would especially note that 'written records of travelling metal-smiths, or 'tinklers',⁴⁵ extend as far back as the twelfth century'⁴⁶ and that it is very possible that there were people maintaining a nomadic way of life in Scotland even prior to such records.⁴⁷ For a significant portion of history there have been policies in place that have negatively affected Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland. The first significant example, known from the historical record, of anti-Gypsy/Traveller laws in Scotland came into force in a 1541 order of expulsion of Gypsies 'on pain of death'.⁴⁸ This act marked the beginning of a sustained period of discriminatory legislation against Gypsy/Travellers, often referred to at the time by variants of the name 'Egyptians' (sometimes spelled Egiptianis), due to a mistaken belief that their place of origin was Egypt. Four acts of parliament were enacted and seven proclamations made between 1573 and 1625 that aimed to criminalise the existence of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland by heavily regulating their interactions with other members of society and classifying their business activities as illegal.⁴⁹ In 1573, a privy council proclamation placed a 'charge upon the Egiptianis', ordering Gypsy/Travellers to either cease their tendency to 'wander up and down this realme' or leave Scotland.⁵⁰ In order to prevent Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland from receiving charitable relief, poor laws passed in 1575 and 1579 classified 'the idle people calling themselves Egyptians' as 'strong and idle beggars'. Punishment for being caught was to have 'their ears cut off and banished from the country; and if thereafter they be found again, that they be hanged.'⁵¹ By 1593, amid the witch-craze in Scotland at that time, Gypsy/Travellers were described as 'thieves, witches and abusers of the people' though we did not uncover any evidence during the research process that Gypsy/Travellers were tried under the 1563 Witchcraft Act.⁵² These discriminatory policies culminated in the 1609 Act regarding Egyptians, which ordered Gypsy/Travellers to 'pass out of this kingdom and remain perpetually forth thereof and never to return within the same under the pain of death.'⁵³ Another act passed in 1616 reaffirmed the provisions of the 1609 Act.⁵⁴ As Tyson writes:⁵⁵

"The 1609 act did not so much create a new offence as make the status of being a 'known Egyptian' sufficient evidence of theft, without requiring proof of

a specific criminal act. It allowed any subject to arrest a suspected Gypsy and act as pursuer (prosecutor)."

This was a time of punitive sanctions against groups deemed to be outside of society,⁵⁶ however the statute against Gypsy/Travellers was exceptionally discriminatory and was, according to 18th-century commentator David Hume, "so dangerous and so unusual a process".⁵⁷ Further accounts during this time of the ways in which prejudice against Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland continued to manifest include the 1624 trial of eight Gypsy/Traveller men that took place in Roslin (near Edinburgh) for violating the expulsion order that was in place.⁵⁸ Even though the Privy Council noted that the men had been living peacefully in the community and were accepted by their neighbours, they were hanged on January 29th, and their wives and children were similarly charged by the Court "for the same offence of being "Egyptians"". ⁵⁹ Later, in 1669, magistrates granted a group of Edinburgh merchants' permission to transport a saleable outward cargo on the Charles of Leith, including "any loose beggars and gypsies" that Scottish magistrates could round up.⁶⁰ Also illustrating the extent to which Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland were treated as second-class citizens in the eyes of the law, Lord John Lauder, commenting on the 1678 execution of Robert Faw, noted that:

"The probation was very slender, the witnesses not depending [sic] positively he was the very man; yet it was thought sufficient against such cattle, for the being a known Ægyptian is death by our Acts of Parliament."⁶¹

In 1714, the last people to be executed in Scotland for simply existing as Gypsy/Travellers were two women, Agnes McDonald and Jean Baillie, who were sent to their deaths that same year at the Grassmarket in Edinburgh.⁶² Throughout that century banishment, transportation to the Americas, and forced labour in factories and labour colonies continued to be used as punishment against Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland.⁶³ By 1783, most of this legislation had been repealed⁶⁴ but it had already significantly impacted Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland, forcing at least some communities to assimilate, by changing their way of life to one more closely resembling the 'settled' community, and denying their identity as Gypsy/Travellers for fear of retribution.⁶⁵ As this report will demonstrate, whilst not mentioning Gypsy/Travellers specifically, additional legislation,⁶⁶ continued to impact the Gypsy/Traveller population in Scotland, forcing sedentarism and assimilating them into 'settled' society.⁶⁷ It should also be noted at this point that what is evidenced in this report is in keeping with a wider discussion of the ways in which discrimination against nomadic peoples has taken place and can similarly be seen within the life stories of other marginalised peoples including Roma in mainland Europe,⁶⁸ the Indigenous peoples of North America,⁶⁹ the Māori of New Zealand⁷⁰ and the Sami people of Northern Europe.⁷¹

Chapter Summary

This chapter has briefly examined the history of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, centring on the period between the 16th to nineteenth centuries. The focus of this report is 20th

century policies affecting Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland. However, to fully understand the evidence upon which this report is based, we must also understand its historical, social, political, economic and cultural context. As evidenced in this chapter, much of this context is discriminatory, and reliant on the state and other governing bodies intervening into the lives of Scottish Gypsy/Travellers. This report now turns to an outline and analysis of the evidence of the role of the UK government and the Scottish Office in the TE.

3. The UK Government and the Scottish Office

Introduction

The following chapter represents the results of an examination and analysis of archival materials relating mostly or wholly to Scotland and that are held by the National Records of Scotland. This has been supplemented by evidence from Hansard, and from the Katherine Stewart-Murray Private Archive held at Blair Castle and was further confirmed by narrative evidence available from the British Newspaper Archives.⁷²

It is important to highlight how Scotland was governed during the period examined in this report. From 1827, Scottish executive government was much more tightly administered from London than previously. The various revenue boards lost almost all their purported ability to self-govern, an ability which they had had since the Act of Union in 1707.⁷³ The general lead in Scottish public affairs was taken by the Lord Advocate. Fuller governmental representation for Scotland only arrived with the establishment of the Scottish Office in 1886, which created a Secretary for Scotland, a post that was not initially intended to be Cabinet-level. Despite this, Scotland continued to be mostly administered through boards. In 1939, the functions of these boards were entrusted to the Secretary of State (now a Cabinet-level post, hence the change of name from Secretary 'for' to Secretary 'of') and the Scottish Office was divided into separate departments that would deal with specific matters, notably Agriculture, Education, and Home and Health. Following World War II, the Secretary of State was given additional responsibilities including town and country planning and childcare. From 1960 to 1962, a series of internal changes in the Scottish Office resulted in the reconstitution of four departments: the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland; the Scottish Development Department (with functions including those relating to local government, town and country planning, housing, roads, environmental services and Highland development); the Scottish Education Department; and the Scottish Home and Health Department. The latter had responsibility for health services, law and order.

Chapter Structure

The findings outlined in this chapter are organised around the key date of 1895, which was the year when the Scottish Office published the outcomes of a commissioned report, the Report from the Departmental Committee on Habitual Offenders, Vagrants, Beggars, Inebriates, and Juvenile Delinquents, which has subsequently become known as The Scottish Traveller Report. This report made recommendations that, as this report will highlight, were used to guide later policy and so effectively provided a mandate for key government, local authority and civil society actors to manage and intervene in the lives of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland.

Following analysis of the materials described, evidence was found of three distinct forms of government activity impacting Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland that either directly connect to the TE or that laid the foundations for the policies associated with the TE to be able take place.

1. Legislation that directly impacted the social, economic, and cultural

- welfare culture of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland
2. National government/Scottish Office-led committees
 3. Direct public commentary on Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland in both Houses of Parliament

Legislation that directly impacted the social, economic, and cultural welfare of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland

Pre-1895 legislation

Two pieces of legislation are worthy of mention here given that, although they did not target specific communities or minority ethnic groups, they had a disproportionate impact on the lives of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland. First, the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Act (Scotland) of 1854 which was a key element in the Victorian criminal justice system.⁷⁴ Under the 1854 Act, vagrant children were sent to reformatory and industrial schools - some of which were residential - under a court order. The Act was originally called, 'A Bill to render Reformatory and Industrial Schools more available for the Benefit of juvenile Delinquents and vagrant Children,' and "allowed vagrant children to be committed to industrial schools if they were considered 'likely' to commit a crime in the future."⁷⁵ As the reformatory system was first developed in Scotland, there were far initially more "industrial schools here than in England as it was only in the late 1860s that England began to follow the Scottish model and expand its reformatory system".⁷⁶ In 1866, the Act was further extended giving magistrates the authority to sentence homeless children aged between seven and fourteen years to a period in an industrial school, with the costs being borne by local education authorities.⁷⁷ Although not state-run as such, industrial schools were regulated by statute, subject to statutory inspection, in receipt of public funding, and under the direction of the Home Office.⁷⁸

As will become evident throughout this report, this is a highly significant piece of legislation in terms of the use of 'child welfare' policies for the wider TE project. To be clear, it is very difficult to find the numbers of Gypsy/Traveller children in Scotland who were removed from their families in one way or another as records rarely highlight whether children were from Gypsy/Traveller families. Further research on these numbers is therefore warranted. The research period did yield one indication of the extent to which such removals took place. In 'Scotland's Travelling People, Problems and Solutions,' a report published in 1971 that was produced by the Scottish Development Department, the authors note that in 1917 there were 171 Gypsy/Traveller children in industrial schools in Scotland.⁷⁹ Elsewhere their report stated that the Gypsy/Traveller population in Scotland in 1917 numbered 2,728 people.⁸⁰ Although the Gypsy/Traveller population figures are likely inaccurate,⁸¹ it is important to recognise that these were official figures given by government researchers, and that as such they imply that a substantial portion (around 1 in 16) of the Gypsy/Traveller population in Scotland was in an industrial school in 1917. We could find no direct comparison to the general UK population for that specific year. However, based on comments in Hansard by Lord Aberdare, around 1 in 3757 of the general population were in industrial schools

in 1888.⁸² As we were unable to find any evidence of, or reason for, a significant increase in industrial school enrolment for the general population between those two dates - 1888 and 1917 - these statistics could indicate that Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland were over-represented within the industrial school population.

Second, the Trespass (Scotland) Act of 1865 made camping on private land without the permission of the landlord a criminal offence.⁸³ This includes private roads, land that is near those roads, and any enclosed land, cultivated land, and 'plantation' land (including Forestry Commission land). This Act, which is still in place today, arguably marks the beginning of modern-day legislation whereby Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland had become increasingly immobilised in terms of access to land and the ability to set up their homes in particular places. We saw evidence of the direct ongoing impact of this in the archives of Children First, historically the Scottish National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (SNSPCC) then later, in 1921, the Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (RSSPCC). In Aberdeen, a 1930 report, by a sanitary inspector who visited 'Camping Grounds' regularly, noted that they were 'gradually being closed'. The inspector further remarked:

"[A]t present the Vagrant class complain of not being able to get proper Camping Ground, and in some places are only allowed to remain the night, and in consequence the children are unable to attend school."⁸⁴

That same year, and again in 1936, reports of the Inspector from the Ross, Cromarty and Sutherland Branch of the RSSPCC, who noted that Traveller parents were increasingly asking for officials to secure a "recognised camping ground...within a short distance from a school".⁸⁵ Another Inspector from the Moray, Nairn, and Banff Branch, cited that one reason for a decrease in the number of families travelling from place to place was the "closing down of many camping grounds",⁸⁶ whilst an Inspector from the Dunbartonshire Branch of the RSSPCC noted in his 1936 report that:

"Again I have had many complaints of the increasing difficulty the tinkers are having in getting camping ground, particularly where they do not require to pay for it. There were several places where previously they were allowed to camp quite freely, but now they are prohibited from doing so and this is just within the past two years."⁸⁷

Evidence like this, and more broadly these two key pieces of legislation, highlight two key elements regarding government policy, enacted by the Scottish Office, that significantly impacted Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland: first, the centrality of child welfare policies to how government, local authorities and other key stakeholders 'dealt' with Gypsy/Traveller communities; and, second, the question of land, housing, and settlement. Together these form a significant part of the legislative framework upon which 20th century policies affecting Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland were built.

Post-1895 legislation

We would seek to highlight two key pieces of legislation in the post-1895 period. First, the Children Act of 1908 (also known as the 'Children's Charter') which sought to bring together a range of existing legislation - including the 1868 Industrial Schools Act - and is often considered as laying the foundation for juvenile justice prior to the 1971 Kilbrandon report, which significantly reformed childcare in Scotland.⁸⁸ The Children Act was applicable in the UK with the necessary modifications for Scotland being made by section 132 of the Act.⁸⁹ The 1908 Act is important for this present research because of its reference - in Part VI, Article 118 - to the children of those parents, or guardians, who were 'wandering'. Specifically, the Act put in place legislation that required children of parents who "engaged in a trade or business of such a nature as to require him to travel from place to place"⁹⁰ to attend school for not less than 200 attendances. Those who didn't achieve this could be removed from their family, meaning that Gypsy/Traveller communities faced the threat of having their children put into an industrial school, as had frequently happened previously.⁹¹ Commentary within the report of the 1918 Departmental Committee on Tinkers notes that institutional life had assimilationist outcomes: it "disciplines them [Gypsy/Traveller children]... [and] tends to draw them from their roving ways", though it "cannot eradicate altogether the wandering instinct".⁹² One example of child removal to industrial schools happened in April 1912, when Frank Stewart and Elizabeth White found themselves at the Justice of the Peace Court in Aberdeen. They had been found wandering at Pitcaple in Aberdeenshire with their children, John (13 years and 11 months), James (10 years and 2 months) and Maxwell (6 years and 1 month) contrary to Article 118 of the Children Act and were each fined 15 shillings or 7 days imprisonment. All three boys were committed to Oakbank Industrial School in Aberdeen until they reached the age of 16.⁹³

It should be noted too that the inability of Gypsy/Traveller families in Scotland to find stopping places as evidenced by the previous discussion of the Trespass (Scotland) Act of 1865 worked in tandem with the provisions of the Children Act of 1908. Evidence of this can be seen in a 1930 letter from the RSSPCC Inspector in Dingwall to RSSPCC head office which notes:

"As time goes by it is becoming more difficult for tinker parents to find a small piece of land on which to camp or set up his caravan. The few places where camping is permitted or tolerated are without exception far from a school with the result that the children cannot possibly attend."⁹⁴

Second, the question of housing was further impacted by the Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act of 1960 which further reduced the number of sites, albeit substandard ones, that Gypsy/Traveller communities had previously used. This paved the way for local authority action in terms of specific sites that were designated for the use of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland.⁹⁵ The Act has been heavily amended since it was first instituted but remains in place today and covers most privately-owned residential mobile home sites, holiday sites, and privately-owned Gypsy/Traveller sites.⁹⁶ It

required site owners to get a site licence from the local authority before being able to use the land as a caravan site, giving local authorities the power to control the mobility of Gypsy/Travellers in their local authority areas by imposing conditions in terms of site licences and enforcing those if breached. The result was that only those Gypsy/Travellers who could find a pitch on a licensed site that would admit Gypsy/Travellers could remain within the law. Under section 23 of the Act, local authorities were given the power to close public spaces to those using caravans for habitation which they often did whilst at the same time ignoring the powers given to them under Section 24 which was to open caravan sites as compensation for the loss of the commons.⁹⁷ The provisions of the Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act 1960 also worked in tandem with the provisions of the 1878 Roads and Bridges (Scotland) Act, which in turn made it an offence for travellers to camp on the road or its verges and to give local authorities the powers to force Gypsy/Travellers to move on.⁹⁸ One researcher would go on to note:⁹⁹

“The underlying aim of the use of this legislation was still assimilationist. The intention was to eradicate the nomadic way of life and force travelling people to settle down and conform to the lifestyle of the dominant society.”

Having considered these pieces of legislation, this report turns to the role of government committees.

National government/Scottish Office-led committees

In the questions and witness statements heard in government-led committees prior to the release of a government report, and in the subsequent reports themselves, we see the feelings of officials addressing the question of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland verbalised, and the reasoning for certain policies and approaches outlined. These government-led committees were often exploratory in nature and provided information either upon which legislation and policies were subsequently built or as will be evidenced below, that served to sanction the activity of other stakeholders e.g. the police (see later evidence in chapter 7). In this regard, this section will demonstrate clear evidence of assimilationist opinions, dehumanising language and a desire to monitor and control Gypsy/Traveller lives. It has already been noted that the Scottish Traveller Report of 1895 marks a key point for the policies that set the stage for the TE and so this section will focus upon this document first, before moving to the work of other key Government-led Committees.

The 1895 ‘Scottish Traveller Report’

“And is there any way of ending the gypsy race as such except by taking forcible possession of their children and sending them to Industrial Schools and Training Ships?¹⁰⁰”

In 1894 the then Secretary for Scotland, Sir George Trevelyan, created a Departmental Committee on Habitual Offenders, Vagrants, Beggars, Inebriates and Juvenile Delinquents, chaired by Sir Charles Cameron, on behalf of the then Scottish Office. The subsequent report – now more often referred to in the literature as The Scottish Traveller Report’- heard evidence from 151 witnesses in Aberdeen, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London, and visited 35 institutions across Scotland. The report was submitted in April 1895 and presented to MPs on 20 May 1895. Although not within the initial explicit remit of the Committee, the report contains extensive discussion of ‘tinkers and gypsies’ particularly concerning the education of Gypsy/Traveller children and social welfare, noting “we fully recognise the evil of permitting any class of children to remain outside the pale of the law which enforces compulsory education”.¹⁰¹ As a result the Report made recommendations that, as this research will highlight, were used to guide later policy and discussion, thus effectively provided a mandate for key government, local authority and civil society actors to manage and intervene in the lives of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland. This included discussion around the need for civil society actors to be given increased authority:

“powers should be given to School Board districts and parishes in a county or adjoining counties to unite in enforcing the attendance at Schools of the children of nomadic parents, and that such united districts and parishes should be empowered to frame bye-laws for the purpose of carrying on the education of such children, which bye-laws, if approved by the secretary of state for Scotland, should have the force of law.¹⁰²”

Concerning mechanisms and legislation to enforce school attendance, we note a letter from Sir George Trevelyan’s Office dated 20 September 1894, which states that:

“my Lords fear that, without the aid of fresh legislation, School Boards can do little or nothing in the way of putting in force the compulsory clauses of the Education Acts in the case of wandering Tinker children, inasmuch as under these Acts, the local authority can only proceed against parents who are resident within their district.¹⁰³”

This letter, written in advance of the Report, was then published within the Report and formed part of the call/mandate for updated education legislation. As illustrated by this quote, the 1895 Report - in addition to its recommendations on child welfare - represents a growing awareness amongst policymakers that a substantial legislative

gap existed regarding what was often referred to in documentary evidence as the 'Traveller problem'. In the 1904 Education (Scotland) Northern Division Report, education inspector J. Boyd similarly notes – echoing the sentiments of Sir George Trevelyan - that “it is impossible with the present machinery of compulsion to bring them within the range of the Education Acts.”¹⁰⁴ Two government bills were drafted and debated: the Bill for Securing the Education of Tinker children in the Counties of Dumbarton, Perth, Ross and Sutherland, and other parts of Scotland, which set out provisions for forced housing, compulsory school attendance, and child removal;¹⁰⁵ and the Movable Dwellings Bill, which aimed to regulate the use of tents, vans, and other mobile homes as dwellings.¹⁰⁶ Neither of these bills were passed; however, the perceived legislative gap was later addressed in the Children Act of 1908.

The Scottish Traveller Report is also highly significant in terms of the snapshot that it provides of exactly how key stakeholders and civil society actors viewed Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland at that time by recounting - through the statements of 151 witnesses and 499 pages of evidence -an array of witness statements that frequently use dehumanising language or reference a desire for assimilation or control. Through both written statements and oral testimonies, witnesses and members of the Committee discuss having “them [Gypsy/Travellers] extirpated as a class and absorbed in the labouring population”¹⁰⁷; “ending the gypsy race...by taking forcible possession of their children”;¹⁰⁸ and “after having them compulsorily educated, to send them away out of reach of their tribe.”¹⁰⁹ Perhaps the strongest evidence of a desire for assimilation and control in the form of stronger forced housing policies amongst civil society stakeholders comes from representatives of the Perthshire Committee on Vagrancy:¹¹⁰

“I may appear rather hard-hearted and callous in the few remarks I have had the honour of addressing to you, but I am firmly convinced that the only effectual treatment is eradication. For the children I have only pity. For the grown-up members, knowing them as I do I feel sure that all philanthropic efforts based on sentimentality are useless.”

There were also examples of dehumanising language, including the words of William Mitchell:¹¹¹

“... the tinkers I speak of and their children are positively just like cattle. They have no moral training or teaching of any kind whatever.”

This tone is also evidenced elsewhere in the Committee evidence and is a reminder of its significance. Though there had been a long history of state legislation against Gypsy/Travellers, as discussed above, this was the first major instance we found of the government so directly engaging in the public debate on Gypsy/Travellers, thus transforming the issue into a matter of state concern.

Early 1900's Departmental Committees

Following the 1895 report, the issue of the education of Gypsy/Traveller children in Scotland was returned to repeatedly - always in terms of those children being a 'problem', and often using dehumanising language and advocating for increased control of Gypsy/Traveller communities or their assimilation. For example, a second key Departmental Committee was the Departmental Committee on Tinkers, which was launched in 1917 and published its final report in 1918 where Gypsy/Travellers are described as an "immigrant class representing a stage of human development different from that current in the society into which they intruded".¹¹² 'Tinkerdom' is also described in the report as a "very real social disease" which required long-term action to remedy, recognising that "a condition that has existed for at least 400 years cannot be wholly obliterated in one or even two generations."¹¹³ If settling was a requirement, then the possibility arose that the state would have to intervene in providing housing, hence the Committee Report highlights the need for housing to be operated by the county council and financed by them and the state jointly. The recommendations of the 1918 Committee were more wide-ranging than its predecessor, including:¹¹⁴

- (1) Schemes for the settlement and employment of tinkers to be prepared by county councils of the counties in which they are found.*
- (12) For every tinker family a house to be provided in a locality where a means of livelihood is available; such houses to be in the country.*
- (23) Tinker children to be required to put in the maximum number of attendances at school, involving repeal of Section 118 (3) of the Children Act, 1908.*
- (24) If parents refuse to settle, and persist in wandering with their children, the children to be committed to an industrial school or placed under a suitable guardian.*
- (28) The purchase of intoxicants by tinkers to be prohibited.*
- (30) The sale of intoxicants to tinkers to be prohibited.*

The 1918 Report is significant in that it establishes an explicit remit for the provision of housing for Gypsy/Travellers. This was borne from the recognition that, although police authorities were increasing their persecution of Gypsy/Travellers for violation of the Children Act of 1908, the failure of councils to provide housing meant that Gypsy/Traveller families were unable to send their children to school. Forced housing was therefore seen as the solution to what was widely discussed as the 'Tinker Problem'. The 1918 Report discusses a desire for "the nomadic habit to be destroyed" and to "mould" Gypsy/Travellers so that they "shall adopt a new standard of values...in preference to his own".¹¹⁵ On Saturday 20 April, 1918, an article was published in the 'Aberdeen Evening Express' under the headline 'The Tinker Problem' referencing the

1918 Report:

“Will the disappearance of the tinker date from the great war? It would be a loss which Scotland would bear with equanimity, the tinker being more picturesque than useful. A Departmental Committee appointed by the Secretary for Scotland has made a series of suggestions regarding the housing and general improvements of the social conditions of the tinker gypsies who have been familiar figures in Scotland for 400 years and there appears to be a serious intention of grappling with a problem that has hitherto baffled the social reformer. A fairly large number of tinkers are now serving in the army, and the habit of discipline thus acquired may have a salutary effect in the future. Many children have found their way into industrial schools, and hopes are entertained of their reclamation. The granting of allowances to wives and children of men on military service has induced many tinkers to ‘settle down’ and the leading proposal is that they should be induced to live in decent dwellings. For the partial maintenance and training of families the state would make provision, the County Councils bearing a proportion of the cost.”¹¹⁶

The general economic and social hardship experienced within the UK in the post-world War I period had a particularly severe impact on Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland. This established the remit of the 1936 Departmental Committee on Vagrancy in Scotland, who admitted that “the condition of tinkers now is, in some respects at least, worse than at the date of the Departmental Committee’s inquiry”.¹¹⁷ The Committee noted that properties previously inhabited by Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland were increasingly being demolished which came in tandem with the widespread closure of camping areas.¹¹⁸ As a result, Gypsy/Traveller families had limited places to legally stay and were therefore unable to meet the provisions of the Children Act of 1908. Not only did this create a significant social crisis for Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, but police officers, poor inspectors, social workers, and educational authorities found themselves inundated with requests for aid from Gypsy/Travellers.¹¹⁹ Additionally, this raised the fear that closure of legal housing would lead to a resurgence of vagrancy and a rise in the numbers of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland. Recommendations of the Committee included:¹²⁰

(16) Houses for tinkers where required (not in colonies), should be provided by local authorities, where a means of livelihood is available and within a reasonable distance from schools.

(19) When houses are provided, full school attendance of children should be enforced.

(20) Until houses are provided, local authorities should have powers to arrange temporary camping for tinkers, by permit, subject to strict sanitary control.

Post-World War II Research and Advisory Committees

Although the advent of WWII limited efforts to implement the recommendations of the 1936 Departmental Committee, as we will see in the next chapter, the post-WWII efforts of local authorities across Scotland to house Gypsies/Travellers bear a marked resemblance to the recommendations of both the 1917 and the 1936 Departmental Committees. The establishment of emergency housing camps and segregated schools, widespread programs of housing provision, and the provision of permanent campsites for Travellers all bear the mark of the 1936 Report, while discussions of 'integration' and 'absorption' continued well into the latter half of the 20th Century.

Following the post-war period, in which efforts were primarily devolved to the local level, the Government was less directly involved in the issue until the late 1960s. The enactment of the Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act 1960, which introduced licensing requirements for caravan sites, severely limited the movements of Gypsy/Travellers in the UK.¹²¹ This led to backlash from both the settled and Travelling community,¹²² which in England and Wales led to the creation of the Caravan Sites Act 1968 mandating Traveller site provision.¹²³ The Act did not, however, extend to Scotland as Scottish parliamentarians noted that *"they would prefer to continue their efforts to integrate the gipsy [sic] population gradually into normal [emphasis added] communities rather than establishing 'ghettoes'"*, which was felt to be the impact of the 1968 Act.¹²⁴ Understanding the issue was seen as a necessary first step, and the Under-Secretary of State for Scotland, William Hughes (Baron Hughes of Hawkhill), commissioned two Scotland-wide censuses and a report to be written in 1969.¹²⁵ The report (also referenced in the previous chapter) – 'Scotland's Travelling People: Problems and Solutions' – was written by Hugh Gentleman and Susan Swift who were employed by the Scottish Development Department. It noted that Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland had few to no places to legally stay because of housing legislation and made recommendations including the provision of housing and campsites by local authorities, the use of "second-class accommodation" to facilitate the move to council housing and improved education for Traveller children.¹²⁶

To implement these recommendations, Gentleman and Swift recommended the creation of a body that could coordinate stakeholders and also provide oversight to local processes.¹²⁷ This body, the Advisory Committee on Scotland's Travelling People, was established immediately following the publication of the report in 1971.¹²⁸ It operated for nine terms between 1971 and 1999 and published reports at the conclusion of each term. Throughout its lifespan, these Advisory Committees directly advised the Secretary of State for Scotland and instigated government policies such as the Policy for Toleration and Non-Harassment (PTNH) and district campsite pitch targets.¹²⁹ Both of which defined relations between Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland and state actors during the latter portion of the 20th Century. These will be discussed in more detail later in this report.

Direct public commentary on Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland in both Houses of Parliament

"[I]s the Minister aware that people concerned with the gypsy problem would like to congratulate the Scots on the humane way in which they have tried to deal with this problem...?"¹³⁰

The words of members of both Houses of Parliament are useful in highlighting the ways in which Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland were viewed and the discussions that were taking place outside of those around bringing forward legislation. For example, on Wednesday 14 April 1886, the question of the 'Education of Children of Travelling Tinkers' was debated in parliament, with the Lord Advocate, in response to a question from the MP for Leith, Mr Jacks, seeming to make a case for government intervention. Specifically, the Lord Advocate, J. B. Balfour addressed the subject of the education of Gypsy/Traveller children in Scotland which had been "brought under the notice of the Scottish Education Department":

"The subject had since been carefully considered by the Department, and he had caused certain inquiries to be made, with the view of ascertaining approximately the number of tinkers' children who could neither read nor write."¹³¹

The issue was further discussed on Monday 7th December 1908, when Lord Herschel - debating the Education (Scotland) Bill - identified the "systematic ways in which tinkers and vagrants refuse to send their children to school' as 'one of the most acute problems which school boards have to face'.¹³²

On Tuesday 16 December 1919, in answer to the question "what steps, if any, are being taken to house the tinkers, and educate and otherwise improve their children?" posed by James Gardener MP, the then Secretary of State for Scotland seeming to directly reference the later TE replying: ¹³³

"As regards housing, the Scottish Board of Health, with the approval of the Secretary for Scotland and in co-operation with the local authorities concerned, have formulated a scheme for the utilisation of Army huts for housing tinkers in Caithness. A similar scheme for Perthshire is now under consideration. As regards education and improvement of tinker children, I have no reason to think that education authorities are failing to exercise their powers under the Education (Scotland) Acts and the Children Act."

Housing for Scottish Gypsy/Travellers was discussed further in 1959 in regard to emergency housing in Caithness, where J. Nixon Browne - Joint Undersecretary of

State for Scotland - argued that “the absorption into the community of tinkers, with their traditionally itinerant mode of life and dwelling, presents grave problems for all concerned and does not always meet with success.”¹³⁴ As we will see in the following chapter, these schemes were also mentioned in the archival materials available discussing the role of local authorities.

On October 24, 1961, Parliament noted its approval of anti-Traveller legislation and policies in Scotland, with Norman Dodds, MP for Erith and Crayford, asking Secretary of State for Scotland John Maclay:¹³⁵

*“[i]s the Minister aware that people concerned with the **gypsy problem** [emphasis added] would like to congratulate the Scots on the humane way in which they have tried to deal with this problem, which is in marked contrast to the disgraceful conditions in this country which make a mockery of the claim of both sides of the House about the brotherhood of man, which seems to apply in other countries but not on our own doorstep?”*

These sentiments demonstrate that overall, the commentary in Parliament largely adds to the narratives of legislation pre- and post-1895 rather than dissenting from it. These kinds of comments also demonstrate that not only was discussion taking place regarding the treatment of Gypsy/Travellers within Scotland but at the UK-wide level too.

Chapter Summary

This chapter highlights the legislative framework surrounding Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland at the level of the national government, and more specifically of the Scottish Office. Significant pieces of governmental legislation, such as the Trespass (Scotland) Act 1865 and the Children Act 1908, were discussed with the evidence demonstrating that these were seen as providing the means to restrict the nomadic lifestyles of Gypsy/Travellers through the language of child welfare. This legislation was complemented by the work of a series of Departmental Committees, whose recommendations on education, housing, and social welfare laid the foundation for efforts to assimilate the Gypsy/Traveller population throughout the 20th Century. Finally, parliamentary discussions and evidence of multi-stakeholder collaboration highlight the nature of wider sentiments and the policy environment surrounding Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland at that time.

4. The Scottish Local Authorities

Introduction

For Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, local authorities were at the heart of how policies were actioned and how the experiences of the TE played out. This chapter will provide evidence demonstrating that local authorities enacted policies that were clearly sanctioned by the Scottish Office. At the same time, the UK government, and the Scottish Office, saw local authorities as a key stakeholder in 'dealing' with the issue of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland. One instance that exemplifies this took place in 1924 with the Secretary of State for Scotland responded to calls from a delegation of representatives of Scottish churches. The delegation had called for better housing for Gypsy/Travellers, noting that little could be done unless the issue was seen as essential by local authorities.¹³⁶

As noted previously, government policies that affected Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland in the 20th century did not take place in a vacuum, and this present chapter demonstrates this perhaps most of all. Over the 20th century, Scotland experienced changes in local authority areas, changes in housing policies, and the aftermath of global conflicts; all of which have at times made the evidence of the TE difficult to separate from other events. However, this section will demonstrate that local authorities generally approached what they themselves often referred to as the 'Tinker Problem' by separating Gypsy/Travellers from society, putting in place policies that frequently had the stated intention, and outcome, of stopping the Gypsy/Traveller way of life and enforcing/encouraging sedentarism.¹³⁷

In examining housing policies, there is a tendency to question whether Gypsy/Traveller communities, families, and individuals were treated that differently from members of the general population, who were also suffering socio-economic hardship at the time. This is understandable, however we believe that there is clear archival evidence that this was the case, even if it did not always appear so in the legislative record. One important piece of evidence here lies in the testimony given by John Thomas Maxwell, Secretary to the Local Government Board¹³⁸ for Scotland, to the Departmental Committee on Tinkers of 1918:¹³⁹

"Tinkers are not singled out for special treatment or special control under the provision of the Statutes administered by the Board as a Central Authority or under regulations framed by Local Authorities with the approval of the Board. They enjoy the same local privileges and are subject to the same regulations and restrictions of other classes of the community. There are, however, certain provisions which, while general in their application, affect tinkers more particularly."

John Maxwell then goes on to outline these provisions specifically concerned with 'Public Health and Housing' and 'Poor Law', including those pertaining to: premises as nuisances, overcrowding, dirty houses, infectious disease, bye-laws as to tents, vans,

sheds etc., prevention and suppression of vagrancy, the provision of houses and finally references the obligations of local authorities under the Children Act of 1908. He concludes that section of his evidence by noting that regarding the latter:¹⁴⁰

“provisions ordaining adequate lodging and elementary education for the children tend to force tinkers to live at least during the winter months in houses of some description in or near towns or villages.”

Stepping back, public-facing and differentiated treatment of Gypsy/Travellers is only one form of discrimination. To say, for example, that the general population experienced the same level of hardship as Gypsy/Travellers is to downplay the significance of evidence highlighting the many references to sub-standard housing as a means to assimilation, rather than as solely poor living conditions.¹⁴¹ Housing policies experienced by Gypsy/Travellers should therefore be viewed through this lens to better contextualise their narratives.

Impact of Housing Policies

Presently, there are 32 council areas in Scotland,¹⁴² and for the purposes of this research, our findings are reported in terms of this present system of local authority areas. With this in mind, we undertook an in-depth examination of materials from the archives of six local authorities: Comhairle nan Eilean Siar (specifically Lewis), Dundee City, Fife, Glasgow City, Highlands¹⁴³, and Perth and Kinross. We also examined archival materials from Clackmannanshire, Aberdeen City, Aberdeenshire, Angus,¹⁴⁴ and Stirling.¹⁴⁵ These Council areas were chosen because they were the most frequently highlighted in a range of publications - e.g. government reports, research articles, newspaper archives - as having significant Gypsy/Traveller populations. Many of the materials referenced in this section are County Council and Town Council minutes and so represent a formal record of the decisions that were made by the local authorities, and the reasons for them. As such they represent an agreed, and invaluable, account of the policy discussions and decisions that took place. We were also able to supplement our findings by using newspaper accounts of County Council and Town Council meetings.¹⁴⁶

This chapter identifies and evidences three forms of housing policy which had a forced and/or discriminatory effect against Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland (discussions of which gather pace from the end of World War I). These are defined as:

1. Specific sites designated for the use of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, including the provision of an assortment of ‘built’ housing (e.g. Nissen and Nissen-type huts, repurposed military infrastructure, disused houses), which were known by government agents to be substandard including that they were often without amenities such as electricity and plumbing; and later purpose-built housing also deemed to be substandard in a number of ways (e.g. over-crowding).
2. Specific sites designated for the use of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, but with no provision of ‘built’ housing, nor of facilities, and frequently located far from local

amenities (e.g. council-run campsites).

3. The provision of former military sites for emergency housing, many times located in more urban areas, for Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland to live together with others. Such housing was again substandard (e.g. the former Castlehill Barracks in Aberdeen which is frequently referenced as ‘slum housing’ and the so-called ‘Tinker’s Quarter’ in Perth).¹⁴⁷ These arrangements sometimes resulted in the ‘ghettoisation’ of Gypsy/Travellers, alongside other under-privileged groups.

On the basis of the research conducted for this report, and without the benefit of being able to utilise the ‘lived experiences’ of the victims/survivors of the TE, archival evidence strongly suggests that the provision of the previously defined ‘built’ sites was more prevalent in the 1940s and 1950s, and that the provision of sites designated for the use of Gypsy/Travellers but with no provision for ‘built’ housing was more prevalent in the 1960s and 1970s.

Overall, we found that there was evidence of at least one of the three forms of forced and/or discriminatory housing policy used against Gypsy/Travellers in twenty-seven of the thirty-two council areas in present-day Scotland. Of the remaining five, two council areas - Orkney and Shetland - were discussed as having solved their Traveller problem some time ago, and that Gypsy/Travellers residing there had already been housed.¹⁴⁸ This suggests that there may have been policies of forced sedentarisation in place there at some point in the 19th or 20th Century. Although we were unable to find direct evidence of this during the time frame, we also did not find any evidence that Orkney and Shetland had followed different policies to other local authorities and would suggest that this is a fruitful area for future research. We would also emphasise that although we looked at a large number of archival materials - meeting minutes, local authority reports, and other documents including letters, formal communications, legal documents and newspaper reports – we were still only able to look at a limited portion of the local authority archival evidence that exists. Moreover, not all the archival materials were indexed and so it is highly likely that additional materials exist that we did not have the opportunity to access. Of the materials that we analysed, many further replicated the discriminatory attitudes and approaches referenced in direct quotes in this report, but where we found counter-narratives we have included these¹⁴⁹ This chapter will demonstrate that the evidence that we uncovered was extensive and that it was also frequently underpinned by rhetoric reflecting the normalisation of assimilatory and dehumanising attitudes towards Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland.

Sub-standard ‘built’ housing designated for Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland

This section is concerned with specific sites designated for the use of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, including the provision of an assortment of ‘built’ housing (e.g. Nissen or Nissen-type huts,¹⁵⁰ disused houses) that were known by government agents to be substandard and that were often without amenities such as electricity and plumbing.

“The object is to break off the nomadic habit of the tinkers by placing them in a position to earn a living...¹⁵¹”

Of the archival materials that were examined in depth, we found that this form of forced or discriminatory housing was richly evidenced in the Highlands, Perthshire, and Na h-Eileanan an Iar, as well as a brief mention of a site in Angus.¹⁵² Outside of those archival sites where materials were looked at in great depth, we also saw evidence of similar policies in Aberdeenshire, in Stirling, and in Argyll and Bute. Overall, we believe that our research offers strong evidence that this category of site was used to address the issues that local authorities saw as arising from the presence of Gypsy/Travellers in their areas. Often these policies were described as an ‘experiment’ or ‘trial’ that might lead to assimilation, sometimes involving policies of involuntary segregation. Gypsy/Travellers who were placed in these sites were also “*subject to fairly close supervision*”.¹⁵³ This includes mention, in 1917, of a crofting experiment that had “*recently been inaugurated*” at Swinton in the Borders¹⁵⁴ and discussion of a “*most promising effort to solve a most difficult problem*’ in Kirkhill, Thurso that same year, which was discussed as a ‘*scheme of reclamation*’”.¹⁵⁵ We see further discussion in a document titled ‘Letter on Housing of Tinkers in Caithness’, dated 30 Mar 1917 which highlights:

*“... a suggestion by the General Superintendent of Poor that something might be done to provide Small Holdings for these people on the Crown property of Dorrery and Scootscauder. The object is to break off the nomadic habit of the tinkers by placing them in a position to earn a living and apparently the idea is that there is a suitable opportunity of doing so at present when many of the men are away at the War and their dependents have separation allowances.”*¹⁵⁶

Similarly, in a letter from the local government board in June 1917, the author links land/housing allocation with those serving in the armed forces:

*“the Office of Woods and Forests should set aside a portion of Crown Lands in Caithness for the purpose of forming a crofting settlement for the tinkers in that county, especially for those men of the tinker class who are now serving in H. M. Forces.”*¹⁵⁷

We have identified two reasons why there is increased discussion of Gypsy/Traveller lives by key stakeholders during the two immediate post-war periods.¹⁵⁸ First, families of Gypsy/Traveller men who were away fighting had often ‘settled’ in order to be eligible for family and dependant allowances, and once war ended it was clear that the mobility of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland would once again increase.¹⁵⁹ Second, there was also an acute housing shortage in post-World War II Scotland that saw increased discussion about housing policy and the options that local authorities could provide. For Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, almost without exception,¹⁶⁰ this meant substandard housing. In some cases, this was Nissen huts (see the case study of the Bobbin Mill site below) whilst in others it meant dilapidated and disused buildings, or wooden huts or

shacks. There are numerous references to substandard housing, including one discussion that took place on 6 April 1960, when the Inverness County Council Landward Committee on Public Health noted that the:

*Town Council had agreed that enquiry should be made as to the possibility of purchasing prefabricated houses to be used to house the families concerned and that meantime the Burgh Sanitary Inspector had been instructed to prepare a list of sub-standard properties in the burgh which might be suitably adapted.*¹⁶¹

Similarly, it is noted that:

*“In Aberdeenshire prefabs are being used which are not considered adequate housing for normal housing purposes. When dismantled, two of these might make one dwelling for tinkers.”*¹⁶²

although it is later noted that “dwellings would have to be strong.”¹⁶³ There was no clarification as to what ‘strong’ means in practice.

To understand fully the role that local authorities played, this chapter will use two case studies: a case study of Ross and Cromarty, the local authority which yielded the most extensive evidence for this kind of housing during the research process; and a case study of the oldest, and only remaining TE site of its kind, i.e. the Bobbin Mill built-housing site in Pitlochry. Overall, our findings from this local authority area were in line with the broader findings of our research: repeated mention of the assimilation of Gypsy/Travellers, evidence of significant discrimination, and numerous examples of the provision of substandard accommodation to Gypsy/Traveller families.

Case Study: Ross and Cromarty

Like many other local authority areas, Ross and Cromarty faced a housing shortage in the post-World War II period.¹⁶⁴ This meant that emergency housing had to be provided for people across the area, sometimes in former military camps. It also meant that Ross and Cromarty, like other local authority areas across the UK, was dealing with the issue of squatters, who were sometimes utilising former military camps. Ross and Cromarty had a high Gypsy/Traveller population and as such, also had a complex set of arrangements for addressing the housing needs of Gypsy/Traveller families in the area. From the research carried out, we identified evidence of the following forms of housing experienced by Gypsy/Travellers in Ross and Cromarty (with such provision largely taking place between 1945 through to the 1960s):

1. emergency housing in former military camps.
2. ‘squattling’ in former military camps because no housing was available.

3. 'built' sites specifically allocated to Gypsy/Traveller families.

This case study will focus on the third category but will also later highlight some key points regarding the first and second forms of housing vis-a-vis former military camps in Ross and Cromarty.¹⁶⁵ The archival evidence that we uncovered for Ross and Cromarty highlighted two key issues. First, that there was significant discussion of the provision of substandard housing, and second, narratives of segregation and assimilation were frequently evidenced in the examined documents.

Provision of sub-standard housing

The accommodation that was provided in Ross and Cromarty was substandard for the time, either in terms of the physical geography of the site, or of the type of housing that was proposed there.¹⁶⁶ At the time one common issue was overcrowding. At Muir Of Ord in 1957, for example, there was a report mentioning that the council owned land which two wooden huts could be erected on and that it was recommended that 10 people be housed in hut 1 and 16 people be housed in hut 2.¹⁶⁷ In December 1959, after a visit to a family at Carnaclasair lands, the Sanitary Inspector reported that one part of the family remained living in a timber shack whilst two others lived in a double decker red bus.¹⁶⁸ It was proposed that those living in the shack should be rehoused to a hut and another family of three should be given an adjoining half-hut.¹⁶⁹ We also see Scottish Gypsy/Traveller families moving into houses in Mulbuie in 1964 which although they would not necessarily be recognised as substandard at the time of building were one-storey houses, of probably no more than three rooms and occupancy levels noted by the council indicate overcrowded conditions.¹⁷⁰

Another issue was access to amenities: at Balavil, Conon Bridge, we see agreement in 1959 for the siting of a timber house that would be built for £600 and would have a cold-water supply to the house.¹⁷¹ For the huts at Carnaclasair, council minutes from 1960 show that the families had asked for electricity to be installed.¹⁷² Three months later the decision on electricity was deferred until the tenants could confirm whether they could provide electricity at their own expense.¹⁷³ In council discussions in 1959 regarding a hut at Tor Achilty there remained doubts in the Sub-Committee as to the availability of a water supply.¹⁷⁴ Sometimes the geography of the site itself and the costs of building, or renovating, led to discussions that were noted in local authority minutes. For the proposed site of three houses at Invergordon Mains, for example, the building tenders came back as too expensive, so some modifications and omissions were suggested, including omitting plaster on the internal walls, excluding roughcasting for external walls and omitting roadworks and footpaths and part fencing.¹⁷⁵ These omissions resulted in low quality structures, likely leaving inhabitants more easily susceptible to cold and illness. The Sub-Committee did not agree with the idea of omitting roof insulation.¹⁷⁶ In later meetings of the Sub-Committee severe flooding was reported at the site, and so the plans were eventually abandoned.¹⁷⁷

The sites offered to Gypsy/Traveller families in Ross and Cromarty also include discussions of the relocation of existing huts, such as in November 1956 when the County Council's Special Sub-Committee on Problem Families recommended:

“That the Council purchase huts at Fearn Aerodrome and at a Camp at Fannich sufficient in number to provide ten dwellings to be erected on the land at Katewell, Evanton, and at Carnaclasair, Muir of Ord, and if necessary on other plots of land to be acquired, for occupation by problem families at rent.”¹⁷⁸

In addition to the above examples we found evidence in the archives of housing at Black Ditch, Invergordon where there is mention of compulsory purchase of sites for housing in 1958,¹⁷⁹ at the Old Schoolhouse, Mulbuie, where there is discussion of purchase for Scottish Gypsy/Traveller housing in 1955 before it was purchased in 1956;¹⁸⁰ both of these sites were paid for by the Ross & Cromarty County Council Department for Health. Tain Airfield was also brought up as a potential site in 1956.¹⁸¹ There was also discussion of ‘problem family’ housing in New Street, Alness in the early-1960s¹⁸² and evidence of Traveller families being moved into newly erected council houses in 1962/63 in Perrins Road, Alness.¹⁸³ Taken together the above examples demonstrate a policy of housing Gypsy/Traveller families in Ross and Cromarty in substandard housing.¹⁸⁴

Segregation and Assimilation

In Ross and Cromarty, as in other local authority areas, Gypsy/Traveller families were often kept apart from others, residing in accommodation on sites purposely consisting of between one to four houses. Many times, these sites were also located outside of villages, effectively segregating them from the wider population. There was discussion, for example, in 1959 of the prospective use of an existing hut near Tor Achilty (near Muir of Ord) but the Housing Officer at the time noted that they had failed to persuade problem families to move there as “they maintained the site was isolated from a school and services”.¹⁸⁵

From the archival evidence that we examined, one reason for the levels of isolation, segregation and separation that existed were the levels of opposition that non-Gypsy/Travellers in Ross and Cromarty felt towards having Gypsy/Traveller families living in their proximity.¹⁸⁶ For example, the factor reported that he faced opposition to the proposal for two houses at Mulbuie and for the use of an old house at Ord Muir. Regarding a potential site at Muir of Ord, the Council minutes noted that:

“Mrs Fraser-Mackenzie state of affairs in the immediate vicinity of her property at Muir of Ord and enquired if anything could be done to enforce the removal of the undesirable families to improve present conditions.”¹⁸⁷

Opposition to Gypsy/Traveller families was also reported in the newspapers of the time, with the Shetland Times reporting on Friday 4 April 1958 that Ross and Cromarty County Council:

“had carried out an experiment to try and rehabilitate some of the tinker families who have been living in deplorable conditions. Three timber huts had been purchased from a closed down Hydro-Board construction camp but there was great difficulty in obtaining sites for their erection - later overcome. There was strong opposition from the nearby village to the use of one of the sites, but the objections were eventually met by siting the huts so far away from the village and from each other as possible.”¹⁸⁸

There was also opposition to a proposed site near Tore,¹⁸⁹ whilst in May 1960 a member of the Mainland Problem Families Sub-Committee¹⁹⁰ expressed doubt as to the advisability of erecting ‘problem family’ houses in that part of Alness that was a desirable residential area and suggested they might be placed at the west end of the village instead.¹⁹¹

Assimilationist attitudes were recurring throughout the examination of Ross and Cromarty. One example of this was in 1945 at Rosskeen on the Black Isle.¹⁹² Although the minutes could be read as a discussion of the local authority simply trying to provide a housing solution, these discussions were also accompanied by commentary with mention of ‘settling’ Gypsy/Travellers. Thus, in a meeting of a special Sub-Committee appointed by the Health Committee of the County Council of the County of Ross and Cromarty, the minutes noted:

“A difficulty was experienced from time to time in that owners of land were reluctant to give permission to such families to establish their dwellings. If this difficulty could be overcome, the families might tend to settle down, establish permanent habitation and in due course become absorbed in the general population.”¹⁹³

There was further discussion of ‘settling’ in this newspaper coverage of a meeting of the Ross and Cromarty Health Committee, which decided:

“to experiment in solving the difficulties of tinker and other problem families, by buying five wood sectional huts, at £120 each, and converting them into ten houses with minimum facilities – a sink, water, WC. If the experiment is successful on the selected sites at Evanton and Muir of Ord, the scheme may be extended and introduced in Lewis... The Committee proposed that the huts should be erected on a site at Carnashclair [Carnaclasair], Muir of Ord, and on a ten acre piece of land which it is hoped to purchase at Katewell, Evanton. The idea... was to train the tinkers to live in a house, instead of in sheds, old buses, and under canvas. This would give them a better chance in life. A sub-committee report on the scheme said a tendency had been noted on the part of certain tinker families to depart from the nomadic way of life and to live in dwellings of a permanent nature. It was felt that eth [sic] setting up of permanent sites might result in this tendency continuing.”¹⁹⁴

Altogether the evidence that was discovered for Ross and Cromarty was extensive, providing possibly one of the clearest pictures of the ways in which local authorities enacted policy vis-a-vis Gypsy/Travellers living in their jurisdiction.

Case Study: Bobbin Mill, Pitlochry

Bobbin Mill, Pitlochry was instigated on 6 May, 1946 when the Secretary of State for Scotland granted approval for the scheme.¹⁹⁵ The site came into operation in 1947 and was the first of this type of substandard accommodation to be rolled out to Gypsy/¹⁹⁶ As far as this report goes, this is the only TE site from the first housing category that is still physically remaining and is a site that yields the clearest evidence about what took place there. The poor quality of materials used in the construction of such sites, like Bobbin Mill, was a key contributing factor to the fact that little physical evidence of these sites remains. These housing sites, ultimately, were not built to last.

Like other sites in this category of 'built' housing, the accommodation at Bobbin Mill was always known to be substandard. For Bobbin Mill, this meant the provision of Nissen huts. There had been discussion of an unofficial campsite that existed at Bobbin Mill during World War II, noting that it was in very poor condition, with the Council appearing in 1944 to take that very poor condition as a mandate for creating an official housing site.¹⁹⁷ What was created there was always substandard. Described as a 4-hut model, it was one hut, sub-divided into four one-bedroom accommodations. A note of a meeting of a Special Sub-Committee appointed to consider the 'tinker' problem in Perthshire highlighted that the Sub-Committee had:¹⁹⁸

“expressed the view that where houses for tinkers were provided by the Housing Committee such housing sites should likewise be limited to providing accommodation for not more than four families.”

It was acknowledged to not meet the standards of Perthshire Council by the Department of Health Standards in 1946, but this was ignored going forward.¹⁹⁹ Several letters in Perth and Kinross Archives also noted that Gypsy/Traveller families tried to get access to council housing in Pitlochry, however the Council argued that “the provision of standard council houses for tinkers might prejudice the success of the experiment”.²⁰⁰ There is further evidence of the ongoing sub-standard nature of the site in a 1965 letter on the condition of the 'TE' site at Bobbin Mill which noted that there were four huts with running water but no electricity.²⁰¹ Children were sent to live elsewhere when space became limited. Specifically:

“[s]ome of the children are boarded out when the family becomes too big and at times Kippen House has taken some of these.”²⁰²

Kippen House was a children's home run by the local authority between 1950 and 1974. This is a very significant piece of evidence, not only for the Bobbin Mill site but

potentially for the examination of child welfare practices used by social workers vis-a-vis Gypsy/Traveller families in Scotland, and elsewhere.²⁰³

Despite the poor conditions highlighted above it was noted that the site was “working well”.²⁰⁴ This is even though over-crowding at the site was a reason to put children living there into care. Eventually this site was augmented by the tenant’s own caravans to ease overcrowding.²⁰⁵ As Shamus McPhee – a Nacken researcher and activist, and resident of Bobbin Mill – notes, “the gross dereliction of care that followed, signalled that control and containment were very much the primary motives”, while “the full and catastrophic consequences of these experiments are still being felt by those within the Gypsy Traveller community in Scotland.”²⁰⁶

‘Un-built’ sites designated for the use of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland

The next category identified through our examination of the archival evidence was sites designated for the use of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, but with no provision of ‘built’ housing, nor facilities, and many times located far away from local amenities. Local authority discussions of sub-standard camping sites for Scottish Gypsy/Traveller communities also spoke of assimilation. We also use the term ‘substandard’ to allude to sites where there was a lack of service and/or amenities (e.g. drinking water, sanitary facilities, waste disposal, etc.) on or beside the site, and sites where their isolated nature made it difficult to access services and amenities, sometimes even including schools, thereby making life untenable for inhabitants. Local authorities often tied provision of such sites to child welfare policies and the need for Gypsy/Traveller children in Scotland to have access to education and to meet the threshold of 200 attendances per school year, as required by the Children Act 1908. In this regard, Balnaguard near Pitlochry was discussed as a potential site in 1935,²⁰⁷ as was Inveralmond near Perth, where there were extensive discussions around opening a site there. However, this never took place in the end due to flooding concerns.²⁰⁸ Perhaps the strongest indictment of a sub-standard site can be seen in the discussion of a proposed site at Broxie, in Perthshire. It was noted that the site was low-lying, bordered by a river and railway which posed a danger to children, and had an electric pylon in the middle. One individual writing to the council argued that “the only good thing about this site is that it is out of sight. Is this not a fine example of pushing the dirt under the carpet?”, going on to argue that Travellers “deserve better than this “apartheid” treatment”.²⁰⁹ Though proposals for the Broxie site were abandoned in 1968, they later received the Council’s support in 1978.²¹⁰

As noted earlier, government legislation made it increasingly difficult for Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland to find encampment sites. The presence of Gypsy/Travellers in a local community was often seen as a nuisance and there were few Council run sites. This lack of stopping places has been highlighted by other researchers as a time when there was a “drive to sedentarise nomadic populations in isolated places”.²¹¹ It is also important to highlight here that there is a much wider body of research that sees the provision of sites in isolated areas as a solution for non-Gypsy/Traveller communities and local authorities to ‘deal’ with a problem, rather than about meeting the needs of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland.²¹²

Our research highlighted a post-1969 watershed in terms of local authority site

provision that worked in tandem with the Scotland-wide Policy of Toleration and Non-Harassment (PTNH) of Gypsy/Travellers that lasted between 1977 and 2001. This saw the opening of sites across Scotland, including: Merkland Bridge on Arran, which opened in September 1982;²¹³ Kirklee Road in Bellshill, Motherwell, which opened in April 1982;²¹⁴ Dunchologan outside Lochgilphead, which opened in December 1978;²¹⁵ and Double Dykes in Perth, which opened in 1982.²¹⁶ This policy was designed to create a national system of sites provided by local authorities within Scotland on which Gypsy/Travellers could stop.²¹⁷ The Advisory Committee would be in charge of coming up with pitch targets for how many sites would need to be developed in each region to meet the national goal, and local Authorities would receive financial and logistical support and approval from the national government to implement pitches.²¹⁸ The rhetoric around these sites was noticeably different, and while there was an expressed idea such official sites would allow Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland to practice their way of life in a more regulated and supported way,²¹⁹ our research reveals this new system was a continuation of discrimination.

It would be misleading to suggest that this increase in site provision signalled a complete change in local authority attitudes, but wider research suggests that this may not be the case, and that such site provision continued a pattern of discriminatory behaviour.²²⁰ The introduction of the PTNH gave police authorities significantly increased powers to evict Gypsy/Travellers from 'unauthorised' sites and re-settle them on council-run campsites. There is also anecdotal evidence that they continued to forcibly move them to another council area.²²¹ Following the achievement of pitch targets in a council area, the PTNH could be lifted.²²² As such, the PTNH must be understood as a state-established mechanism to incentivise site provision amongst local authorities to better manage the Gypsy/Traveller population. A secondary effect of the PTNH was a rise in discontent amongst the settled population, who felt that excessive leniency was being shown towards 'illegal' encampments which further prompted councils to increase site provision so that they would be able to lift the toleration policy.²²³ Conversely, Strathclyde Regional Council (which encompasses in part or whole of twelve of the present thirty-two Council areas) considered those districts with a pitch target of zero to have met their pitch target, allowing them to repeal the PTNH in their area.²²⁴ We would also highlight a frequently stated opinion that giving up travelling would be a good thing providing "a permanent improvement with sites under control where they can live and where their children can go to school so that they may learn a different way of life."²²⁵

This issue of segregation was picked up in the example of one discussion between the Secretary of State for Scotland and a local authority in the 1980s. The Secretary of State rejected Dundee Council's application for a permanent site at Panmurefield because of "the site's perceived proximity to housing and recreation areas" as "travellers would have to walk through a suburban housing area" to "access local facilities".²²⁶ The view of the Advisory Committee was that a permanent "[s]ite should ideally be located ½-2 miles from the edge of the nearest built up area and if closer there should be an appropriate physical barrier in place" and that the "[s]ite should ideally already possess mixed deciduous/coniferous tree/shrub screening or otherwise masked by local contours."²²⁷ In a similar vein, distance from urban areas and recognised attempts at segregation were a source of Traveller resistance to

housing efforts in the Highlands. One examples of this took place when efforts to relocate Travellers at an Inverness campsite were unsuccessful because the families indicated they “would not accept a school and schoolhouse which might have been made available to them, because if [sic] was some miles from the town.”²²⁸ Finally, in addition to segregation from the general public, recommendations were made at the council level to isolate Scottish Gypsy/Traveller families from each other, noting that “a small group of one or two families of tinkers is much more likely to be accepted in and absorbed into the local community.”²²⁹

As other researchers have noted, “local authorities were thus presented with the perfect mechanism to control and spatially segregate Gypsies and Travellers.”²³⁰ It is also worth noting that the question of local authority site provision for Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland, and its sub-standard nature remains a point of contention even up to the present day.²³¹

Use of former military sites for emergency housing

The third category we identified through our research was the provision of emergency housing by utilising former military sites, usually located in urban areas, for Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland to live together with other communities. Such housing was sub-standard and often resulted in the ‘ghettoization’ of under-privileged groups. The housing shortages mentioned previously led to a much higher incidence of squatting. It was an important part of the research process to separate out sites where an acute housing shortage led to squatting by non-Gypsy/Traveller individuals and families - as well as, potentially, Gypsy/Traveller individuals and families - from sites where local authorities provided this form of housing to Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland.

In terms of emergency housing,²³² this research discovered that in Stornoway, Nissen huts were placed in front of Lews Castle to be used as emergency housing. In 1945-46 there were 166 people here, although we have not yet been able to find evidence that anyone in the camp was from a Gypsy/Traveller family.²³³ Emergency housing was also provided in the 1950s at RAF Dalcross, a former RAF station where Inverness airport is now sited;²³⁴ at Annat Military Camp in Fort William, where there is also mention of squatters in 1956;²³⁵ at Ferry Brae Military Camp in Beauly, which was discussed in terms of emergency housing in 1957;²³⁶ at Raigmore Army Barracks in Inverness, which was variously as official emergency housing or for squatting;²³⁷ and at Bunchrew Military Camp in Inverness, which was not only used for emergency housing but where there is also discussion of Gypsy/Traveller families occupying huts there in the 1950s and then subsequently facing eviction from them in 1957.²³⁸ In discussing the presence of ‘squatters’ it is reasonably likely that a proportion of these were Gypsy/Traveller families especially given that the presence of Gypsy/Traveller ‘problem families’ did not start to be recorded until later.²³⁹

Additionally, Castlehill Barracks in Aberdeen had been used by the army until 1935 and was re-purposed to be used as emergency housing for the general population in the 1940s and 1950s before finally being demolished in 1965.²⁴⁰ There was also Thimble Row in Perth, a row of houses that came to be known as the ‘Tinker’s Quarter’, where many of the families of Gypsy/Traveller servicemen were relocated during World War II.²⁴¹ Evidence from the 1918 Departmental Committee on Tinkers showed that all

but two of the Gypsy/Traveller families re-settled at Thimble Row had male relatives serving in the military, noting that the Separation Allowance they received provided further incentive to settle.²⁴² In addition, we also saw an earlier example of Scottish Gypsy/Traveller families living in slum housing because of the necessity of sending their children to school for the required 200 attendances. Dorothea Maitland gives evidence of this in correspondence sent to the Duchess of Atholl, when she notes that:²⁴³

“In winter 1931-32, seventeen tinkers were living in a one roomed slum house because they had failed to find any ground where they could camp for the children’s schooling. Fearing trouble, they fled from the country into Dundee slums and I failed to find either houses where they could rest.”

We were not able to uncover evidence of this slum housing in other areas during the research period and so recognise that this warrants further investigation.

Chapter Summary

In many ways, the evidence presented in this chapter is the core of this report. The housing policies implemented by local authorities sit at the heart of the lived experiences of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland and the ways in which the emerging themes of this research manifested. Within the archives, evidence was found of a combination of built sites with designated infrastructure, unbuilt sites - typically campgrounds - and urban sites that ‘ghettoised’ Scottish Gypsy/Travellers. The post-war circumstances of both World Wars were used to justify the poor housing conditions afforded to Gypsy/Traveller families, including mention in the 1918 report that the end of WWI and the prevailing poor conditions for both Gypsy/Traveller families in Scotland and ex-servicepeople presented “an opportunity of settling a class who camped out all year round²⁴⁴. Following the publication of the Gentleman and Swift report in 1971, Gypsy/Traveller housing in Scotland was reframed as a welfare issue which led to the emergence of policies such as the PTNH that restricted travel and may have encouraged the forced sedentarisation of Travellers to continue to the end of the 20th Century.

5. The Churches

Introduction

The previous two chapters evidenced the role of national government and local authorities in the TE, including an outline of some of the evidence of dehumanising language and assimilationist ideas that seemed to undergird local authority actions. This report now turns to examining the ways in which civil society in Scotland and major non-governmental institutions may have contributed to this same culture. This report turns first to the role of churches, and especially to the role of the Church of Scotland. The report sets its focus on the Church of Scotland (CoS) for two key reasons. First, the initial tender document written by the Scottish Government highlighted that this research needed to examine:

“... the roles of collaborating institutions/stakeholders including Scottish local authorities and the Church of Scotland.”²⁴⁵

Second, we took on board its status, dating from 1560, as the national Church in Scotland which was guaranteed under the Act of Union in 1707, and thus since that time it has been a central part of Scottish life, and of Scotland’s history.²⁴⁶ Within this report, the substantive focus on the CoS, compared to other denominations in Scotland and the role it played in the assimilation of Gypsy/Travellers, reflects the findings based on the significant amount of archival evidence that was uncovered during this research. Additional research may be able to shed light on the role of other denominations and sects in Scotland in the TE.

Within the period under examination in this report, we not only found evidence of regular reports to the CoS General Assembly on ‘tinker welfare’, demonstrating an interest from its central body of authority, but we also uncovered that collective decision-making was made within the CoS General Assembly to assign particular members of the Church – including lay members and volunteers - into supervisory/advisory roles over Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland.²⁴⁷ Thus research also uncovered two case studies that reveal the exceptional involvement of the CoS in the assimilation of Gypsy/Travellers: the Kirk Yetholm Experiment that ran in the Scottish Borders between the 1839-1875 and is outlined in the next section; and the activities of the CoS Home Mission Committee throughout the 1920s which will be outlined later in this chapter.

The Kirk Yetholm Experiment

“The old Tinker stock in the Borders round about Yetholm have now ceased to exist as tinkers”²⁴⁸

The Kirk Yetholm Experiment (KYE) is the earliest instance discovered in this

research of an assimilatory housing and educational experiment enacted upon a Gypsy/Traveller community in Scotland. This experiment, which began in the winter of 1838, was led by Reverend John Baird, who had moved to Kirk Yetholm in 1829, and was personally determined to settle and Christianise the local Gypsy/Traveller population.²⁴⁹ There was likely a racial motivation to Rev. Baird's efforts: an 1847 entry in the *Gazetteer of Scotland* notes of the Kirk Yetholm Gypsy/Travellers that "they have physical marks in their dusky complexion, their Hindoo features, and their black penetrating eyes, peculiar to themselves, and still broader peculiarities of a moral kind".²⁵⁰ Rev. Baird remarked in a 1930 letter to James Crabb of Southampton that local Gypsy/Traveller families were willing to keep their children settled so that they could be educated while the parents travelled and worked over the summer.²⁵¹ The Principal of the University of Edinburgh, George Baird, and the Minister of the High Church requested that Reverend Baird prepare information on the local Gypsy/Traveller population in the form of a report.²⁵² Rev. Baird proposed in this report the establishment of a school for Gypsy/Traveller children in Kirk Yetholm, with the expectation that the result of this scheme was expected to be that the children, never accustomed to travel, would be both unwilling and physically unable to follow the "wandering, wretched life of their parents".²⁵³

Following approval by a Church committee on the "Reformation of the Gipsies in Scotland, an early version of future housing and child welfare 'experiments' began.²⁵⁴²⁵⁵ By 1862, the scheme had 126 Gypsy/Travellers involved, both children and adults, a significant number of whom were no longer travelling as part of their cultural lifeway²⁵⁶. Following the death of Rev. Baird in 1861, Reverend Adam Davidson took over the scheme, running it until at least 1875, where he noted that few Gypsy/Travellers were still nomadic, although by then the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 had come into force.²⁵⁷ Of the success of the experiment Davidson wrote that it was the education and the making illegal of camping by roadsides and the lighting of fires at night that ensured the Gypsy/Traveller population were forced out of their lifestyle. Later, one RSSPCC Inspector, John Lindsay, referenced Kirk Yetholm when he wrote in 1936:

"The old Tinker stock in the Borders round about Yetholm have now ceased to exist as tinkers, the best of them having all settled down, and the poorest of them having gone elsewhere."²⁵⁸

The ramifications of the KYE and whether it informed future housing and child welfare programmes still need to be examined. However, KYE does reveal both an early sign of assimilationist housing initiatives to come, as well as the collaborative role between institutions in encouraging assimilation.

Post-KYE Schemes and the ACTS Report

Following on from the Kirk Yetholm experiment, the central role played by the Church of Scotland (CoS) in establishing child welfare and housing schemes, should also be highlighted'. The research findings demonstrate that the CoS was involved in assimilatory housing and child welfare programmes for Gypsy/Travellers at both the

national and local levels. These findings challenge previous research released in 2011, in the form of a report from Action of Churches Together in Scotland (ACTS), which centred solely on the roles of individual members of CoS clergy. The ACTS report highlighted that involvement of the CoS in the welfare of Gypsy/ Traveller communities in Scotland only occurred at the local level, as was the common practice among other church denominations in Scotland. Specifically, their report noted that:²⁵⁹

“Although in the research for this report strenuous efforts were made to uncover specific instances of acts of institutional discrimination by Churches against Travellers, no evidence has been found. This is not to say that individual church members have not acted in discriminatory ways and that the Churches have failed to challenge them when they have done so.”

The ACTS report also noted that “Churches’ attitudes to Travellers have often reflected the attitudes of society at large” and that the CoS had established a ‘Committee for the Reformation of Gypsies in Scotland’ (CRGS) in 1838 where Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland would be shown how to live a ‘normal’ way of life’. It goes on to say:²⁶⁰

“With hindsight, we can regard with regret some of the attitudes which the Churches have displayed towards the Travelling Community and, when it occurred, deplore their historic failure to stand alongside a minority group facing discrimination and even persecution. However, it should be acknowledged that proposals, such as [the establishment of the CRGS], were made in the belief, at the time, that they would bring benefit both to the Travelling Community and to wider society.”

This research uncovered involvement of central church institutions, individual congregations and members of these congregations, individual ministers, church employees and volunteers in Gypsy/Traveller lives in Scotland. Representatives of the CoS frequently acted upon their own agenda independent of national government and local authority policy – although sometimes they were guided by or guiding it. Specifically, particular churches spoke with local landowners (some of whom would have also been likely to have been members of the church) to secure land and often approached the government and local authorities with ideas as to how to address issues they perceived as important within Gypsy/Traveller communities, as well as a range of issues between Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland and the wider ‘settled’ population. As the Church of Scotland Home Mission Committee reported on 31 May 1927:²⁶¹

“[a] Central Committee, with Miss Hardy as Lady Agent, is supported by the Church, the United Free Church, the Free Church and the Episcopal Church who each have representatives on the Committee.... Every effort is being

made to secure consideration for the tinker on the part of landowners, and so avoid the harassing life of never being allowed to settle in camp for any length of time, but always being moved on to uncertain quarters.”

Evidence was also found of instances when church representatives contributed their opinions to governmental enquiries and worked with local authorities to ensure that certain policies were undertaken.²⁶² This includes one of the CoS's Home Missionaries, Dorothea Maitland, who volunteered for the Church in an honorary role and was especially involved in the question of housing to combat the 'evil' of nomadic Travellers. In one letter Miss Maitland describes how:

“It is a difficult undertaking to deal with the swollen numbers of altogether homeless and camping people in Scotland, but I hope we may ultimately find some way of mitigating the evil [emphasis in original] before it becomes still.”

There were multiple instances in the archives of Miss Maitland's interest and involvement in the situation on Gypsy/Traveller families in Scotland, and especially in Perthshire.²⁶³

The Role of the Home Mission Committee

An examination of the archival materials pertaining to the Home Mission Committee of the CoS General Assembly reveals that the CoS was committed to multiple assimilationist housing schemes in the 20th century. Notably, reports from the Home Mission Committee to the General Assembly of the CoS had a regular section titled 'Work Among Tinkers', which kept the CoS settled community apprised of news regarding Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland during the early 20th century. In the 1920 Report, the Committee they reported their involvement in housing schemes in several local authorities:²⁶⁴

“[a] scheme for tinker Housing in Caithness has been inaugurated by the Scottish Board of Health where army huts are being utilised ... A similar scheme is being set on foot in Perthshire and the Central Committee has purchased an army hut which they are prepared to equip for the occupation of tinker families, probably in the neighbourhood of Scone. At Campbeltown, an old mill is to be utilised for like purpose by a local committee that has been formed there.”

Gentleman and Swift noted that the “Perthshire project never got off the ground because a suitable site could not be obtained”.²⁶⁵ Similarly, there is no evidence of a mill at Campbeltown being used, although near Lochgilphead an old mill was used for some time for the same purpose and in practice these may have been the same

schemes. Further research could confirm this.

“I am afraid, however, that the experiment was not a success and the encampment had to be broken up.”²⁶⁶”

In addition, through our examination of a range of archival materials (including letters, newspaper archives, Home Mission Reports and other materials from the CoS) we were able to begin to see how churches - both their institutions, clergy, lay employees and communities - were instrumental in the attempted assimilation of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland through housing and child welfare initiatives.

“the tinker community is not yet ready for a housing scheme: they can only be gradually absorbed into the general population”²⁶⁷”

The Evolution of Church Involvement

There was a significant amount of involvement in the lives of Gypsy/Traveller communities by different denominations in parishes across Scotland. This included inter-denominational initiatives, such as the 1924 delegation from the Scottish churches, which included the CoS, the United Free Church, the Free Church and the Episcopal Church. The 1924 delegation was found to have visited the Secretary of State for Scotland in order to urge that the recommendations from the 1918 Departmental Committee be implemented.²⁶⁸ A Central Committee for the Welfare of Tinkers (CCWT) was subsequently created between the CoS, the United Free Church, the Free Church and the Episcopal Church, with the aim of overseeing a variety of measures that the churches together would undertake. This included the setting up of a hostel, in 1923, run by the CCWT where twelve Gypsy/Traveller children would board so that they could go to school.²⁶⁹ Because parents did not want their children taken from them for any length of time, they were returned to them in April of the school year. This initiative is significant because the CCWT began to see housing on the grounds of ensuring school attendance as a key means of assimilation.²⁷⁰ In a clear echo of the assimilationist language that was also used by government and local authorities at the time, the Committee noted in 1927 that:

“The tinker community is not yet ready for a housing scheme; they can only be gradually absorbed into the general population. The Central Committee have, after years of experiment and careful consideration, decided that the way to solve the problem - the tinker problem as whole and the problem of the children in particular - is to set up certain well-chosen areas, encampments.”²⁷¹”

Following the union of the CoS and the United Free Church in 1929, the ‘oversight’ of Scotland’s Gypsy/Traveller population was divided amongst denominations on a

regional basis.²⁷² The CoS was also involved in the provision of 'encampments' with mention of supplying a 'Ranger' for these:²⁷³

"It was reported that the experiment of an authorised encampment exclusively for tinkers on a farm in the Blairgowrie area had not proved successful. ... Accordingly, the Secretary had instructed the missionary to have the Camp vacated and the ground restored to its former condition."

This also took place at Birnam, near Dunkeld, where a campsite was opened by the CoS in 1934, housing 13 families by 1935;²⁷⁴ at Monzie, near Crieff where there was a campsite opened by CoS as an extension of the Birnam site;²⁷⁵ and at Guildtown near Perth where again there was a campsite opened by the CoS in 1935, again as an extension of the Birnam site.²⁷⁶ By 1936, twenty-four Gypsy/Traveller families were split across all three sites.

In 1934, the role of Ranger was filled by John Hamilton who oversaw the creation of a 'Tinkers School' at Aldour in Perthshire (sometimes referred to as a 'Special School') which was a development that was spearheaded by the Home Mission Committee of the CoS. The school opened on 14th October 1938,²⁷⁷ in a ceremony presided over by the Very Revd. Dr. John White, who 'The Scotsman' noted said:²⁷⁸

"To-day they were taking an important step... They were giving these dwellers in tents a fixed centre, and that would tend to alter their nomadic mode of existence into a settled family life."

Even before the school opened, however, there was concern about its operation. A letter from the headteacher of the High School in Pitlochry to the Director of Education written on 29 August 1938 notes:²⁷⁹

"I have reason to believe that I may expect a little trouble with Tinker parents in connection with the new school. One woman is saying that she is determined to send her children to this [emphasis in original] school and that she will have nothing to do with the special school."

Several correspondences reference the isolated location of the school. For example, the school's cleaner demanded a higher rate of pay due to the distance he needed to travel, as noted in a 1938 memo²⁸⁰. Additionally, logbooks kept between 1938 and 1941 by Flora Brown, the school's teacher, indicate poor conditions at the school such as frozen pipes, a smoking chimney, and cracked windows.²⁸¹ She writes in December 1938 that "the temperature in the school room has seldom been above 50°F [10°C]".²⁸² Ms Brown also notes an influenza outbreak at the school in mid-February 1941, while the isolated location of the school meant students had to travel long distances in exceptionally harsh winter weather to attend, while teaching materials and books were delayed in arriving at

the school.²⁸³

After the establishment of the Aldour School, there is evidence that its existence was used as justification to refuse the admission of Gypsy/Traveller children to Pitlochry High School.²⁸⁴ However, it was acknowledged that there were no grounds for Gypsy/Traveller exclusion from Pitlochry High School if their families took up permanent residence and if they “attend school like other children” – points that raised the question of ‘when does a tinker cease to be a tinker?’²⁸⁵ Furthermore, reference is made in a 1940 article in *The Scotsman* to the school’s role in cultural assimilation:

“Indications have been given that a number of the children wish to enter into careers which will mean a departure from the roving life of their parents, and the object of the school and the interest taken in the children have more than justified the expense incurred.”²⁸⁶

Also, during the 1930s a welfare scheme was imagined for Perthshire that was to be funded by the Home Mission of the CoS. This was inspired by what was considered a “successful experiment tried in Surrey of allowing gipsies [sic] to camp by permit only and under the close supervision of the Hurtwood Control Committee.”²⁸⁷ The scheme was envisioned as helping to alleviate the difficulties of living in substandard housing that many Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland found themselves in, due in part to the closure of camping grounds and the forced attendance of children in school.²⁸⁸ While trouble with the lead architect of this scheme seemingly stopped it from being put in place, the CoS remained deeply connected to the assimilation of Gypsy/Travellers in the area, exemplified by the presence of various representatives of CoS at the inauguration of the Bobbin Mill TE site in 1947 (see also Chapter 5). One representative of the CoS who was present, alongside two local ministers, was William Webb, who was employed by the Church as a Ranger and lay missionary for eleven years between 1945-1955 and who was referred to as the ‘Tinkers Padre’.²⁸⁹ Evidence of the role that William Webb played can be seen in a letter from the Country Clerk from Perth and Kinross to the Secretary of the Department for Health of Scotland on 29th November, 1961.²⁹⁰

“During the post-war years the Council have maintained a close liaison with Mr. Wm. Webb who was, until some time ago, The Church of Scotland’s representative for tinkers. Mr. Webb was succeeded by Mr. Mackay and the Council have been in consultation from time to time with Mr Mackay. Mr. Webb is still interested in the tinkers and both Mr. Webb and Mr. Mackay are of great assistance to the Council in dealing with this problem.”

The Church continued to be involved in different schemes for Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland. In 1955, for example, when the Church involved itself in a short-lived experiment site in Gothens Wood, Blairgowrie which was eventually abandoned and the Gypsy/Travellers who were living on the land forced to vacate.²⁹¹ Serious concerns surrounding the site’s suitability, including its location next to a major road, lack of

sanitary facilities, and strong local opposition to the site, were voiced prior to the site's approval.²⁹² Similar efforts were taken to establish a site at Inveralmond in Perth, though this was rejected.²⁹³

The CoS continued to be an active participant in the lives of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland especially but not exclusively in Perthshire, into the 1970s. The largest project taken on by the CoS was an educational project for Gypsy/Traveller children in Scotland, funded by the Van Leer Foundation. Approved by the Foundation as it thought the project had "a realistic and promising scheme for promoting the educational advancement and social adjustment of Traveller children and youth in Scotland" the Church was given £19,300 to execute the first three years of the scheme.²⁹⁴ Although the research gathered lacks further specifics on this project, we know it involved the hiring of additional staff, the provision of a minibus as a nursery for three hours each week at one campsite,²⁹⁵ and "remedial teaching in two Perth schools and running two children's clubs."²⁹⁶ The CoS noted that "the lack of sites for travellers and the resulting hardship are a continuing cause of concern' and the work was limited due to the 'dispersal of families."²⁹⁷ By 1973, with the ending of the Van Leer Foundation funding, the CoS role in the lives of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland was changing.²⁹⁸ Although the project was seen as "valuable and worthwhile," the CoS in Perthshire recognized that many Gypsy/Travellers were no longer residing there, moving instead to areas in the Central Belt.²⁹⁹ At the same time, the CoS recognised that the shifting social work policies of local authorities in the aftermath of the Gentleman and Swift report was causing policy overlap with the CoS.³⁰⁰ Due to this, the CoS terminated the Home Mission Committee's mission to Gypsy/Traveller communities in Perthshire.³⁰¹

Chapter Summary

Churches, in their institutional leadership, respective parishes, and individual members, can all be seen to have played a central role in 20th century policies affecting Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland. The KYE is the first example of the form of housing 'experiment' that is of the kind that characterised the TE. Through the idea of a home mission, the role of the Church of Scotland was very similar to that which it undertook in colonial missionary work abroad. Churches in Scotland interacted with other key stakeholders, sometimes advising the government and local authorities, and other times leading the way. What our evidence has uncovered is a continuous engagement that helped to create the conditions that Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland faced throughout the 20th century.

6. The Charities

Introduction

When this report was commissioned, one of the aims of the invitation to tender was to examine how 20th century policies affecting Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland “may have also resulted in the forced removal of children from Gypsy/Traveller communities.”³⁰² There has already been significant work done on the role of charities vis-à-vis child welfare in Scotland because of the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry (SCAI) including commissioned research on ‘Residential Care’, ‘Child Migration’, and on ‘Quarriers, Aberlour, and Barnardo’s’.³⁰³ Although there were individual witness testimonies given to the SCAI by individuals from Gypsy/Traveller communities, there was not a specific part of the SCAI dedicated to the experiences of children from Gypsy/Traveller families in Scotland. In 2019 the Inquiry did announce, however, that they were “keen to hear from anyone in the Travelling Community who experienced abuse whilst in care.”³⁰⁴ Nevertheless, from the small number of witness testimonies that do exist and that were accessed online and analysed during the research, we can begin to build the beginnings of a picture of Gypsy/Traveller children and child welfare in Scotland.³⁰⁵

This present report has already highlighted the disproportionate number of Gypsy/Traveller children in industrial schools in 1917. Numerous other studies have demonstrated that children from Gypsy/Traveller families are, and have historically, been placed into care in disproportionate numbers in comparison with the wider population.³⁰⁶ This would imply that the conclusions of the SCAI are highly relevant for Gypsy/Traveller families in Scotland. This is confirmed by the overall themes present within the small number of SCAI testimonies that were given by witnesses from Gypsy/Traveller families. Many of these themes also resonate with other parts of this report, and indeed with the experiences of marginalised communities elsewhere: intergenerational experiences of child welfare policies; the high numbers of children in care; the experience of multiple children’s homes; and the experience of abuse.³⁰⁷ The history of the charities landscape vis-à-vis children and families in Scotland is made up of a patchwork of national and local philanthropic efforts, some of which had more contact with the other named key stakeholders named in this report (national government, local authorities and churches) than others. Key in this landscape was the Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (RSSPCC).

The Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (RSSPCC)

The RSSPCC was the primary family welfare agency in existence in Scotland from when it was founded as the Glasgow Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in 1884 until 1968.³⁰⁸ During this time the RSSPCC was one of the primary voices, if not the foremost voice, in policy and practice on the well-being and care of children in Scotland. Although it was affiliated to the English branch of the organisation, the Scottish society adopted an approach that was different to its counterpart in England. In the latter case, the policy was to avoid committing children to industrial

schools and to try to keep the family together where possible.

Previous research has demonstrated that in Scotland, during the early part of the 20th century, the RSSPCC took advantage of the legislation that existed to initiate proceedings in industrial schools cases.³⁰⁹ The RSSPCC had a central executive committee that was responsible for recruitment, pay and conditions, and for producing documents such as Notes for Guidance, and Annual Reports, whilst a local management committee oversaw the work of its officers. Research suggests that for at least a portion of its earlier history, RSSPCC Inspectors were often former policemen or military personnel.³¹⁰

“The aim to be kept in view in dealing with tinker children is to ‘detinkerise’ them, if I may coin a word, and save them from a life of vagrancy...³¹¹”

The archival evidence collected for this report demonstrates, as with other key stakeholders already discussed, a strong push towards the assimilation of Gypsy/Travellers families in Scotland, sometimes with the loss of the children from those families used as a threat. For example, Ninian Hill, the General Secretary of the SNSPCC from 1905 to 1912 gave evidence, using the word ‘vagrant’ at points as a euphemism for Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, to the 1918 Departmental Committee on Tinkers highlighting:

“The Society’s Officers have been actively engaged, warning vagrants that they must settle down and send their children to school. The great lever of enforcing this has been, not so much the fear of prosecution and imprisonment, as the fear that their children would be taken from them and sent to industrial schools.

...

From my study of the problem I am strongly opposed to the establishment of any institution especially set apart for tinker children as has been proposed. Any such institutions would in my opinion tend to conserve the tinkers as a class... The aim to be kept in view in dealing with tinker children is to “detinkerise” them, if I may coin a word, and save them from a life of vagrancy.... The wisest policy, in my opinion, regarding tinkers is one combining firmness and kindness.³¹²”

In the records analysed for this report, we saw clear evidence that Gypsy/Traveller children in Scotland, and their families, were subject to high levels of monitoring. During the 1930s, memoranda from RSSPCC Head Office twice requested - in 1930 and in 1936 - that local branches across Scotland provide a report on school attendances of children from travelling communities. We found narrative evidence for the figure of the RSSPCC Inspector, often referred to as the ‘Cruelty Man’ or the ‘Cruelty Inspector’

including that of Duncan Williamson, a Scottish Gypsy/Traveller storyteller who, when looking back to his childhood in the 1930s, noted that:

“But there was also the law that children were taken away from their parents if they did not attend school. If we had left school without the 250 [sic] attendance, we would have been arrested. It was law. The School Board would have come along, the Cruelty Inspector, he said, ‘Have your children been in school?’

If Father had said, ‘No, they’ve never been in school.

‘Okay, then, just a moment.’

The Inspector walked to the first old traditional phone box. He phoned up a taxi. And then you were gone! You never saw your parents again, never. There were hundreds of children taken off, some went to Australia, some to Canada, some went around the world, no one ever saw them again. And parents were never informed. They were taken to Industrial Day schools - not only travelling children. If you were in a settled community you would be able to attend school some days in the weeks through all the school terms. But the travelling people travelled to find work, and never sent their children to school most months of the year. And anyone over the age of five without the attendance quota was taken off - you never saw them again. I had cousins who were taken away, whom I never saw again. My Aunt Nellie’s lassies.^{313”}

We should note that the RSSPCC did not itself migrate children out of Scotland. Rather the RSSPCC had the authority to remove children to local authority, or other institutional, care and it was from there that child migration took place.

From the research collected, we can begin to see that the RSSPCC played a critical role in the monitoring and surveillance of Gypsy/Traveller families, and in breaking them apart through the enforcement of education policies that were reflective of ‘settled society’.³¹⁴ The lack of understanding for the cultural and economic lifestyles of Gypsy/Traveller families was mobilised in these instances to remove children, instead of finding alternatives to keeping families together.³¹⁵ We would also note that we found documentation of at least one RSSPCC officer liaising with local police regarding the presence of Gypsy/Travellers in a local area.³¹⁶ In addition to this, in general in the court processes regarding the situation of individual children there would have often been police reports heard alongside testimony from RSSPCC inspectors.

Other Charities

The SCAI identified that - between 1921 and 1991 - vulnerable children in Scotland in the care of the Aberlour Child Care Trust and two other residential institutions - the Scottish-based Quarriers in Renfrewshire and Barnardo’s - had suffered significant abuse.³¹⁷ The SCAI was also aware that in addition to this, children

were abused in a substantial number of institutions in Scotland, and that some children were the subjects of child migration programmes that also resulted in experiences of abuse.³¹⁸

Given the 100-year closure period on individual records, and without specific names, it was difficult to identify with certainty how many Gypsy/Traveller children in Scotland were part of these experiences.³¹⁹ However, given the weight of other evidence, it is our assumption that Gypsy/Traveller children were over-represented in the child welfare system in Scotland. Specifically, given the discussion in Chapter 3 regarding the substantial over-representation of Gypsy/Traveller children in Scotland's industrial schools in 1917, surmised from the numbers given in the Gentleman and Swift report,³²⁰ it would be particularly unusual if this was the only child welfare mechanism where a disproportionate number of Gypsy/Traveller children were found. It is much more likely that Gypsy/Traveller children were also over-represented within other child welfare mechanisms, as is the case in other countries, such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States where child welfare policies have been linked to wider policies of assimilation vis-a-vis Indigenous peoples.³²¹

For Scotland, in addition to the institutions named below – Aberlour Trust, Barnardo's, and Quarriers - there was also a patchwork of other 'child welfare' organisations including other orphanages and charitable organisations, industrial Schools, and ragged schools. There was also the 'Mars Ship' which was moored in the River Tay, off Woodhaven Pier, across the river from Dundee (1869-1929), and which could take up to 400 boys at a time. The 1895 Departmental Committee report directly calls for Gypsy/Traveller children to be sent to such Training ships, while archival evidence confirms that there were Gypsy/Traveller boys who lived there.³²² One example is the case of Harry Smith, recorded in the logs of the Mars Ship as a 'Traveller'. When the ship was sold for scrap in 1929, Smith was transferred to Aberdeen Industrial School.³²³

Few children were identified as being from Gypsy/Traveller families in any of the archival records that the research team examined pertaining to child welfare charities. We would propose that this was as the result of several different factors that are also related to the wider research findings of this report. First, as per the findings from the Shaw Report, organisations such as children's homes often did not retain full records for any children, one of the reasons for the introduction of the Public Records (Scotland) Act 2011. Second, even when records were kept, the Gypsy/Traveller identity as an ethnic or cultural identity may not have been seen as something distinct enough to record. There may have been a feeling that, in not stating that a child was from a Gypsy/Traveller family, the child would subsequently lose their identity as a Gypsy/Traveller. While we did find evidence that is of use in this report, the lack of categorisation severely hampered our ability to specifically locate Gypsy/Traveller children within the archival record.

The Aberlour Trust

The Aberlour Orphanage and Child Care Trust was founded by Canon Charles Jupp, a Scottish Episcopal clergyman, when he opened an orphanage in Aberlour in 1875.³²⁴ Although the orphanage originally only took in children from Scottish Episcopal families, this eventually expanded to include those who weren't from such families. The

result was a concomitant increase in the numbers of children in the orphanage, which eventually provided space for around 600 children. Their archives are held at the University of Stirling, which include admissions registers, copies of the Aberlour Orphanage magazine - colloquially known as the 'Blue Book' - and other reference materials, such as literature on Aberlour reunions and published works outlining the history of the Orphanage. Along with these materials, we were also able to examine select records of children that lived at Aberlour.

The archival documents examined for this research revealed that Gypsy/Traveller children were likely present at Aberlour. We know this from witness testimony to the SCAI, which is supported by preliminary analysis of detailed individual admission records focusing on those children with commonly known Gypsy/Traveller surnames. One admission record, for example, from 1914 is that of a brother and sister from a Gypsy/Traveller family, Isabella (aged 4) and Charles (aged 21 months), who the RSSPCC inspector James Wallace noted "[t]he Parish Council are anxious to have them placed beyond the reach and influence of their parents." They are documented as having 'no settled residence', and their father is a 'pedlar', which is a word that in some historical contexts was used as an alternative to the word 'tinker'. The admission letter goes on to state that:³²⁵

"[t]he Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children recently took proceedings against the parents, with the result that one of their children Thomas aged 12 years was committed to Oakbank Industrial School and that a Custody Order in favour of this [Old Deer] Parish Council was obtained for the two children Isabella and Charles."

Admission records also reveal the case of another family in 1918, whose daughter was referred to the Orphanage because her mother was unable to look after her, while her father was a Private serving in the Manchester Regiment.³²⁶ Helen, aged 9, was subsequently admitted to Aberlour. A note on her admissions schedule states that, similarly to other children in the orphanage's care:³²⁷

"It is intended that the child shall be given up if requested when the father returns to civil life."

It is our assumption that Helen is from a Gypsy/Traveller family not only because of her surname, as one common in Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland, but also because Helen's birth certificate (which is present in the Aberlour Orphanage archives) notes both her mother and father's occupation as 'pedlar'. The Orphanage application form records her father's former occupation as 'Hawker', which again is a word that, in some historical contexts, was used as an alternative to the word 'tinker'. Helen's birthplace was recorded as being 300 yards south of a farm. This evidence is suggestive of our conclusion that Helen was likely to have been part of a Gypsy/Traveller family. Further research is required to find out the extent to which other

Gypsy/Traveller children were resident at Aberlour.

Barnardo's

Research done on behalf of the SCAI traced the history of Barnardo's in Scotland, confirming its place as a key institution in the history of child welfare here.³²⁸ Barnardo's also took part in child migration schemes, migrating children to Canada from the mid-1880s to 1939, and to Australia from before 1920 until post-World War II.³²⁹ Enquiries were made early in the research process to specifically consider whether Barnardo's held the records of any Gypsy/Traveller children in Scotland that may have either been in a Barnardo's home or may have been migrated out of Scotland. Unfortunately, without knowing specific names, Barnardo's was unable to identify individual children from Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland within their records as they hold the records of 500,000 UK children who have been supported by Barnardo's, recorded on handwritten index cards. There was also no indication in these records as to whether a child was from a Gypsy/Traveller family. Further research undertaken by Barnardo's in June 2023 still resulted in not being able to identify any records from a policy or organisational standpoint that mention Barnardo's being involved in any specific treatment or care of Gypsy/Traveller communities during the 20th century. Children admitted at that time typically came either directly from family/relatives, from the workhouse, or via self-admission. Further, for the most part at this time, Barnardo's was also only admitting children from a protestant background. Archivists did, however, inform the team at that time that they were aware of one Gypsy/Traveller child in England, Simon Smith, who emigrated to Canada via Barnardo's at the age of 12, and whose story is available online.³³⁰ Once again, further research is required to find out the extent to which other Gypsy/Traveller children were resident in Barnardo's homes in Scotland.

Quarriers

Quarriers was established by William Quarrier in 1871 when Renfrew Lane Homes was opened for 'orphaned and destitute children living in Glasgow'.³³¹ Children and young people often came into Quarriers because of parental poverty, the death of one or both parents, parental desertion, illegitimacy, a child or young person being unable to be cared for by extended family or being placed there by the local authority (and later by social workers). Previous researchers have also noted that in the Renfrew Lanes Homes some of the children were:

"found by Quarrier and his helpers...; some were brought... by missionary women and policemen; others turned up on the doorstep by themselves. Preference was given to orphans, then the children of widows, and lastly the children of what were called in those days 'dissolute parents' who were willing to hand them over into Quarrier's care."³³²

Two further Quarriers homes were opened in 1872, and on 2 July of that same year the first children were migrated to Canada from Quarriers homes, at first to a 'receiving home' in Belleville, Ontario and later to a 'receiving home' that Quarriers established called Fairknowe, in Brockville, Ontario.³³³ A night refuge was opened in Glasgow in 1873, whilst the Orphan Homes of Scotland were opened in Bridge of Weir on 17 September, 1878.³³⁴ By 1 November, 1901 there were 1,168 children resident in the homes.³³⁵ Quarriers was completely funded by private philanthropy and so did not fall under any statutory regime, something that helped to pave the way for Quarrier's child migration policies. Altogether, 6,987 children emigrated to Canada through Quarriers.³³⁶ Without specific surnames, or the knowledge that being a family member brings, we were only able to locate one child from a Gypsy/Traveller family in Scotland who had been sent to a Quarriers Home. However, we would refer the reader to widely reported family research by Dr Lynne Tammi-Connelly, an academic from a Gypsy/Traveller community in Scotland, for further discussion.³³⁷

Chapter Summary

What took place in child welfare charities across Scotland was not separate from the TE but rather formed another part of the societal context that permitted and encouraged the assimilation of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland. Archival materials that were examined for this report often mentioned housing and child welfare within the same document as can be seen with reference to the stakeholders examined in chapters three, four and five. Our research examined the work of multiple charities - including the RSPCC, the Aberlour Trust, Barnardo's and Quarriers - each of which has their primary focus as child welfare, and each of which was operating in Scotland during the time frame that is the focus of this report. Across the range of material, we examined we found evidence of child removal, and of placement in industrial schools and in military training ships. There was also evidence to suggest that Gypsy/Traveller children in Scotland were over-represented in child welfare institutions, and the research team also discovered evidence of Gypsy/Traveller children in care. We know that Barnardo's and Quarriers had child migration programmes, but without the names of individual children, or records displaying the identities of Gypsy/Traveller children, we could not confirm their passage overseas. While we acknowledge the work already being carried out by researchers on this topic, there is critical need for further research and investigation.

7. The Police

Introduction

The structure of the police force at any specific point in time had a differential impact on how the law was enforced and, in turn, how Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland were policed. For much of the past two centuries, police enforcement in Scotland was largely decentralised until 2013 when Police Scotland was formed. In 1859, there were 89 separate police forces, and by 1959 this had declined to 33. Until 1975, when eight regional police authorities were formed in Scotland, cities and counties maintained their own constabularies, which had oversight of those parts of the country considered too rural and remote to form their own. This was the case for parts of the Highlands and Islands, which came under the direction of the county constabularies of Caithness, Sutherland, and Inverness.³³⁸ Taken together, while the police cannot be consistently viewed and analysed in its post-2013 centralised form, the collected documentation suggests that the police, whether as constabularies or regional police authorities, played a multi-faceted role in 20th century policies impacting Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland. They upheld the legislation that the national government put in place, enforced local authority byelaws, and acted as key informants for the national government (Scottish Office) and local authorities in the surveillance of Gypsy/Traveller communities.³³⁹ Our research found witness statements that members of the police force made to government committees, which demonstrated their role in monitoring Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland. Following an examination and analysis of the evidence there are three roles that the police played that this report would specifically highlight.

Monitoring and Enforcement over Sites and Children

“Chairman: Is it possible, in your view, if machinery were provided, to improve the position of tinkers in Scotland, and, perhaps, gradually to abolish tinkering?”

Chief Constable: I should think that the easiest way to deal with that would be to deal with the children...³⁴⁰”

First, there are a significant number of instances within the archival materials of police visiting and monitoring Gypsy/Traveller sites, Gypsy/Traveller mobility, and educational provision.³⁴¹ With evidence, this section sets out that this monitoring resulted in information being gathered and fed into the work of other key stakeholders (e.g. local authorities) engaged in forced housing schemes and the removal of Gypsy/Traveller children from their families. Sometimes police representatives were very clear in their desire to monitor the lives of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland. For example, when evidence was given at the 1918 Departmental Committee on Tinkers, the Chairman asked James Ross, Deputy Chief Constable of Argyleshire [sic], if he

would be in favour of “registering tinker families so that they should be all known to the Police and so that their movements could be followed?” Ross replied:³⁴²

“That is the case at present in Argyleshire. A certain part of the weekly return made by every Constable deals with the matter of tinkers who have been challenged during the week. The information there given includes their names and ages and other particulars... and that has been the practice for the last 40 years.”

There is also archival evidence that this was taking place during the 1950s. In a letter from the County Clerk for Perth and Kinross, in February 1957, he notes that the Director of Education had recently said:³⁴³

“About 18 months ago the police agreed to cop-operate with the Education Authority by visiting tinkers’ encampments or stopping tinkers on the road and inquiring if they could produce a certificate of attendance that their children of school age had been in attendance at school throughout the period October to March. Where a certificate could not be produced they were instructed to have the children enrolled forthwith at the nearest school. The majority complied but a few families removed from the district.”

Second, documentation was found of police representatives who appeared to support the idea of separating Gypsy/Traveller children from their parents. Giving evidence in 1917, R.T. Birnie, the Chief Constable of Forfarshire (present day Angus), stated this quite clearly. We especially highlight here, the Chief Constable’s words after stating his recognition that taking a child away from their parents was not something to be done lightly.³⁴⁴

“Chief Constable: I find, as soon as I begin to deal with the children, that a good many of them don’t come so close to us. We have fewer tinkers than we were accustomed to have... They will not touch a community...”

Chairman: If the present condition of the tinker is in a measure due to the fault of the state, and that re-acts [sic] on his children, would you not think it harsh to take his children from him?

Chief Constable: You have sometimes to be cruel to be kind. If a child is living in an evil environment, living in such a state as to endanger its health, and to endanger the morals of a whole community, then, surely, it would be right for the State to step in and say ‘We must take charge of this child.’

...

Chairman: Do you suggest, as a remedy, to give the tinker assistance to establish a home, to give him work, and to put him under the care of some kindly but firm and sensible person?

Chief Constable: I suggest that, as a trial, at any rate."

Once again, then, the use of 'trial' and the notion of 'experimentation' remain attached to a potential policy to be used when dealing with Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland. This idea of taking 'charge of the child' was also referenced in the ways in which legislation was upheld. For example, in the same testimony, the Chief Constable is asked about his experience of prosecutions, related to school attendance, under the Children Act of 1908. The Chief Constable was proactive in considering the possibility of taking children younger than 5 from their parents, despite the Scottish Office and the Scottish Education Department's stance of having nothing to do with the child until it reached 5 - the statutory age in the Children Act. Nevertheless, the Chief Constable had consulted with industrial school authorities over one case and found that they were prepared to take a child aged between one and two, and board them out until they were ready to "bring it into the school" at the age of five. This exemplifies that legislation could be unilaterally reinterpreted.

That same industrial school had taken other children which the 'Scotch Education Department' had paid for, but financial concern led the Scottish Education Department to tell the Chief Constable that they would not in fact become responsible until the child reached the age of five. This testimony is important because it so clearly enunciates the prevailing view held of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland not only from the Chief Constable but from the Chairman of the Committee, who had been appointed by, and was thus representing, the government.³⁴⁵

"Chairman: Is it possible, in your view, if machinery were provided, to improve the position of tinkers in Scotland, and, perhaps, gradually to abolish tinkering?"

The Chief Constable responded:³⁴⁶

"I should think that the easiest way to deal with that would be to deal with the children. It is unfortunate if one has to take the children away from their parents, but the only other alternative scheme would be to try and settle the tinkers in some place where they could get agricultural employment, and give them a home, furnish a home comfortably but plainly and try to improve them in that way..."

Another member of the Committee, Miss Campbell interjects to discuss the written statement that the Chief Constable gave prior to the Committee meeting:³⁴⁷

“You say, on page three of your statement, that you have taken advantage, in many instances, of the provision in the Minute of the Scotch Education Department dated 25th June 1911, in regard to the removing of children from their parents and having them boarded out or sent to an Industrial School at the expense of the state.”

His reply is important to the earlier discussion in this report of the very high numbers of Gypsy/Traveller children in Scotland in Industrial Schools:³⁴⁸

*“I now produce a statement made up, although not recently, in connection with a departmental Committee that sat four years ago in connection with Reformatories and Industrial Schools at which I gave evidence. That gives the names and ages of children I have dealt with during these years and they are **all** [emphasis added] tinker children.”*

Third, the police have also played a significant role, backed by the legislation, in the enforcement of Gypsy/Traveller sites in Scotland.³⁴⁹ Often being the primary actor to implement the closure of sites and the subsequent removal of Gypsy/Traveller families to other locales.³⁵⁰ There is discussion in the archives specifically regarding the PTNH and instances where the police either ignored it or acted against it, including instances of policies vis-à-vis the protection of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland that were weaponised by authorities into tools of persecution. For example, as mentioned previously between 1977 and 2001³⁵¹ the PTNH of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland existed which was designed to encourage local authorities to provide them with permanent campsites. Local authorities found themselves unable to evict Gypsy/Travellers from sites because of this, but our research suggests that what happened instead was an increased police presence near campsites with Gypsy/Travellers feeling pressured to move after the police increased their presence in the area.³⁵² During that timeframe (part of which is covered by this present research), evidence of this police presence included: inspecting vehicles, checking vehicle licences, road tax and insurance, and charging Gypsy/Travellers with a variety of offences.³⁵³ Although not forcibly evicted from the site, Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland were “harassed by the police’s abnormal interest in them.”³⁵⁴ Similar actions were highlighted in the Scottish Parliament’s Equal Opportunities Committee Report of 2001 which stated concerns about the situation at that time and the high levels of monitoring and control which manifested in frequent site visits to check vehicles and property, with complaints of intimidation and threatening attitudes during evictions.³⁵⁵ It must be said, too, that there was evidence of the police themselves feeling pressured to move Gypsy/Travellers from non-established sites.³⁵⁶

Chapter Summary

Within the archives, we found evidence of police monitoring and surveillance of Gypsy/Traveller populations, while their role in enforcing legislation saw police authorities play a significant role in the forced relocation and sedentarisation of Traveller

families. Finally, we have outlined some of the uncovered police commentary on child removal and welfare, noting that this contributes to the picture of a wider environment of hostility towards Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland that the evidence in this report relays. The Committee evidence in this chapter and the fact that the Chairman was recognising that the State was (at least partially) culpable for the conditions faced Gypsy/Travellers in 1917, as well as the importance of State policies on their lives, speaks to the heart of this research.

8. Conclusion and Key Findings

This report marks the first time that the Scottish Government as a devolved institution has sought evidence of 20th century policies specifically affecting Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland. We know that the evidence presented in this report on the policies, events, and actions that led to, and implemented, the 'TE', and how they were actualised, is only a fraction of the evidence that exists in archives across Scotland, and outside of it. Of the thousands of pages of archival evidence that we examined, only a fraction of the material is presented in this report. Moreover, it is significant to note that our report does not include the lived experiences of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, and especially the voices of those who were directly impacted by these events. For this reason, the information presented here is likely to be subject to both scrutiny and corrections, as no archive can represent a lived experience and no history can be told through a single narrative. This is especially the case for Gypsy/Traveller communities, and their members, who live in virtually every part of Scotland today. This report therefore cannot purport to be representative of everything that occurred, but rather is the beginning of qualifying why and how the 'TE' took place.

In the end, we can locate three significant patterns that help better understand the intent of the Tinker Experiments as it relates to the welfare of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, and the ongoing socio-political context, within which they have lived. To summarise what is expanded on below, the first pattern we identified throughout the examination of the events leading up to and during the implementation of the Tinker Experiments is a recurring societal and institutional dehumanisation of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland. This was often carried out under the stereotype of Gypsy/Travellers as a people that collectively practiced a backwards or undeveloped way of life. The second pattern is the practice of systematic control, primarily by government-based key stakeholders, in forcibly segregating, surveilling, and/or managing the everyday actions of Gypsy/Travellers. This pattern was observed in the frequent restriction of Gypsy/Traveller individuals and families to self-determine their relationship with the wider settled community, and the absence of consent or collaborative consultation in policies that targeted their mobility and livelihoods. The final and third pattern is the forced assimilation of Gypsy/Travellers into the wider settled population of Scotland. The very nature of assimilation presumes cultural dominance of one group over another, and in the case of the TE and the intent to erode the collective cultural identity of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, there is a need to consider, and to recognise that the context within which the TE occurred is best characterised as cultural genocide. These patterns are ultimately key findings of the research and analysis presented in this report, and as such they offer helpful starting points for future inquiries around, and institutional understandings of, the Tinker Experiments.

"Tinkerdome can be termed a very real social disease, but its diagnosis and treatment are difficult."³⁵⁷

Dehumanisation

The evidence we have seen in the archives has repeatedly demonstrated attitudes across key stakeholders and wider Scottish society that have dehumanised Gypsy/Traveller individuals and communities in Scotland. Dehumanisation is known as a psychological tactic of domination whereby, in the words of Maiese (2003), “opponents view each other as less than human and thus not deserving of moral consideration”. She notes that “[o]nce certain groups are stigmatized as evil, morally inferior, and not fully human, the persecution of those groups becomes more psychologically acceptable”.³⁵⁸ There are numerous examples of the dehumanisation of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, both explicit and implicit, that have been revealed in the evidence underlying this report.³⁵⁹ Often, dehumanisation took the form of not treating Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland as individuals and equal members of society but rather always as part of a composite group, or even part of a ‘Tinker race’.³⁶⁰ This is also reflected in both the language and actions used against Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland and has been outlined in the preceding chapters. On the former, for example, we found reports describing Gypsy/Travellers as people who “infest the Scottish Highlands and the southern plants over the summer”³⁶¹ and that they “over-ran” or “overwhelmed” the lands of settled Scottish society. Some documents that we uncovered were explicit in this dehumanisation of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland. For example, the 1918 Departmental Committee on Tinkers - the Scottish Office-appointed committee established to recommend solutions to the ‘tinker problem’ - described Gypsy/Travellers as “an immigrant race representing a different stage of human development.”³⁶² This view of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland as being somehow ‘other’, or the ‘opponent’ to the settled population was evidenced in numerous examples throughout the archival materials and has also been highlighted in each of the key stakeholder chapters. Sometimes the language that was used was animalistic, with stakeholders arguing that “the tinkers...and their children are positively just like cattle”,³⁶³ or appeared to say that Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland were more likely to carry disease. The contribution of the media to the dehumanisation of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland is also noteworthy. Newspapers added to this public discourse, which must be weighed against the actions taken by other actors presented in this report. Assimilation projects were reported on, and dehumanising narratives were shared, which often reduced or romanticised Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland.³⁶⁴ Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, ultimately, were not seen as the same as the settled population. Consistently, they were referred to and understood as a separate group, and one that was less than, a perspective that media narratives continue to reinforce. In media portrayals of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, we also repeatedly saw the phrase ‘Tinker Problem’ in newspaper articles, many times as a headline or mentioned within the article itself. Aside from this, the language and attitudes of various stakeholders exhibited throughout this report do raise questions as to whether institutions involved in the TE held Gypsy/Travellers as everyday citizens or as a sub-class group, with the latter characterisation buoyed by the contribution of the media who often echoed these sentiments within newspaper reports.

Control

This finding highlights the ways in which key stakeholders sought to control Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland by forcing them to settle or enrol in surveilled spaces (e.g. schools, government housing sites), effectively displacing individual and community processes of self-determination. If sedentary behaviour is enforced through legislation (e.g. the requirement to attend school for a certain number of days) this will inherently affect nomadic communities more than settled ones. In Scotland, tactics that were used against Gypsy/Travellers that were without legal sanction included immobilisation, or 'forced sedentarism',³⁶⁵ segregation away from the 'settled population', and higher levels of monitoring and surveillance by police authorities. Immobilisation is a key approach for settled societies to begin processes of assimilation of nomadic peoples, as mobility can so critically inform everyday cultural, spiritual, political, and economic activities and relationships.³⁶⁶ In Scotland, the initiatives to settle Gypsy/Travellers under the auspices of housing, education, or general child welfare, must be understood through the framing of control, as they effectively displaced Gypsy/Travellers from being able to practise, self-determine, and rely on their own lifeways for the well-being of community members and future generations. Forcibly segregating Gypsy/Travellers away from the settled populace, whether in housing or in education, acted as a way for key stakeholders such as local authorities and the police to monitor and survey their assimilation, but also to appease the dehumanising views of Gypsy/Travellers as a lower class or race of people by wider settled society. The prevalence of monitoring and surveillance, as a key tactic of control, can be seen in the decision by the 1918 Departmental Committee on Tinkers that it would be a good idea to compile a 'Register of Tinkers' and appoint an 'Inspector of Tinkers'.³⁶⁷ Monitoring and surveillance assist in the control of quotidian behaviours, such as the idea, mentioned by the same committee, that any business selling alcohol should have a copy of the register and be liable to prosecution if they sold alcohol to a Gypsy/Traveller.³⁶⁸ There was also the suggestion, in evidence given to the Committee, that agricultural wages should not actually be paid to the person employed but rather to someone who would then supervise spending/saving.³⁶⁹ These examples, taken with the evidence provided in this report, demonstrate the extent to which 'settled' society and its institutions felt it appropriate to consider the everyday lives of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland as subject to control.

Assimilation and Cultural Genocide

Throughout the research process, at no point was it found that key stakeholders to the TE took active roles in ensuring that self-determination was part of settlement policies and processes. On the contrary, the involuntary nature of the TE and its intent to bring Gypsy/Travellers into the fold of settled Scottish society raises serious questions about its assimilationist nature. Assimilation is best understood as a process of acculturation, or cultural modification, whereby an individual is forced to adopt another culture in place of their own.³⁷⁰ Implicit within assimilation is both an assumption that one culture is somehow superior over another, and a process that demands that one group forego their own cultural values and practices to become part of a dominant

group. Assimilation, as a result, remains a subtle and unnoticed form of oppression, manifesting itself through social policies and discourse that dictate what is 'normal' or 'acceptable' and what is not. When contrasted with integration, as a voluntary process of acculturation and one that permits an individual to retain their cultural identity while co-existing with others, the prejudiced reasonings of forced, or involuntary, assimilation become more visible. For Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, key stakeholders in this report have historically demonstrated a clear bias against Gypsy/Traveller culture and a desire to effectively stop the culture from being practised any further. The context within which Gypsy/Traveller-related legislation was drafted, particularly between 1895 and 1970, demonstrates that there was a clear political will to block Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland from travelling and to create the conditions for forced settlement. Indeed, assimilation is directly reflected in the words of representatives from key stakeholder institutions, with some noting that their "ultimate aim" was to "extinguish the class as distinct from the rest of the community"³⁷¹ In the end, the theme of assimilation is the most troubling for the destructive intentions inherent in this acculturative process but also for the implications that have remained largely unaddressed.

Taken in the context of processes of dehumanisation and control, forced assimilation seen in the TE points to much historical and collective desire and intention across stakeholders to erase Gypsy/Travellers as a distinct group in Scotland. For this reason, cultural genocide more accurately reflects the reality presented in this report where key stakeholders targeted Gypsy/Travellers based on their identity.³⁷² The language of cultural genocide can be found in iterative phrases throughout this report that call for the collective erasure of Gypsy/Travellers by key stakeholders. This includes need to "detinkerise" children, the need to "gradually abolish tinkering", the stated idea of "ending the gypsy race", and stopping people from 'exist[ing] as tinkers'. On the use of the term, experts on the genocide of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada, Professors David MacDonald and Graham Hudson, note that - while not explicitly noted in the 1948 Genocide Convention³⁷³ - cultural genocide remains a 'moral descriptor anchored in legal process and as such is a useful ground floor'.³⁷⁴ In understanding the Tinker Experiments as part of cultural genocide, a more pointed argument can be made as to why a vast majority of Gypsy/Travellers are settled, dispersed, and/or are no longer nomadic;³⁷⁵ why Gypsy/Traveller children sent abroad through forced child migration policies are not discoverable; and why many no longer speak or were taught how to speak Cant, or their other ancestral languages and dialects.³⁷⁶ Beyond this, the socio-economic disparities and mortality rates between Gypsy/Travellers and settled society³⁷⁷ have yet to be appropriately recognised or considered as the lasting traumatic and intergenerational effects of cultural genocide.³⁷⁸ There is also little historical understanding around how the distrust, displayed by many Gypsy/Travellers towards settled society and its institutions, has come to be. Locating the TE within the context of cultural genocide thus helps to begin a long overdue conversation on the state of relations between Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland and how the authorities and institutions mentioned in this report impacted their lives, regardless of intention. On this point, Indigenous scholar George Tinker (Osage Nation) noted on the good intentions of Christian missionaries and their relationships with American Indians during the colonisation of the Americas: 'What I call cultural genocide functions at times as conscious intent, but at other times at such a systemic level that it may be largely

subliminal'.³⁷⁹ In problematising the notion of good intentions and their role in perpetuating historical harms, it is vital for any institution named in this report to reflect on their proximity to the TE and the harm caused, whether intended or not. Moving forward, significant takeaways from this report must be, then, not only to continue this inquiry, but also for Scotland to begin addressing the legacies of the Tinker Experiments and what those legacies mean for Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland today.

Recommendations

The original tender document asked not only for the collection of evidence and its analysis but also for actionable recommendations. With this in mind, the following have been created based on:

1. analysis of the archival materials that were gathered as part of this research.
2. consultations with victims/survivors of the TE, and with members of G/T communities as part of the research process (and as outlined in Appendix 2).
3. recommendations that have been developed for other communities whose experiences mirror those of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland (and in which the research team have existing expertise).³⁸⁰

In doing so we hope to have created a set of recommendations that both meet the needs of the communities involved based on the evidence that we examined, and that also provide support to key stakeholders moving forward. We would also note that it is important to recognise that at the time of publication, there remain living victims of these policies whose stories still need to be heard and who need to receive appropriate redress.

Scottish Government

1. To issue an apology to Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland for the creation and enforcement of policies that directly implemented and fostered policies, such as the 'TE', that led to the dehumanisation, control, and assimilation of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, and for the lack of action to redress these actions that are best characterised as 'cultural genocide'.³⁸¹ The apology should meet the following conditions:
 - a. Providing a public record of truth and/or acknowledging that suffering occurred in the many attempts to dehumanise, control, and assimilate the Gypsy/Traveller population, with the 'TE' being the foremost example.
 - b. Ensuring that the stated truths and/or acknowledgements should specifically name the offending parties, behaviours, and their continued impact on survivors/victims in Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland.
 - c. Taking responsibility and/or acknowledging the failure of the government to react to and prevent the conditions that led to 'TE' and other assimilationist policies and actions.
 - d. Expressing sincere regret and promising the offence will not be repeated in the future. In building trust with the wider Gypsy/Traveller community of Scotland, steps must be articulated and taken by the government to ensure the well-being and bright future of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland.
2. To initiate a socio-economic restitution scheme for survivors of the Tinker Housing Experiments located in this research and in future research. This scheme should include:
 - a. Consultations across Scotland with Gypsy/Traveller survivors/victims of the 'TE' to locate immediate social and economic needs.

- b. Identifiable economic reparations for survivors/victims and their families; and
 - c. Restorative justice and healing initiatives that assist survivors/victims looking to reconnect with family and Gypsy/Traveller culture.
- 3. To commence consultations with Gypsy/Traveller communities in the establishment of memorials and protected historical Gypsy/Traveller sites under the co-supervision of a national heritage-based charity and the Bobbin Mill-based charity organisation RAJPOT; This includes:
 - a. Providing Bobbin Mill, as the first and only remaining intact site of the 'TE' with the recognition and protection of heritage status.
 - b. Working with survivors, their descendants and families, to decide on an appropriate means of memorialisation for Gypsy/Traveller children forcibly sent abroad to labour and live away from their families in Commonwealth countries.
- 4. To commission much needed additional research into the 'TE' and other housing and child welfare policies affecting Gypsy/Traveller communities particularly in the 19th and 20th centuries, both archival and particularly lived experience. Such research should meet the following conditions:
 - a. The research should be community-collaborative and trauma-informed in how it is structured and led. No research should be conducted without explicit consultation with survivors/victims of the violence being examined.
 - b. The resources allocated for any research project must meet the threshold of what is necessary to conduct the research in a respectful, humanising, and sustainable manner. Time and funding allocations should attempt consultations with Gypsy/Traveller researchers before they are decided upon.
- 5. To support private archives, including with funding, to conduct internal audits and produce publicly available catalogues of all materials pertaining to the historical treatment and well-being of Gypsy/Travellers;³⁸²
- 6. To establish a community-informed and co-led archive collating all materials relating to the government treatment and experiences of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland. Archives that maintain models of community co-governance are now seen worldwide, with the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation as a model on which to base such a model.

Local authorities

- 7. To undertake an audit of the archival materials within their own current local authority area to see what is available, and what may potentially need to be collected.
- 8. To meet with local Gypsy/Traveller communities to begin considering how the experiences of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland can begin to be added into the historical record in their local authority area, including at tourism or other sites where knowledge about the local area is shared with a wider audience.
- 9. To consider conducting listening exercises that highlight the historic, and potentially ongoing, impact of child welfare policies on Gypsy/Traveller communities within their local authority areas.

Police

10. To carry out a systematic review of ongoing relations with Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland and to begin to see this within its wider historical context.
11. To examine existing initiatives for better relations with Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland and to consider whether these need to be augmented in any way considering the evidence presented within this report.

Charities and Faith-based institutions

12. To establish their own truth-seeking exercises that examine their historic involvement in the forced assimilation and marginalisation of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland.
13. To apologise for their role in the assimilation of wider Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland and to make restitution to the survivors/victims of programmes of which charities and churches were a part.
14. To educate their memberships on the history, cultures, and contributions of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland and on the consequences of assimilationist rhetoric and actions

Educational Institutions

15. To continue developing policies to include the history, culture, and contributions of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, using community-informed resources, in the national curricula in Scotland.³⁸³
16. To establish policies guiding all institutions of primary, secondary, and higher education to:
 - a. include Gypsy/Travellers in all initiatives pertaining to Equality, Diversity, and Inclusivity, and
 - b. Further develop equitable policies to encourage the enrolment of Gypsy/Traveller students.
17. To draft national guidance, which is community-informed, for all research pertaining to Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland. This guidance should address appropriate methodological approaches for academics in both the physical sciences and social sciences.³⁸⁴
18. To have wider educational institutions - museums, libraries - consider how best to incorporate the histories of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland into their current work, both in-person and online.³⁸⁵

Media Institutions

Although media institutions do not have a separate chapter dedicated to them in this report, nevertheless they played a role in creating the environment that permitted the TE to occur and will continue to play a role in how attitudes towards Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland continue to be constructed.³⁸⁶ For this reason, we have also included the following recommendations for media institutions.

19. To establish their own truth-seeking exercises that examine their historic involvement in the dehumanisation and marginalisation of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland.
20. To develop guidelines for journalists to counter racist bias and coverage towards Gypsy/Travellers in their reporting.³⁸⁷
21. To apologise for their role, if so found, in exacerbating the marginalisation and dehumanisation of wider Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland.³⁸⁸

Appendix 1: Timeline of Events Surrounding the 'TE'

- 1541 James V orders all gypsies to be expelled from Scotland 'on pain of death'.
- 1573 Privy Council of Scotland orders the 'Egiphtianis' to end their nomadic lifestyles or face expulsion from Scotland.
- 1609 The Parliament of Scotland passes the 1609 Act regarding Egyptians, making existing as a Gypsy/Traveller in Scotland a criminal act punishable by expulsion or death.
- 1838 The Church of Scotland sets up a committee for the 'Reformation of Gypsies' where Gypsy/Traveller people would be shown a 'normal' way of life. The Kirk Yetholm Experiment (KYE) begins: Rev. John Baird houses Gypsy/Traveller children in Kirk Yetholm, in local homes, family properties with guardians, or Manses, with the purpose of educating Gypsy/Traveller children, and later adults, to give up nomadic lifestyles and traditions.
- 1841 Rev. John Baird reports success of KYE assimilation experiment with 40 Gypsy/Traveller children enrolled in a local school and living settled lifestyles.
- 1861 Rev. John Baird dies; Rev. Adam Davidson takes over KYE.
- 1865 The Trespass Act is passed; deemed a criminal offence to lodge, occupy, or encamp on any privately owned land without the consent of owner or legal occupier. Remains in force to this day.
- 1866 UK government extends 1857 Industrial Schools Act, giving magistrates the authority to sentence homeless children (of seven to fourteen years) to an industrial school, if they were brought before the courts for vagrancy.
- 1875 Rev. Adam Davidson calls KYE a 'success', noting there were only adults who maintained Traveller traditions. Davidson credits the education of children and banning camping/ lighting fires at night by roadsides as two primary reasons for the experiment's success.
- 1884 Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (RSSPCC) founded as Glasgow Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.
- 1886 The question of the 'Education of Children of Travelling Tinkers' debated in parliament.
- 1894 Departmental Committee on Habitual Offenders, Vagrants, Beggars, Inebriates, and Juvenile Delinquents is created by Secretary of State for Scotland, Sir George Trevelyan. The Committee takes witness statements from across Scotland and will present its report (known subsequently as the Scottish Traveller Report) next year.

- 1895 The Scottish Traveller Report is published: contains extensive discussion of 'tinkers and gipsies' and their education and social welfare, paving the way for multi-sector intervention.
- 1908 The Children Act is passed, mandating a minimum of 200 school attendances per year. The Act contains a specific penalty for 'vagrants', whose failure to meet attendance requirements would result in loss of guardianship.
- 1911 The General Secretary of RSSPCC, Ninian Hill, gives evidence to the Departmental Committee on Tinkers; calls to 'de-Tinkerise' Gypsy/Traveller children.
- 1917 Members of the Departmental Committee on Tinkers note a 'promising' scheme in Kirkhill (Thurso), as well as a crofting experiment in Swinton.
- 1918 Departmental Committee on Tinkers (Scotland), chaired by Reverend R. Menzies Fergusson, publishes its report, calling for a settlement scheme for Travellers and for nomadic children to be placed into industrial schools if they fail to attend school.
- 1919 The Perthshire Advertiser notes that 'housing of the tinker class' would be carried out at Perth, and that the Central Committee on the Welfare of Tinkers had authorised the purchase of an army hut to 'accommodate four tinker families'. Secretary of State for Scotland Robert Munro remarks, in parliament, of a scheme for the utilisation of army huts for housing 'tinkers' in Caithness, with a similar scheme in Perthshire under construction.
- 1920 The Scotsman calls for legislation that would deal 'definitely with tinkers' and not to include them in 'any general housing scheme'.
- 1922 The Empire Settlement Act passes, facilitating the migration of juvenile labourers from the UK to other parts of the British Empire. Charities become instrumental in facilitating child migration programmes, which likely impact Gypsy/Traveller children disproportionately.
- 1925-30 Ex-Provost Alexander Campbell obtains a small campsite in Glenramskill (Campbeltown), which operates until 1938.
- 1932 Dorothea Maitland, a member of the Departmental Committee on Tinkers, visits Gypsy caravan sites in Surrey and reports to the Scottish Office on their potential application to Scotland.
- 1933 The Children and Young Persons Act passes, consolidating previous legislation on child welfare and on the treatment of young offenders.
- 1934 The Church of Scotland opens a campsite in Birnam (Dunkeld).
- 1935 The Vagrancy Act passes; amended the Vagrancy Act of 1824. Campsite opened by the Church of Scotland in Monzie (Crieff) and in Guildtown (Perth). Both were extensions of the Birnam site.

- 1936 The Departmental Committee on Vagrancy in Scotland publishes its report, furthering the mandate for permanent housing provision and full school attendance by Traveller children.
- 1937 Broughty Ferry Guide and Advertiser notes that 'Angus Public Health Committee' dealt with 'their tinker problem', remarking that the medical officer of health (Dr Sinclair) suggested that the committee request lands to erect a 'few houses for tinkers as an experiment'.
Brechin Advertiser notes that Dr Sinclair of the 'Angus Public Health Committee' suggested that 'two wooden huts be erected near Craichie' as an 'experiment'.
- 1938 Prof. Wolfgang Abel, a Professor of Ethnology and Anthropology at the University of Berlin and an active member of the SS, visits Caithness to study the resident Scottish Gypsy/Traveller population.
Aldour School opens in Pitlochry: funded by the Church of Scotland, it provided segregated education for Traveller children.
- 1944-45 The Public Health Committee of Ross and Cromarty County Council reflect interest in acquiring Nissen huts. Housing Officer notes in a letter titled 'Army Camps: Housing for Tinkers' that the local authority should avoid Nissen huts to avoid the creation of a 'colony of tinkers'. Also mentioned is: the use of wooden huts for housing in 1945; squatting on a military camp during the 1940s-50s at Rosskeen, on the Black Isle; the adapting army camps for housing in 1945, in Invergordon, Ross and Cromarty.
- 1947 The first 'TE' site at Bobbin Mill, Pitlochry, opens.
- 1948 Mentions of a camp purchased for temporary housing in Katewell (Evanton) in Highlands archives.
- 1952 Reports of an 'emergency housing camp' at Kinveachy, Aviemore, being closed.
- 1957 A report in minutes of the Highland Council mentions that the council owned land at Carnaclasair, Muir of Ord, on which wooden huts could be erected for housing. Reports of the possible purchase of land for housing in Katewell (Evanton).
A temporary site is opened in Tor Achilty (Ross and Cromarty).
A former military camp is used for emergency housing in Bunchrew (Inverness).
- 1958 The Public Health Committee of Ross and Cromarty notes that they would 'experiment in solving difficulties of tinker and other problem families' in purchasing five wood sectional huts, with the intention to 'train tinkers to live in a house, instead of in sheds, old buses, and under canvas'. If the 'experiment' is 'successful', as the committee minutes note, the scheme would be introduced in Lewis.
The Shetland Times notes that tenants in Scalloway take 'gravest possible exception' to the committee 'erecting hutments' or accommodation for the housing of 'tinker families' in the village.

- Kirriemuir Free Press and Angus Advertiser notes that the Argyll Council County wants 'its tinker families to settle into proper homes' and that the council would start a survey of 'such families, their problems, and ways in which they can be encouraged to settle'
- Reports of compulsory purchase of sites for housing in Black Ditch (Invergordon) and Blackmuir (Alness), Ross and Cromarty.
- 1955-60 Discussion of a site in Invergordon Mains, Ross and Cromarty. However, plans were abandoned in 1960.
- 1960 Inverness County Council notes in minutes that an 'enquiry should be made as to the possibility of purchasing prefabricated houses' for gypsy/traveller families; the minutes note that the Burgh Sanitary Inspector would provide a list of 'sub-standard properties in the burgh which might be suitable adapted' for gypsy/traveller housing.
- Hut completed in Balavil (Conon Bridge), Ross and Cromarty, and occupied by suspected Scottish Gypsy/Traveller family.
- Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act passes, requiring caravan sites to possess a licence to operate, thus significantly limiting the legal places Gypsy/Travellers could camp.
- 1961 In Parliament, Norman Dodds MP congratulates the Scots for dealing with the 'gypsy problem' in a humane way.
- 1962 Evidence of Traveller families being moved into newly erected houses in Perrins Road, Alness.
- 1968 Caravan Sites Act passed; though it only applies to England and Wales, the Act's passing sparks renewed debate in Scotland over the 'Traveller problem'.
- 1969 The Church of Scotland General Assembly reports protests of Gypsy/Traveller communities are joining the 'fashionable trend of protest' over housing conditions.
- The Scottish Development Department conducts two nationwide censuses of Scottish Gypsy/Travellers in March and August.
- 1970 Attitudes of the Church of Scotland change considerably towards Travellers, with Rev. Dennis Sutherland working alongside Gypsy/Traveller communities across Scotland.
- 1971 Report by the Scottish Development Department reveals '450 Scottish travelling families were living in conditions of serious social deprivation' and a majority of travellers were facing increasingly difficulties to find somewhere to legally reside. Secretary of State for Scotland Gordon Campbell appoints the First Advisory Committee on Scotland's Travelling People to enact the recommendations of the Gentleman/Swift report.
- 1974 Reports of a campsite near a railway line in Twechar.
- Reports of a campsite near Croy.

- A site is opened in Heatheryknowe, Coatbridge.
- A site is mentioned to have existed in Dalsersf and Ferniegair.
- 1977 The Cripps Report is published, describing size and nature of socio-economic issues facing gypsy/travellers; provides cultural and social differences between house dwellers and Gypsy/Travellers.
- A permanent site is opened in Clinterty, Aberdeen City, with 20 pitches.
- The Policy of Toleration and Non-Harassment is enacted by Secretary of State for Scotland.
- 1978 Debate on 'Tinkers' is held in UK Parliament; MP Jasper More criticises ineffectiveness of the Caravan Sites Act and notes that there are still '6,000 homeless gipsy families'.
- Permanent and short-stay site opened in Dunchologan, Lochgilphead, with 12 pitches.
- 1980 The 'Planning Exchange Forum', a conference on Scottish Gypsy/Travellers for local authorities held in Glasgow.
- The Scottish Development Department confirms a 100% capital grant scheme to cover the cost of permanent site construction.
- A permanent site is opened in St. Christopher, Tayock, with 15 pitches.
- 1981 A permanent site is opened in Bayview (Oban), with 8 pitches.
- A temporary site is opened in Linwood (Paisley), with 14 pitches.
- A permanent site is opened in Innerleithen, with 10 pitches.
- A permanent site is opened in Denniston (Dumbarton), with 20 pitches.
- 1982 A temporary site is opened in Pathhead Muir (Kirkcaldy), with 15 pitches.
- A temporary site is opened in Millerston (Glasgow), with 12 pitches.
- A temporary site is opened in Merkland Bridge (Arran), with 8 pitches.
- A permanent site is opened in Kirklee Road, Mossend (Bellshill, Motherwell), with 14 pitches.
- A permanent site is opened in Double Dykes (Perth), with 20 pitches.
- 1983 Permanent site is opened in North Cairntow (Duddingston), 20 pitches.
- 1984 A permanent site is opened in Westhaugh Alva, 16 pitches.
- 1985 A permanent site opened in Torlochan (Sandbank), with 10 pitches.
- A permanent site opened in Kenmuirhill (Carmyle), with 10 pitches.
- A site is mentioned to have been opened in Auchinleck (Cumnock).
- A permanent site is opened in Redding, with 15 pitches.
- A permanent site is opened in Longman Park (Inverness).
- 1987 A permanent site is opened in Swinhill (Larkhall), with 22 pitches.
- 1989 A permanent site opened in Greenbanks (Banff), with 20 pitches.
- A permanent site is opened in Tarvit Mill (Cupar), with 20 pitches
- A permanent site is opened in Aonachan (Spean Bridge).
- A permanent site is opened in Annathill (Glenboig), with 16 pitches.

- A permanent site is opened in Oldbarrhills, with 16 pitches.
- A permanent site is opened mentioned in 1989 report in Galashiels.
- A permanent site is opened in Houdston Farm (Girvan), with 8 pitches.
- 1990 A permanent site is opened in Rodney Street (Port Dundas), with 10 pitches.
- A permanent site is opened in Springbank (East Kilbride), with 6 pitches.
- 1991 A permanent site is opened in Chanonry (Elgin), with 20 pitches.
- A permanent site is opened in Sibbald's Braw (Bathgate), with 23 pitches.
- 1992 A permanent site is opened in Balmuirwood (Tealing), with 20 pitches.
- 1993 A site is opened in Collin (Dumfries).
- A permanent site is opened in Kentallen (Ballachulish).
- 1994 A permanent site is opened in Laggan (Newtonmore).
- A permanent site is opened in Smeaton (Dalkeith), 20 pitches.
- 1995 Site opened in Barlockhart (Glenluce).
- A permanent site is opened in Heatherywood (Kirkcaldy), with 18 pitches.
- 1996 A temporary site at Bridgend Park (Craigforth), opened in 1988, is turned into permanent site with 20 pitches.
- 1999 The Advisory Committee on Scotland's Travelling People publishes its final report. The Committee is not reappointed.
- 2001 The Policy of Toleration and Non-Harassment is ended, as is grant provision for the construction of permanent sites. Responsibility for site provision is fully devolved to local councils.

Appendix 2: Research Methodology

Introduction

This research was undertaken by a team of six researchers, with an additional two team members focused upon quality assurance. Two team members (Eastwood and Jernigan) focused on identifying and collecting relevant archival materials, which were then analysed by another two team members (Bodine-McCoy and Rasmussen). One team member (Watson) worked between both the archival team and the analysis team, whilst the final member of the research team (Wood) designed the auditable database that is also provided as part of the research tender. An additional two members of the team provided quality assurance (Collins and Hinch). For the report writing phase, all eight members of the team contributed, with seven members of the team having a writing credit, and one sole editor (Hinch).

Collection of archival materials

Appendix 3 outlines the range of archives consulted and the times that these archival visits took place. The research team had already been conducting similar research for 14 months prior to the contract start, a fact that was important to the progress of the research overall, and especially in the early stages. Although the government contract expanded the scale of this work immensely, the research team already had a strong foundation in knowing which areas and archives to explore and how best to conduct the research. This experience was enhanced through consultation and training from the University of St Andrews' Special Collections team as well as discussions with archivists across Scotland, and in Canada, who were able to provide expert advice on best practice as well as on what was reasonable to expect from archival research given our time frame and budget.

Identifying relevant sources of information

The first step in the data collection process was identifying the locations of archival materials and of relevant sources within these archives. This took the form of three approaches:

1. Known archival sources: this included traditional locations of government and non-governmental archives including but not limited to: Scottish Council archives; local and national (Scotland) and UK wide newspaper archives; University research holdings; and archives held by faith communities, e.g. Church of Scotland; governmental records in the National Records of Scotland and The National Archives.
2. Community and expert consultations: members of the team consulted with members of Scottish Gypsy/Traveller communities, and with academic experts to elicit information on additional archival sources as well as potential keywords that could be used in searches (examples listed below). Consultations also took place to best understand how and where archival information is kept within Scotland.

3. Internal scoping exercises: these took place as a collaborative exercise between the Archives and Analysis teams. Using the database of archival information, the Analysis team conducted keyword searches to identify potential locations of archival material – the choice of keywords was dependent on both the time frame and the location under investigation. Once completed, both teams met to formulate a plan for archival visits based on the scoping findings. Towards the end of the research process, we also undertook further discussions within the research team regarding any notable archives that we had not so far visited as part of the research process so far (e.g. the Aberlour Orphanage archives held at the University of Stirling).

Keyword examples:

- a. Examples of period-specific keywords: e.g. Children’s Act 1908, Tinker Problem, hereditary vagrants (1900-1920); Caravan Sites Act 1968, “Scotland’s Travelling People” report (1960-1980).
- b. Examples of location-specific keywords: e.g. Bobbin Mill, Aldour School (Perth); problem families, squatters; army camps (Highlands).

Due to time and resource constraints, the Archives team aimed to only visit locations where their potential relevance could be corroborated via prior knowledge or prior consultation. These time and resource constraints included but were not limited to the opening hours of archives; the location of archives in relation to where the research team are based (St Andrews); the ability for archivists to provide knowledge on collections which included information about Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland; the financial resources required for travel; and the ease of travel using public transportation. Given these constraints, several locations – Glasgow (and the Central Belt in general), Highlands, and Perth – were prioritised as policy documents and census data suggested either a high Gypsy/Traveller population or substantial action being taken towards the communities there. Some sites that were highlighted by the Scottish Government in the original tender document - e.g. the Highland Folk Museum and Auchindrain Township - were not visited as the team was unable to find significant materials, following discussions with archivists, confirming their relevance. Finally, the team did not explore archives within Dumfries and Galloway and the Scottish Borders. There is archival evidence that these areas had already successfully implemented ‘Tinker Experiment’ style policies in the mid-19th century (see the references in the report to the Kirk Yetholm experiment (KYE) and therefore reported an absence of Gypsy/Traveller communities there (see Blair Castle Archives and Perth Archives for more information).

Upon completion of the data-collection phase of the research, it was recognised that some gaps remained in both our knowledge and in the archival database itself. As census data indicated a high Traveller population in Aberdeen and Aberdeenshire, the team expected significant archival material to be held on the communities residing there; however, our visits revealed very few references. Additionally, due to the restructuring of local government, several archives – Fife, Glasgow, Stirling – only had material from the latter half for the 1900s. As such, what is known of earlier policies in these areas has only been able to be acquired from other archives.

Archival visit procedure

Our procedure for undertaking archival visits were as follows:

1. Initiate contact with the archival centre: either directly or through an intermediary. Most of the archives visited required us either to book an appointment or to register for access. Additionally, the council archives required that material be identified prior to visiting. Finally, making ourselves and our objectives known to the archivists allowed them to assist us in getting a sense of the information held in their archives. It is important to note that some archives required special permission to access:
 - Blair Castle required permission from the relatives of Katherine, the 8th Duchess of Atholl.
 - Children First required permission from the Charity to access closed records housed in NRS.
 - Access to closed SG records of interest held by NRS was granted by the Scottish Government.
2. Finalise preparations for the archival visit - this included booking and budgeting travel to and from the archives; reviewing access restrictions (e.g. data protection, user registration); and finalising a plan for the research. While most archival visits could be completed in a single day, for some there was a need to return the next day(s)/at another time and revisit the materials, either due to the volume of material or to subsequent research in other archival locations that opened new lines of inquiry.
3. After the archival materials were accessed, the process for reviewing them differed according to the type of material available (e.g. police reports, school logbooks, council minutes, etc.). In general, the selected keywords were used to guide the review and ensure that the information gathered was relevant to the research objectives. Apart from instances where photography was not permitted due to data protection reasons, the materials were captured in their entirety as photographs to be reviewed and analysed in depth later. Note that everywhere required permission to photograph documents.

Post-collection analysis

Following the collection of the materials, their organisation and collation, there was a period of desk-based research and analysis followed by the preparation of the written outputs. This analysis typically involved thematic analysis, which allowed for trends to be inferred and for cross-comparisons to be made between archival materials. Discourse analysis was also used, which allowed for underlying meanings and motivations to be inferred from material (particularly policies, legislation and official correspondences). This analysis was primarily carried out by the Analysis team, though the Archives team were available for consultation. Additionally, following the conclusion of archival visits, the Archives team transitioned to assisting with analysis of collected materials.

To develop an understanding of the events that occurred leading up to, and including, the 'TE', the Analysis team engaged in a content-based analysis whereby key terms were pulled from archival documents and then entered into the relevant 'keywords' section of an excel spreadsheet. Additionally, within that spreadsheet, summaries of analysed documents were provided with relevant themes, dates, and locations identified. A section pointing to the location of the document within the drive

was also provided. The intention of this analysis was to find names, organisations, locations, and policies which were then compiled in a spreadsheet that was used as a reference document when conducting discourse analysis as well as contributing to the database.

Documents were received from the Archives team via Microsoft (MS) Teams with each member of the analysis team having designated folders - by archive location - that they would have then have responsibility for. Documents were highlighted according to a theme (see below) and then uploaded to a Teams when analysis was complete). MS Teams does not have embedded annotation software, and therefore members of the analysis team were required to download documents to personal hard drives/iPads and to then annotate via applications such as Notability. To ensure appropriate data handling, team members were then cautious to delete downloaded documents from personal hard drives. As per the procedures required by the University of St Andrews Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (School of International Relations) from which the research team received ethical clearance for this research, these materials are retained on password-protected files on OneDrive.

While reading a document, information was tracked in an Analysis Team Spreadsheet with the _document name identified as well as the type of document (letter, report, image, etc.), the date of document, the themes, an objective summary, a determination of its relevance to the final report, key words, who had analysed it, and when. In undertaking analysis of the archival documents, the analysis team created a coding framework that would be utilised to both aid analysis and work in conjunction with the auditable database. Regarding the overall search strategy, this research was as comprehensive as the archives allowed. This was an iterative process in that findings in one archive may have allowed us to more easily engage in other locations. Moreover, one team member spent time near the end of the data collection process reviewing both the collected data and the archival catalogues (where available) to include new information (for example, the use of the term 'problem families') to avoid missing out on anything we learned through the research process. Further to this, the stakeholders were always very clear and purposeful when discussing SG/Ts. Discussions in the archives would pretty much always be e.g. in a report titled 'Report on Gypsies and Travellers' or in council minutes under a specific subheading of 'Housing for the Traveller community'. It was very rare that SG/Ts were casually mentioned, so focusing our search on specific terms we believe yielded comprehensive results.

Community consultation and quality assurance

To ensure the quality of the collection and its evaluation, our archival and desk-based research was supplemented by a number of consultations. As we noted in the bid document we were already in contact with members of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland prior to the start of the contract. We held one 'community' consultation with three members of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland early in the research process to discuss existing materials and key sources. At the same time, we also took advice from academic colleagues and from practitioners who work in cognate areas. From those early discussions and that initial consultation, one key issue that came up was the fact that there was no-one on the Scottish Government's Research Advisory Group who was themselves from a Gypsy/Traveller 'community', or who had first-hand

experience of the policies being researched. For that reason, we created an Internal Scrutiny Board (ISB) consisting of four people: three members of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland who had first-hand knowledge of the policies being researched, and one senior academic from the University of St Andrews (who was the ISB Chair). We have consulted with members of the Scrutiny Board throughout our research as well as with historians (Gypsy/Traveller and non-Gypsy Traveller); and have also discussed our work (not findings) with experts working with Roma communities, with archivists, and with other academics; as well as with allies of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland. At the end of the research process, we also met with representatives from Gypsy/Traveller communities in Fife, Perthshire, Argyll and Bute and Aberdeenshire. This represented the second community consultation as stated in the bid document and involved discussion of the research process as well as an opportunity for the members of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland who were present to outline any considerations that they felt would be pertinent to the discussion. At the end of the research process, once the findings were finalised, we also began a process of re-engagement with archivists of key stakeholders identified in this report. This process was paused when asked to cease further planned engagement with Gypsy/Traveller contacts following submission of the first draft of this report to the RAG. We felt that if community engagement was to be paused it was only fair that stakeholder engagement should also be paused at the same time. Prior to publication, we were asked at very short notice (ca. two weeks) by the RAG to contact key stakeholders mentioned in the report to seek their input on errors and factual inaccuracies. Unfortunately, due to the publication deadline set by the RAG, we were unable to seek substantive input from stakeholders on the report's findings. We remain grateful to those stakeholders who were able to come back to us with feedback and correction. The report presented reflects consideration of these comments and corrections.

The Drawbacks of Archival Research

As a team, we recognise the inherent subjectivity of archival research. Many steps of decision-making occur to store material in an archive, all of which involve active choices around the value of a certain item by those who collect, curate, and use archives. We agree that archives are the 'result of specific political, cultural, and socioeconomic pressures – pressures which leave traces, and which render archives themselves artifacts of history'. This means that archives usually curate information and the perspectives of actors that these institutions consider valuable. Within the archival materials that we collected there was little to no representation of Scottish Gypsy/Travellers, either in terms of self-representation through submitted materials or through testimonies collected by non-Traveller stakeholders. In addition, the historical hierarchy that existed between Scottish Gypsy/Travellers and settled society/government(s), creates a significant gap in this study as the lives and experiences of Scottish Gypsy/Travellers have only been captured from the perspective of external actors who carry with them their own motives and agendas.

We agree with sociologist Stuart Hall that archives 'always stand in an active, dialogic relation to the questions the present puts to the past; and the present always puts its questions differently from one generation to another'. We would be remiss if we

were not clear that our guiding questions and assumptions (informed primarily from the Scottish Government tender and secondarily from our experiences of being non-Gypsy/Traveller academic researchers) impacted our investigation as we conducted our research in the archives. A different demographic makeup of researchers might have viewed or been able to ascertain different conclusions than we have. Archives collect documented history and memories and are prone to miss the experiences of those marginalised at the hands of the government and wider public. They are also prone to being destroyed, tampered with (either purposefully or accidentally) and made inaccessible through their disorganisation. Those more closely connected temporally and culturally to the 'TE' might have been able to see references to Gypsy/Travellers that we were unable to. Archaic euphemisms and slurs, geographical locations, and cultural productions are examples of a few things other researchers might have uncovered that we may have missed.

Because we had to make deliberate choices on which items to capture, analyse, and include within this report, we recognize that our positionality might have affected this decision process. We strived to ensure that these decisions were made by considering the context of each piece, their wider implications on the report, and the relevance to the key themes that the analysis team focused upon. As we researched and analysed documents this process became more refined - becoming influenced by our growing knowledge and ability to connect documents with each other across archives. However, we also understand that at times we may have missed connections. We may also have missed connections due to material that was impossible for us to access. The archives we accessed for this study were primarily governmental (national, regional, and local) archives, which usually store public records that are accessed without hurdles. However, we also used private archives which were more difficult to access as it was contingent on the cooperation of those facilities to allow us to do so.

These archives, and private documents within public archives, have more restrictions around the viewing and use of archival materials, which in some instances limited our ability to utilise these sources or to see them at all. These limits do not, however, reflect the quality of the materials we were able to retrieve from the archives. Rather, they are stated to contextualise this work in wider discussions on archives happening within the academy, government, and other public sectors. Additionally, we underline that there were hard decisions made given the sheer volume of archival holdings, where we had to prioritise which materials to examine within our limited timeframe. In the end, the team examined a wide selection of sources, with several members making repeat visits to certain archives to ensure that we collected as many materials as possible.

We note how crucial archivists, across Scotland, were in assisting our search, both in and outwith the archives. Prior to our visits we contacted archivists to outline the nature of the research that we were undertaking (using wording approved by the initial Contract Manager), and sought advice on their holdings to ensure our visits would capture as much of the available evidence as possible. One Scots (Doric) speaking member of the team also accessed (online) audio and video materials from the Elphinstone institute (Stanley Robertson Project) at the University of Aberdeen, and from Tobar an Dualchais/Kist o Riches, both of which provided personal testimonies from members of Gypsy/Traveller communities. These testimonies were invaluable in

providing wider context for the research, including recollections of housing, education, and everyday life.

Appendix 3: List of Archives visited

Archival centres are listed in the order they were visited in. Note that, due to the team's prior research work, some archival visits were made before the start of the contract.

- Fife Council Archives: February 2022
- Perth & Kinross Council Archives: March - April 2022, April 2023
- British Newspaper Archives (online): January - February 2023, September - October 2023
- Aberdeen City and Aberdeenshire Archives: February 2023
- National Records of Scotland: March 2023, September 2023 - February 2024
- Dundee City Archives: April 2023
- Stirling Council Archives: April 2023
- Angus Archives: June 2023
- Highland Archive Centre (Inverness): July 2023, October 2023
- Nucleus: The Nuclear and Caithness Archives (Wick): July 2023
- Tasglann Nan Eilean (Stornoway): August 2023
- Blair Castle Archives: October 2023
- Lochaber Archive Centre (Fort William): October 2023
- Clackmannanshire Archives: November 2023
- Glasgow City Archives: December 2023, January 2024
- Museum of English Rural Life, University of Reading: January 2024
- National Library of Scotland (online): February 2024
- Aberlour Orphanage Archives (held at the University of Stirling): July 2024

¹ Note that 'Tinker' (or 'tinkler', in some historical texts) is a pejorative term historically used to describe Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, derived from the historical association of Gypsy/Travellers with the metal-work trade. MacRitchie (1890: 173) wrote, when discussing the historical record of 'Gypsies' in Scotland: 'But there is this to be considered, that genuine Gypsies have often been spoken of as "tinkers" (chaudronniers) on account of the occupation with which they have long been associated; and that although there is no known mention of "Gypsies" in the British Islands prior to the 15th century, there are many earlier references to "tinkers," or "tinklers," as they are called in Scotland. One cannot do better than quote Mr Crofton at this point. "It is at present by no means certain when the Gypsies made their first appearance in England...Tinkler can be traced back to about the year 1200. Tinker and Tinkler were not uncommon titles at that time." See: MacRitchie, D., 1890. Scottish Gypsies under the Stewarts. *Romani Studies*, 2(3), p.173. His reference to the work of Crofton can be found here: Crofton, H. T., 1880. *The English Gypsies Under the Tudors*. A. Ireland.

² Please note that the Church of Scotland was specifically mentioned as a key stakeholder in the Scottish Government's tender document, hence its specific mention here. This directed us to examine the work of the Church of Scotland, but we also ensured that we conducted searches and analysis of the role of other religious denominations, e.g. the Free Church and the Scottish Episcopal Church.

³ Scottish Government, Invitation to Tender - Provision of Archival Research to Explore 20th Century Policies Affecting the Gypsy/Traveller Communities', Directorate for Housing and Social Justice document, page 3.

⁴ *Ibid*, page 14.

⁵ Industrial schools were institutions, 'intended to help those children under 14 years old who were found to be homeless or begging but who had not as yet committed any serious crime. The idea was to remove the child from bad influences, give them an education and teach them a trade.' See: [National Archives capture of a historical "Report on a female teacher"](#)

⁶ Note that 'the media' does not have a separate chapter devoted to it in this report, but will be referenced throughout, and is also mentioned in the 'Recommendations' section at the end of this report.

⁷ It should be remembered that Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland are not homogenous but rather constitute a diverse collection of communities each with their own history, culture and linguistic tradition. For further discussion see: McKinney, R., 2003. Views from the margins: Gypsy/Travellers and the ethnicity debate in the new Scotland. *Scottish Affairs*, 42(1), pp.13-31.

⁸ “The Scottish Office was a department of the United Kingdom Government from 1885 until 1999, exercising a wide range of government functions in relation to Scotland under the control of the Secretary of State for Scotland.” See: [UK Government information about The Scottish Office](#)

⁹ ‘Ghettoisation’ is used here to describe a process whereby a marginalised group are placed in a particular locale because of oppression and discrimination.

¹⁰ See footnote 2.

¹¹ Given the language and the phrasing used in this quote (e.g. treating Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland as a ‘they’ and thus a homogenous community), there is need to contextualise its usage here. Written in 1967, it highlights that at the time, and whilst the ‘Tinker Experiments’ were underway, someone from the ‘settled’ (or ‘sedentary’) population in Scotland had known, and had reported to the public, that the use of the word ‘tinker’ was a pejorative. Moreover, the author highlighted the need for policy change, recognising that the ancient history of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland, and their marginalisation, had been a long-term term issue. This quote is significant but not unique to other testimonies recognising the harms being endured because of the Tinker Experiments.

¹² ‘Invitation to Tender’, op cit, p. 10. See, for example: Matthews, J. (2021) ‘Gypsy travellers call for Scottish government to apologise for ‘tinker experiment’ that ‘ripped families apart’’, Sky News, 15 April [Online]. Available at: [Sky News article - "Gypsy travellers call for Scottish government to apologise for 'tinker experiment' that 'ripped families apart'"](#)

¹³ ‘Invitation to Tender’, op cit, Schedule 2 - Specification, point 2.

¹⁴ We were not able to ascertain when the term ‘Tinker Experiments’ was first used, or who used it, with any accuracy, but we would note the significant amount of archival evidence that was found referencing a variety of ‘experimental’ schemes used to manage Gypsy/Traveller lives in Scotland. The main body of the report will evidence some of these, and we would also note the frequent use of such terms in the news media. For example, building on the widespread narrative of a ‘Tinker Problem’, a number of publications chose to highlight potential assimilatory solutions through the use of the terms ‘experiment’ and ‘scheme’. The Broughty Ferry Guide and Advertiser, for example, on Saturday 3 July, 1937 reported: “Angus Public Health Committee on Monday dealt with the tinker problem. Dr Sinclair, medical officer of health (MOH), suggested that the Committee should ask proprietors of various grounds for the use of a little ground to erect a few houses for tinkers as an experiment.” This was followed by an article in the Brechin Advertiser on Tuesday 9 November, 1937 which reported on a meeting of the Angus Housing and Plans Committee of the County Council. The article noted the following: “[Dr Sinclair] told the Committee that he was concerned regarding the conditions under which tinker families were living in parts of the county. He suggested as an experiment that two wooden huts be erected near Craichie for tinkers whose families were attending that school. He would make regular visits to the huts. It was agreed that Dr Sinclair should get full details.”

¹⁵ The Race Relations Act 1976 has since been superseded in the UK by the Equality Act 2010. See: [Equality Act 2010 legislation](#).

¹⁶ We would also note the October 2023 blog post communication by the Scottish Human Rights Commission (SHRC) that ‘[a]t present, Gypsy Travellers in Scotland do not have recognised legal National Minority Status, this is despite the UK ratifying the framework convention in 1998. However, test cases such as K MacLennan v GTEIP in 2008 have established ethnic minority status for Gypsy Travellers in Scotland.’ In the written judgement to this case, Judge Hosie “arrived at the view that Scottish Gypsy-Travellers have “ethnic origins”, with reference in particular, to Section 3(1) of the 1976 Act [Race Relations Act 1976] and that they therefore enjoy the protection of the Act”. See: [Scottish Human Rights Commission article: "Commission Hears the Human Rights Concerns of the Gypsy Traveller Community in Scotland."](#); [REF case study on rights for Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland](#). Further information about the Scottish Human Rights Commission can be found at: [Online information on the Scottish Human Rights Commission](#).

¹⁷ See: [United Nations information on indigenous peoples](#)

¹⁸ One of the most cited descriptions of ‘Indigenous people’ is attributed to Jose R. Martinez Cobo, the former Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. In his renowned ‘Study on the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations’ (1986), he remarks:

‘Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system.

This historical continuity may consist of the continuation, for an extended period reaching into the present of one or more of the following factors: Occupation of ancestral lands, or at least of part of them; Common ancestry with the original occupants of these lands; Culture in general, or in specific manifestations (such as religion, living under a tribal system, membership of an indigenous community, dress, means of livelihood, lifestyle, etc.); Language (whether used as the only language, as mother-tongue, as the habitual means of communication at home or in the family, or as the main, preferred, habitual, general or normal language); Residence on certain parts of the country, or in certain regions of the world; and Other relevant factors.

On an individual basis, an indigenous person is one who belongs to these indigenous populations through self-identification as indigenous (group consciousness) and is recognized and accepted by these populations as one of its members (acceptance by the group)...This preserves for these communities the sovereign right and power to decide who belongs to them, without external interference'. See: Cobo JM. 1981. Study of the problem of discrimination against indigenous populations. Geneva (Switzerland): United Nations Economic and Social Council.

¹⁹ See, for example: Heaslip, V., Wilson, D. and Jackson, D., 2019. Are Gypsy Roma Traveller communities indigenous and would identification as such better address their public health needs?. *Public health*, 176, pp.43-49.

²⁰ See, for example: Bakken, D., Branden, K. (2013). Skin Color and Blood Quantum: Getting the Red Out. In: Hall, R. (eds) *The Melanin Millennium*. Springer, Dordrecht. [Link to article](#)

²¹ Throughout this report, when we reference the 'settled community', the concept is meant to describe the vast majority of the population of Scotland who follow sedentary- and agrarian-based cultural and economic lifestyles, and whose political structures uphold and normalise these lifestyles. As others have pointed out, sedentarism, as something deeply rooted in Western thought, views nomadism as a threat to its existence. It is why Gypsy/Travellers, both in Scotland and elsewhere have historically been represented as 'suspect and invasive' as their culture inherently contravenes the sedentary culture and its desire to regulate the mobility of people. See Shubin, S. 2011. "Where can a Gypsy stop?" *Rethinking Mobility in Scotland*. *Antipode* 43 (2): 498. We would also note that the term 'Traveller' is still being reformulated to describe mobile groups, for example the term 'New Age Travellers'. As Fox (2014) notes: " Sociologist Kevin Hetherington, in his book *New Age Travellers* (2000), holds that travellers 'adopt an identity that brings together a series of disparate "ethnic" identities that share one thing in common: their marginalized and often oppressed status within society'. Traveller culture carries references to proto-socialist movements such as the English Civil War-era Diggers and Levellers. Travellers also adopted aspects of gypsy life, Ras-ta-farianism and circus communities. Their identity evolved syncretically, a bricolage of values and styles." This co-opting of the term 'Traveller' in this way is one example of the problems surrounding that use in comparison to describing the ancient peoples whose experiences are the subject of this report.

²² *Travellers Times* (2020) "We are a minority within a minority' - Indigenous Highland Travellers call out for recognition', *Travellers Times*, 28 October 2020 [Online]. Available at [Travellers Times article - "Indigenous Highland Travellers call out for recognition"](#). Those identifying as Indigenous Highland Travellers may speak Beurla Reagaird ('speech of metalworkers'), a Scottish Gaelic-based Cant that is almost extinct (See: *Travellers and their language*. Edited by John M. Kirk and Donall P. O Baoill, 2002. [Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 4]. Belfast: Queen's University Belfast/ Clo Ollscoil na Banriona. 196 pp. ISBN 0-85389-832-4. We would also highlight the work of Heaslip, Wilson and Jackson, who note that: "We argue that Gypsy Roma Traveller communities could be recognised as indigenous in terms of the internationally agreed principles of indigeneity and shared experiences of health inequity, colonisation and cultural genocide. Doing so would enable a more robust public health strategy and development of public health guidelines that take into account their cultural views and practices." See: Heaslip, V., Wilson, D. and Jackson, D., 2019. *Op Cit*. Finally we would note that the 2011 Scottish Census was the first opportunity that Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland had the opportunity to self-identify as such.

²³ We would also note that this is not a new realisation. As noted in the quote that precedes this report, in *The Scotsman*, on 30 December 1967, it was noted that 'the very word "tinker" is derogatory'. See: [British Newspaper Archive webpage of aforementioned article](#).

²⁴ Leading figures in archival research have similarly highlighted the need for archives to be contested, noting the many steps of decision-making that take place to store material in an archive, all of which involve active choices around the value of a certain item by those who collect, curate, and use archives. As Jimerson remarks: 'Archives at once protect and preserve records; legitimise and sanctify certain documents while negating and destroying others; and provide access to selected sources while controlling the researchers and conditions under which they may examine the archival record.' See, Jimerson, R., 2007. Archives for all: professional responsibility and social justice. *The American Archivist*, 70(2), pp.252-281. Nevertheless, official attempts to extend collecting to non-traditional depositors is often met with mixed results. The rise in 'community archiving' that has resulted is well-documented. See, for example: Stevens, M., Flinn, A. and Shepherd, E., 2013. New frameworks for community engagement in the archive sector: from handing over to handing on. In *Heritage and Community Engagement* (pp. 67-84). Routledge.

²⁵ For a discussion of an alternative to this see: Flinn, Andrew, Mary Stevens, and Elizabeth Shepherd. "Whose memories, whose archives? Independent community archives, autonomy and the mainstream." *Archival Science* 9 (2009): 71-86.

²⁶ We would note the presence of cultural archives such as those held at the Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, and at the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, which hold a range of sound recordings that more accurately capture the lived experiences of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland. We sampled a small number of those recordings that were in Scots, and in the Doric dialect, but there was no wider provision for these types of archive in the original tender document and time and resources precluded further study at this time.

²⁷ See, for example: Sowry, N., 2012. Silence, Accessibility, and Reading Against the Grain: Examining Voices of the Marginalized in the India Office Records. *InterActions: UCLA Journal of Education and Information Studies*, 8(2); Rizzo, M., 2017. Reading against the grain, finding the voices of the detained. *Museums & Social Issues*, 12(1), pp.26-32; Dávila-Freire, M., 2020. Reading the archive against the grain: Power relations, affective affinities and subjectivity in the documenta Archive. *Art Libraries Journal*, 45(3), pp.94-99.

²⁸ Although please note the following works as important examples of autobiographical work by Gypsy/Traveller writers in Scotland: Smith, J., 2012. *Way of the wanderers: The story of Travellers in Scotland*. Birlinn; Williamson, D., 1994. *The Horsieman: Memories of a Traveller 1928-58*. Birlinn; Whyte, B., 2001. *The Yellow on the Broom: The early days of a Traveller woman*. Birlinn; Whyte, B., 1990. *Red rowans and wild honey*. Birlinn Ltd.

²⁹ See Okely, J., 1983. *The traveller-gypsies*. Cambridge University Press; Prescott, Andrew, and Alison Wiggins, 'Introduction', in Andrew Prescott, and Alison Wiggins (eds), *Archives: Power, Truth, and Fiction* (2023; online edn, Oxford Academic, 18 Dec. 2023), [Link to article](#).

³⁰ Because the research team had to make deliberate choices on which items to capture, analyse, and include within this report, we recognise that our own positionality might have affected this decision process. Nevertheless we feel the size and diversity of the research team (seven researchers and an editor) allowed us much more opportunity to critically evaluate the materials than had this been the work of one or two people. Our choices represented a multi-layered process of checking and double-checking within the team, always striving to ensure that the choices that we made considered the context of each piece, their wider implications on the report, and the relevance to the key themes that the analysis team focused upon. As we researched and analysed documents this process became more refined - becoming influenced by our growing knowledge and ability to connect documents with others across archives. However, we also understand that at times we may have missed connections and we may also have missed connections due to material that was impossible for us to access. The archives we accessed for this study were primarily governmental (national, regional, and local) archives, which usually store public records that are accessed without hurdles. However, we also used private archives which were more difficult to access as it was contingent on the cooperation and agreement of those facilities to be able to do so. These archives, and private documents within public archives, have more restrictions around the viewing and use of archival materials, which in some instances limited our ability to utilise these sources or to see them at all. Moreover, without the institutional status that the research team have as university-affiliated researchers many of these records would not have been accessible. We would also articulate that there were instances of documents missing when we went to access them in the archive. For example, there were four years of council minutes missing from the Wick archives, covering the period 1956-1958/9, which was a key period in that local authority's engagement with Gypsy/Traveller communities. There were also some files where the chapter sequence jumped without any concomitant jump in catalogue page numbers, seeming to indicate missing materials at the time of cataloguing. In addition, in the National Records of Scotland, file HH55/240 (titled 'Tinkers') was listed in the catalogue but could not be located by archivists on multiple requests. Files coded 'HH' relate to the Home and Health Department of the Scottish Office. Other files under the HH55 classmark (of which we accessed 4) were very valuable, and so it is our assumption that HH55/240 would have also yielded valuable data.

³¹ See: Allen, R.B. and Sieczkiewicz, R., 2010. How historians use historical newspapers. *Proceedings of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 47(1), pp.1-4, for an examination of the use of historical newspapers in addition to other forms of archival material.

³² 'Invitation to Tender' op cit. The tender document for this contract notes specifically that the 'lived experiences' contract "will run in parallel with the contract specified in this document. It is expected that there will be an exchange of key findings between the contractors undertaking these contracts."

³³ The establishment of the NCTR was an outcome of the eight-year Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, which had an overall budget of 72 million Canadian Dollars (ca. 40 million pounds sterling) to investigate the impact of 130 residential schools that operated between 1831 and 1996 and had committed, as the TRC found, cultural genocide against Aboriginal communities across the country. In Scotland, the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry (SCAI) has now entered its ninth year and has incurred approximately £85 million in expenses so far.

³⁴ Winter and Leighton (2001: 99) describe structural violence as occurring 'whenever people are disadvantaged by political, legal, economic or cultural traditions' with structural violence being 'almost always invisible, embedded in ubiquitous social structures, normalized by stable institutions and regular experience. See: Winter, D. D., and Leighton, D. C. (2001), 'Structural violence', in D. J. Christie, R.V. Wagner, and D. D. Winter (Eds.), *Peace, conflict, and violence: Peace psychology in the 21st century*, New York: Prentice Hall. We would argue that this is a term that is relevant to the experiences of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland given, for example, evidence that [y]oung Gypsy/Travellers' educational outcomes are among the worst in Scottish education' (See: [Scottish Government information on educational outcomes for Gypsy/Traveller children](#)); and that 'Gypsy/Traveller communities are at higher risk of experiencing mental health problems' (see: [Scottish Government information on the Gypsy/Travellers Action Plan's Health actions](#)).

³⁵ See also the database accompanying this research.

³⁶ In 1991 the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights defined the right to adequate housing as comprising legal security of tenure; availability of services and amenities; affordability; habitability;

accessibility; proximity to employment, education, and services; and cultural adequacy. Within this report, we consider 'substandard housing' to exist where one or more of these components is unmet. See: Scottish Human Rights Commission (2024) Right to Housing [Online]. Available at [Scottish Human Rights Commission information on their work on the right to housing](#).

³⁷ To expand on our previous explanation, industrial schools were 'intended to help those children under 14 years old who were found to be homeless or begging but who had not as yet committed any serious crime. The idea was to remove the child from bad influences, give them an education and teach them a trade.' See: Hidden Lives Revealed (n.d.) Ragged Schools, Industrial Schools and Reformatories [Online]. Available at [Link to article](#)

³⁸ Coghill, D. (1917) NRAS980/File 20/4 - Official correspondence, reports and memoranda etc., relating to conditions of tinkers; bibliography of books dealing with Scottish tinkers; printed official report of Departmental Committee on Employment of Boys and Girls from the Congested Districts in the Highlands of Scotland, 1909, Private archives of Katharine Marjory Stewart-Murray, Duchess of Atholl, Blair Castle Archives, Blair Atholl. See also Gurr, B., 2024. Humanitarianism and Native America. In Handbook on Humanitarianism and Inequality (pp. 382-395). Edward Elgar Publishing. Referencing Indigenous communities Gurr highlights that humanitarian assistance, when designed and imposed from outside of communities (i.e. not by community members themselves) most often replicates and furthers the goals of assimilation (p. 382).

³⁹ While not formally adopted by the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the concept of cultural genocide alludes to an intended destruction of the cultural distinctiveness of a particular group. The policies and actions inspired by, and taken outwith these policies, are only a part of a much larger narrative that settled Scottish society has yet to reckon with in its historical and current treatment of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland. See James R. Miller, Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools, University of Toronto Press (2012) for further commentary on the attributes of cultural genocide. See: Kavanagh, A.M., 2022. The attempted destruction of a collective identity: The case of Irish Travellers. Shuddhashar Free Voice, 31; and McVeigh, R., 2008. "The balance of cruelty": Ireland, Britain and the logic of genocide. Journal of Genocide Research, 10(4), pp.541-561 for research conducted into the experiences of Gypsy/Travellers in Ireland.

⁴⁰ In the Statistical Accounts of Scotland, 1791-1845, for example, the Reverend Alexander Gray describing Kincardine in Monteith (Vol. X, 1845, p. 1281) notes that: 'One of the recent improvements, which have proved beneficial to the parish, is the establishment of a county police. Previous to their appointment, vagrants, tinkers, and gipsies from various quarters were numerous; but, by the vigilance of the police, they have been suppressed.' See: [Link to article](#)

⁴¹ The PTNH was enacted by then-Secretary of State for Scotland Bruce Millan in 1977, as outlined in Scottish Development Department Circular No. SW2/1977. Though intended to prevent forced relocation of 'unauthorised' encampments by the police in council areas without an official Traveller site, the policy was frequently weaponised against Traveller families. One example of this is recounted by McNaughton (1985: A large number of travellers camped on vacant ground at Kinning Park near the centre of Glasgow. Reaction from the local community was swift and fierce. Letters of complaint poured in [sic] local authority offices demanding that both Regional and District Councils remove them. Moreover, business in the locality organised a protest whereby District and Regional Chief Officers were bombarded with numerous letters and telemessages from their managing directors. However, in terms of the non-harassment policy the Regional Council (who owned part of the ground) could not evict the travellers. Nevertheless, the travellers were 'persuaded' to move after the police increased their presence in the area. The police had been inspecting the travellers' vehicles, licences, road fund tax and insurance and charged the travellers with a number of offences. Although not forcibly evicted from the site, the travellers were harassed by the police's abnormal interest in them.' See: McNaughtan, J.H., 1985. Scotland's travelling people: An analysis of government policy. University of Glasgow (United Kingdom). The Policy was also discussed in subsequent documents as providing an incentive for council site creation so that Travellers could be moved onto these locations in an extension of forced sedentarisation. The Policy also exempted toleration for "large groups of travelling people, whose size, pattern and purpose of encampments are unrelated to established traveller movement", giving authorities permission to forcibly relocate these 'illegal' encampments. See: Scottish Development Department (1980) 'SDD Circular No. 13/1980 - Scotland's Travelling People', SR1/2 Box 49 - Provision of Sites for Travelling People - Report by Depute Chief Executive, Glasgow City Archives, Glasgow, pp. 7-9; Scottish Development Department (1984) 'SDD Circular No. 34/1984', Director of Housing File - Travelling People 1983 - 1992, Dundee City Council Archives, Dundee; Maud, R. (1991) SR1/2 Box 203 - Travelling People - Information Report, Glasgow City Archives, Glasgow, p. 2; Brown, P. (2015) Developing Successful Site Provision for Scotland's Gypsy/Traveller Communities: A report for the Equality and Human Rights Commission [Online]. Available at: [Equality & Human Rights Commission report on site provision for Scotland's Gypsy/Traveller communities](#).

[Grampian Police's Policing Strategy for Gypsy/Traveller communities](#)

⁴² See, for example: MacRitchie, D., 1894. Scottish Gypsies under the stewarts. David Douglas; McKinney, R., 2003. Views from the margins: Gypsy/Travellers and the ethnicity debate in the new Scotland. Scottish Affairs, 42(1), pp.13-31; Macafee, C., 2019. Gypsies, pedlars, beggars and other itinerants in the Scots dictionary record. Scottish Language, 38, pp.1-54.

-
- ⁴³ See for example: Kenrick, D., 2007. Historical dictionary of the Gypsies (Romanies). Scarecrow Press.
- ⁴⁴ See: McKinney, R., 2003. Views from the margins: Gypsy/Travellers and the ethnicity debate in the new Scotlnd. *Scottish Affairs*, 42(1), pp.13-31.
- ⁴⁵ 'Tinklers' is a historical variant spelling of 'tinkers'. It should be highlighted here that not all Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland have descendants who are tinsmiths, and so that word is not only a pejorative, but an inaccurate one. See: Smith, R., 2009. Looking back at Scottish travellers as nomadic entrepreneurs? Available from OpenAIR@RGU. [online]. Available from: <http://openair.rgu.ac.uk>.
- ⁴⁶ Kenrick, D. and Clark, C., 1999. Moving on: the gypsies and travellers of Britain. University of Hertfordshire Press, p. 51.
- ⁴⁷ McKinney, op cit.
- ⁴⁸ McPhee, S. (2017) Gypsy Traveller history in Scotland [Online]. Available at: [Link to article](#). In line with Tyson the word Gypsy - capitalised here and without quotation marks - 'refers both to a legal category constructed by early modern authorities and to an ethnic group culturally and linguistically different from other Scots'. Tyson, T. M. (2024) 'The Marginalisation of Gypsies in Scotland, 1573-c.1625', in Kennedy, A. and Weston, S. (eds), *Life at the Margins in Early Modern Scotland*, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, p. 50.
- ⁴⁹ Tyson, T. M. (2024) *Ibid*, p. 50.
- ⁵⁰ Privy Council of Scotland (1877-1970) Register of the privy Council of Scotland, series 1, vol. 2, Edinburgh, H.M. General Register House, p. 210.
- ⁵¹ Concerning the punishment of strong and idle beggars and provision for sustenance of the poor and impotent (1575) Available at: [Link to article](#); For punishment of the strong and idle beggars and relief of the poor and impotent (1579) Available at: [Link to article](#).
- ⁵² Act regarding beggars (1593) Available at: [Link to article](#); Tyson, T. M. (2024) op. cit., p. 53
- ⁵³ Act regarding Egyptians (1609) Available at: [Link to article](#).
- ⁵⁴ Macritchie, D., Op. cit, p. 94.
- ⁵⁵ Tyson, T. M. (2024) op. cit., p. 54.
- ⁵⁶ Notably the Witchcraft Act of 1563 entered legislation during the same session. In March 2022, the then First Minister of Scotland, Nicola Sturgeon, issued a formal apology to those accused, convicted, and executed under the Witchcraft Act of 1563, and recognized it as an 'egregious historic injustice'. See: [BBC News article on formal apology to those accused of witchcraft](#)
- ⁵⁷ Hume, D. (1797) *Commentaries on the law of Scotland, respecting the description and punishment of crimes*, vol. 2, Edinburgh, Bell and Bradfute, p. 348.
- ⁵⁸ Macritchie, D. (1894), op. cit., p. 98.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 99.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁶¹ Lauder, J. (1848) *Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs*, vol. 1, Edinburgh, p. 188.
- ⁶² Agnes and Jean were tried with three others who were also found guilty of being Gypsies. Sentencing for Agnes and Jean was delayed because 'they are at present with Child', something which the Court confirmed. Their sentencing therefore did not take place until the 15th of November - after they both gave birth, when 'The Lords Justice Clerk and Commissioners of Justiciary, having considered the [previous] verdict of assyse returned' sentenced "the said Agnes McDonald and Jean Baillie to be taken to the Grass-mercat of Edinburgh, upon Wednesday the Twenty fourth day of November Instant, And there, betwixt the hours of two & four in the Afternoon, To be hanged by the necks upon a Gibbet until they be dead." See: "A Gypsy trial of 1714 by David MacRitchie (Jan., 1895).
- ⁶³ Mayall op cit. See also Hancock, Ian F., *The pariah syndrome: an account of gypsy slavery and persecution*, chapter XII.
- ⁶⁴ Kenrick, op.cit. Hancock (1987: 89) examines the work of Walter Simson, and notes "[q]uoting from Miller, 1775, he goes on to indicate that Gypsies employed as coal-bearers and salters in 18th century Scotland were "in a state of slavery or bondage... for life, transferable with the collieries or salt works." Hancock, I.F., 1987. *The pariah syndrome: An account of Gypsy slavery and persecution*. (No Title).
- ⁶⁵ There is some narrative evidence of a decline in the Gypsy/Traveller population in Scotland in Walter Scott's *Guy Mannering*, published in 1815. Scott talks of an account by Fletcher of Saltoun almost a century before where the latter noted: 'in all times there have been about one hundred thousand of those vagabonds'. Scott then goes on to note that 'the progress of time, and increase both of the means of life and of the power of the laws, gradually reduced this dreadful evil within more narrow bounds. The tribes of gypsies, jockies or cairds... became few in number, and many were entirely rooted out.' We would also note too that, in the pages that follow, Scott talks of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland as 'gipsy [sic] tribes' who were "the pariahs of Scotland, living like wild Indians among European settlers, and, like them, judged of rather by their own customs, habits, and opinions, than as if they had been members of the civilised part of the community.' p. 75, Scott, W., *Auguste-Jean-Baptiste Defauconpret, 1767-1843 and Auguste-Jean-Baptiste Defauconpret, 1898*. *Guy mannering*. Thomas Y. Crowell.

-
- ⁶⁶ Including but not limited to the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Act (Scotland) of 1854 and the Trespass Act 1865, which is discussed in chapter 3 below.
- ⁶⁷ Turner (2002) identified a common political habit of distinguishing 'authentic' Gypsies, or Roma, from other Travellers. This distinction is generally made to 'draw a boundary' between those nomadic groups who are seen as legitimate and thus deserving of protection, and those who are perceived simply as 'drop-outs'. It is, in other words, a way of politically sanctioning discriminatory treatment. We would note that this distinction (as made by settled populations) is the foundation of assimilationist policy. See: Turner, R., 2002. Gypsies and British parliamentary language: An analysis. *Romani Studies*, 12(1), pp.1-34.
- ⁶⁸ van Baar, H., 2021. The production of irregular citizenship through mobile governmentalities: racism against roma at the security-mobility nexus. *Mobilities*, 16(5), pp.809-823.
- ⁶⁹ Whyte, K., L Talley, J., & D. Gibson, J. (2019). Indigenous mobility traditions, colonialism, and the anthropocene. *Mobilities*, 14(3), 319–335. [Link to article](#)
- ⁷⁰ See, for example, Stewart, G.T., 2023. Assimilation and Difference: A Māori Story. In *Writing Philosophical Autoethnography* (pp. 230-248). Routledge.
- ⁷¹ Keskitalo, P., 2019. Nomadic narratives of Sami people's migration in historic and modern times. *Human migration in the Arctic: The past, present, and future*, pp.31-65.
- ⁷² See: Dillon, S. and Craig, C., 2021. *Storylistening: Narrative evidence and public reasoning*. Routledge.
- ⁷³ This paragraph draws heavily on the very helpful outline provided on the National Records of Scotland website, which also referenced where materials regarding each of the administrative bodies could be found. This was available at: [National Record of Scotland archived information on finding materials related to administrative bodies](#)
- ⁷⁴ See: Kelly, C., 2016. Continuity and change in the history of Scottish juvenile justice. *Law, Crime & Hist.*, 6, p.59.; and Ralston, A.G., 1988. The development of reformatory and industrial schools in Scotland, 1832-1872. *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 8(1), pp.40-55.
- ⁷⁵ See: Ralston, A. G. (2017) *Opening Schools and Closing Prisons: Caring for destitute and delinquent children in Scotland 1812-1872*, London, Routledge, pp. 113-115.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷⁷ Note that industrial schools and reformatories were merged under the Approved Schools Act in 1933.
- ⁷⁸ Moore, M., 2008. Social Control or Protection of the Child? The Debates on the Industrial Schools Acts 1857—1894. *Journal of family history*, 33(4), pp.359-387.
- ⁷⁹ Gentleman, H. and Swift, S., op. cit., p. 25.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid.
- ⁸¹ By then, the fear of identifying as a Gypsy/Traveller in Scotland was such that some members of Gypsy/Traveller communities denied their identity, because such identification might mean harsher punishment.
- ⁸² Parliament of the United Kingdom (1888) *Reformatory And Industrial Schools—Legislation*, House of Lords, vol. 326 [Online]. Available at: [Link to Reformatory And Industrial Schools legislation](#).
- ⁸³ United Kingdom. Parliament. Parliament of the United Kingdom (1865) *Trespass (Scotland) Act 1865*. Westminster, Parliament of the United Kingdom, 28 & 29 Vict. c. 56.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 62.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 42, 53.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 15
- ⁸⁷ Royal Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children (1936) GD409/29/7 - Reports and correspondence by the Royal Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children's inspectors on the school attendance records of tinker children. Records of the Royal Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children (RSSPCC)/Children 1st, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 8.
- ⁸⁸ The Kilbrandon report was implemented in 1971 and is described as 'one of the most influential policy statements on how a society should deal with children in trouble.' There is no mention of Gypsy/Traveller children in the Kilbrandon Report. See: [Link to the text of the Kilbrandon Report](#)
- ⁸⁹ United Kingdom. Parliament. House of Commons (1908) *Children Act 1908*, London, Parliament of the United Kingdom, 8 Edw. 7. c. 67, pp. 514-519.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid, pp. 507-508.
- ⁹¹ Departmental Committee on Tinkers (Scotland) (1918), op. Cit, pp. 17-18.
- ⁹² Ibid.
- ⁹³ Aberdeen Press and Journal (1912) 'Problem of Tinkers' Children', Aberdeen Press and Journal, 26 April, p.5 [Online]. Available at: [Link to article](#). Oakbank Industrial School was first founded in Aberdeen in 1879. See also oral testimonies around the 1908 Act on Tobar an Dualchais from the School of Scottish Studies Archives: [Link to article](#)
- ⁹⁴ Royal Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children (1936), op. cit., p. 53.
- ⁹⁵ See also the discussion in the next chapter.
- ⁹⁶ [Link to legislation](#)
- ⁹⁷ See: 'The Law Relating to Gypsies and Travellers', by Chris Johnson, Angus Murdoch and Marc Willers available at: [Link to article](#)

⁹⁸ If Gypsy/Travellers did not move on, they could either be prosecuted in terms of the enforcement notice procedure of the 1960 Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act or, if camped on the road, in terms of the 1887 Roads and Bridges (Scotland) Act. See McNaughton, 1985, p. 58.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Departmental Committee on Habitual Offenders, Inebriates, Etc. (Scotland) (1895) Report from the Departmental Committee on Habitual Offenders, Vagrants, Beggars, Inebriates and Juvenile Delinquents, Edinburgh, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, p. 197.

¹⁰¹ Departmental Committee on Habitual Offenders, Inebriates, Etc. (Scotland) (1895) op. cit., p. xxxii.

¹⁰² Ibid.p. xxxiii. Turner (2000) identified a common political habit of distinguishing 'authentic' Gypsies, or Roma, from other Travellers. This distinction is generally made to draw a boundary between those nomadic groups who are seen as legitimate and thus deserving of protection, and those who are perceived simply to be dropouts. It is, in other words, a way of politically sanctioning discriminatory treatment."

¹⁰³ Departmental Committee on Habitual Offenders, Vagrants, Etc. (1896) op. cit., p. 607.

¹⁰⁴ Boyd, J. (1905) Education (Scotland) Northern Division General Report for the Year 1904, London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ Scottish Home and Health Department (c. 1896) 'A Bill for Securing the Education of Tinker children in the Counties of Dumbarton, Perth, Ross and Sutherland, and other parts of Scotland', HH55/236 - Habitual Offenders, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, pp. 17-19.

¹⁰⁶ Taylor, B. (2008) A minority and the state Travellers in Britain in the 20th century, Manchester University Press, Manchester.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 19.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 26-27

¹¹¹ Ibid, p. 10.

¹¹² Departmental Committee on Tinkers (Scotland) (1918), op. cit., p. 22. (accessed online at WorldCat). Note that there is evidence to the Departmental Committee (published as the 'Blue Book') in the archives of Children 1st in the National Records of Scotland but this doesn't include the Report itself.

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 22, 29.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 30-31.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 23.

¹¹⁶ Aberdeen Evening Express (1918) 'The Tinker Problem' 20 April, p. 2 [Online]. Available at: [Link to article](#)

¹¹⁷ Department of Health for Scotland (1936) GD409/37/5 - Report of the Departmental Committee on Vagrancy in Scotland, Records of the Royal Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children (RSSPCC)/Children 1st, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 41.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 44.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 41.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 80.

¹²¹ United Kingdom. Parliament. House of Commons (1960) Caravan Sites and Control of Development Act 1960. London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 8 & 9 Eliz. 2. c. 62.

¹²² Much of this backlash (at least that which we have evidence of) centred on a 'three-pronged movement' in England that prompted the 1968 Act and that originated with Norman Dodds (MP from Kent), Ellen Wilmot-Ware (farmer from Gloucestershire), and Gratton Puxon (Traveller rights campaigner). See Hawkes, D. and Perez, B. (1996) The gypsy and the state: The ethnic cleansing of British society, 2nd edn., Bristol, The Policy Press, p. 21

¹²³ Scottish Development Department (1974) DD12/4242 - Caravans and Second Homes Legislation. National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh; United Kingdom. Parliament. House of Commons (1968) Caravan Sites Act 1968. London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1968 c. 52.

¹²⁴ Scottish Development Department (1961) DD6/3161 - Caravans and Second Homes, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, pp. 44. Only parts of the 1968 Act applied to Scotland. These were Part 1, which was on residential occupation of licensed caravan sites, definitions of caravans (sections 13 and 16) and persecution of offences (section 14(1)). Part 2 which is on site provision for gypsies and control of unauthorised sites, does not apply to Scotland. Advisory Committees and the Gentleman and Swift report (op cit.) were set up to address this gap. Additionally, 16(1) provided a definition for 'gypsies' that did initially apply to Scotland, however this has been removed from the Act.

¹²⁵ Gentleman, H. and Swift, S. (1971) op. cit.

¹²⁶ Ibid., pp. 94-108.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 110.

¹²⁸ Butler, R. F. (1971) 'SDD Circular No. 9/1971 - Scotland's Travelling People', D66/3200 - Housing Needs, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh.

-
- ¹²⁹ Central Region Planning Department (1978) 'Travelling People in Central Region: The Provision of Permanent Sites, September 1978', GB244/CRC/42/1 - Travellers Project reports, Stirling Council Archives, Stirling.
- ¹³⁰ Scottish Development Department (1961) DD6/3161 - Caravans and Second Homes, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, pp. 41.
- ¹³¹ Parliament of the United Kingdom (1886) Education Department (Scotland)—Education Of Children Of Travelling Tinkers, House of Commons, vol. 304 [Online]. Available at: [Text of Hansard information on this debate](#).
- ¹³² Parliament of the United Kingdom (1908) Education (Scotland) Bill, House of Lords, vol. 198 [Online]. Available at: [Text of Hansard information on this debate](#).
- ¹³³ Scottish Home and Health Department (1919) HH55/237 - Tinkers and Gypsies, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 63.
- ¹³⁴ Parliament of the United Kingdom (1959) Housing Accommodation, Caithness, House of Commons, vol. 602 [Online]. Available at: [Text of Hansard information on this debate](#).
- ¹³⁵ Scottish Development Department (1961) op. cit.
- ¹³⁶ Gentleman, H. and Swift, S. (1971), op. cit., p. 15
- ¹³⁷ See, for example: Special Sub-Committee appointed to consider the 'tinker' problem in Perthshire (1965) CC1/H/A3 - Accommodation of Tinkers from Nov. 1945 to June 1966, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth.
- ¹³⁸ The Local Government Board for Scotland was the body charged with overseeing local government, public health, housing and poor law from 1894 to 1919.
- ¹³⁹ Blair Castle Archives, All Other Files part 1.pdf, pp 1. Maxwell also later discusses a possible crofting settlement in Caithness (p. 14-15). His remarks are worth quoting here in full because they demonstrate several aspects of the discussions that were taking place. "Suggestions have also been made that the tinker problem could be solved by detailing the adults in a labour colony and keeping the children in an industrial school. But I do not agree in them. I am of opinion that before any definite decision is come to a full trial of the proposed crofting settlement should be made. The Local Government Board are keenly interested in this experiment which they hope will result in the recognition by the tinker of the great advantage of settled employment. It is thought that it may be the first step to their permanent settlement on the land and may ultimately lead to the voluntary separation of the families from one another and their absorption by the population in different parts of the country. I believe this separation of the families and absorption of the people to be the real solution of the problem of weaning the tinkers from the nomad existence which has an extremely strong hold on them."
- ¹⁴⁰ Blair Atholl Archives, All Other Files part 1.pdf, pp 5-10.
- ¹⁴¹ Depute County Clerk (1964) 'Housing of Tinker Families', CC1/H/3 - Accommodation of Tinkers from Nov. 1945 to June 1966, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth.
- ¹⁴² These came into operation on 1 April 1996 as per the provisions of the Local Government etc. (Scotland) Act 1994. Prior to that Scotland had seen several changes to its local authority boundaries, including during the period of time covered by this research. These include changes that resulted from the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1929, the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1947 and the Wheatley Commission (Royal Commission on Local Government in Scotland) of 1969, whose provisions were largely put into place in the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973. The latter resulted in a system of districts and regions that came into being in 1975 and remained in place until 31 March 1996.
- ¹⁴³ Highland Archive Services consists of four archival centres throughout the Highlands. Those visited for this research were the Highland Archive Centre (Inverness), Lochaber Archive Centre (Fort William) and Nucleus: The Nuclear and Caithness Archives (Wick).
- ¹⁴⁴ Angus Archives were contacted in May 2023 and visited in June 2023. Prior to visiting no documents were identified as being of particular interest, but as the Dundee City Archives held mentions of sites within the wider Tayside Region and within Angus it was thought best to make a trip to these archives. At the archives we were able to discuss the research with archivists on staff and discussed how future research might be conducted in these specific archives. However, since no documents specifically were identified and the information, we already gathered around Angus from the Dundee City Archives, the team decided it was best to dedicate resources elsewhere.
- ¹⁴⁵ See Appendix 3 for discussion of selection of archival sites.
- ¹⁴⁶ It is important to remember the role that local newspapers played, during much of the time under examination in this report, in terms of relaying local news. As O'Reilly notes (2023): 'Local news was the communicative node of British towns and cities until the late 20th century... In this period, the provincial press was dominated by forensically detailed accounts of local council meetings. These provided an important tool for any historian hoping to understand local decision-making and democratic processes – and to assess levels of local accountability.' See: [Link to article](#)
- ¹⁴⁷ See, for example: [Link to Doric Columns article on The Gordons Barracks](#), [Link to Aberdeen Voice article on Castlehill](#).
- ¹⁴⁸ Butler, R. F. (1969) 'Traveller Census', DD12/3564 - Caravans and Second Homes: Travellers, National of Records Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 38.

¹⁴⁹ The evidence demonstrated that counter-narratives were in general less present in council materials (than say newspaper archives) however we have also referenced a couple of instances where there were statement that went against the prevailing (negative) narrative.

¹⁵⁰ Nissen huts could be made of wood-asbestos or of corrugated asbestos sheeting, which was seen as being cheap and durable. There were also Nissen-type huts which were actually curved asbestos. There were large numbers of the latter type in the Fearn peninsula, and also evidence of other curved asbestos huts being used in Perthshire too. See: [Highland Council notification of abestos in structure](#). We would note too that Nissen huts as a post-war housing option were recognised as substandard. Commenting on Nissen huts as a form of housing the MP for Ashford Bill Deedes noted in a statement to Parliament on 11 April, 1951 'defects and discomforts ... are inseparable from such flimsy dwellings. The sewerage as I saw it is admittedly adequate. The rainwater drainage is nil and, as a result, every hut is surrounded by the water which lands on and flows off the roof. This is drawn up through the extremely thin foundations of the hut by the warmth inside, causing condensation and damp of a most serious character—probably the worst feature of these huts and the worst feature of such huts generally. As a result bedding, clothing, perambulators, childrens' clothing and so on are soaking wet, particularly at this time of the year. Further, these huts suffer from appalling draughts, with which anyone who occupied them during the war will be familiar.' See: [Text of Hansard information on this debate](#)

¹⁵¹ Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland (1933) AF66/183 - Land Settlement, Highlands, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 15.

¹⁵² The site in question - St. Christopher in Tayock, Montrose - was opened in November 1980, one of many opened in the wake of post-1969 policy changes discussed below. See: Central Region Planning Department (1978) op. cit.; The Planning Exchange (c. 1983) 'Travellers' Sites Information Sheet', Director of Housing File - Travelling People 1983 - 1992, Dundee City Archives, Dundee, pp. 38-41.

¹⁵³ Taylor, B. (2013) *A minority and the state*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.

¹⁵⁴ Report on Yeholm and Swinton (1917) NRAS980/File 20/5 - Memoranda and reports of, or submitted to, Departmental Committee of Tinkers - relates to visits, interviews, etc. in Aberdeenshire, the Borders, Perthshire, Dundee, Inverness and Wick. Information, etc., circulated to members of the Departmental Committee on Tinkers, Private archives of Katherine Majory-Stewart, Duchess of Atholl, Blair Castle Archives, Blair Atholl, pp. 20.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 51

¹⁵⁶ Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland (1933) op cit., p. 15.

¹⁵⁷ See: Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland (1933) op. cit., p. 18.

¹⁵⁸ In terms of the timing of these initiatives, we would highlight that the evidence suggests that there were discussions of experimental housing initiatives at a number of points, and especially between World War I and World War II, and in the aftermath of World War II. Indeed, both World Wars appeared to lead to discussions in many local authorities about dealing with the return of Gypsy/Traveller men who had fought, with local authorities sometimes expressing their hope that the experiences of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland who had seen wartime service would result in them being assimilated out of their nomadic lifestyles on their return. As was noted in *The Scotsman* when reporting on the Departmental Committee on Tinkers in 1917: 'At present there were 308 tinkers serving in H.M. Forces and many of them were proving themselves capable and efficient soldiers. At the close of the war it was felt that something would need to be done for those men or they would soon drift into their old habits, and inducements to train them in an agricultural life would be the best possible way of adapting them.' See: *The Scotsman* (1917) 'The Tinker Problem', *The Scotsman*, 5 November, p. 4 [Online]. Available at:

[Link to article](#).

¹⁵⁹ A similar sentiment was expressed in the *Daily Record* on Tuesday 27 February, 1945, when it was noted that "after 1918 too many tinkers went back to the road. It should be a point of public policy that this back-sliding does not recur." See *Daily Record* (1945) 'Settling Down', *Daily Record*, 27 February [Online]. Available at: [Link to article](#). A similar scheme took place during World War 1 when Separation Allowances provided to military families also led to Gypsy/Traveller families 'settling'.

¹⁶⁰ And we say 'almost' only because we know that it is impossible to know the full details of every housing arrangement involving a Gypsy/Traveller family in Scotland since 1895. Regarding the knowledge that we have as of now – through examination of archival materials including information regarding occupancy rates of individual houses - even purpose-built housing that was built later was potentially over-crowded.

¹⁶¹ Inverness County Council (1960) HCA/CI/3/1/100 - Inverness County Council Minutes and Committees, 1959-60, Highland Archive Service, Inverness, p. 658.

¹⁶² Accommodation of Tinkers (1965) CC1/H/A3 - Accommodation of Tinkers from Nov. 1945 to Jun. 1966, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Inverness Courier* (1949) Acute Shortage of Houses – Disappointment at Latest Allocation, 8 July [Online]. Available at [Link to article](#).

¹⁶⁵ While 'tinker' is used in other archival materials, the timeframe examined (1940s-1960s) demonstrated widespread use of the term 'problem families' for Gypsy/Travellers in Ross and Cromarty. The Lewis Problem Families Sub-

Committee and the Mainland/Problem Families Committee of the County Council of the Country of Ross and Cromarty referred to families with very common Gypsy/Traveller surnames in their minutes.

¹⁶⁶ Currently in Scotland, a house is considered substandard if it doesn't meet a tolerable standard, is in serious disrepair, or needs repair to prevent further damage. This definition is used in the Housing (Scotland) Act 2006, which allows local authorities to serve work notices to owners of substandard houses. The notice requires the owner to bring the house into a reasonable state of repair.

¹⁶⁷ Ross and Cromarty County Council (1957) op. cit., p. 37. We should also note that in the analysis of materials from Perth and Kinross Archives, there was also a later mention of Muir of Ord. In a memorandum from the Perth and Kinross County Architect to the Perth and Kinross County Clerk dated 4 January, 1962 the County Architect states: "On learning that houses for tinkers had been erected by the County Council of Ross and Cromarty, I wrote the County Architect there asking if any precautions had been taken to avoid damage by rough usage and regarding the experience gained. He replied that the Council's Sanitary Inspectors had provided a number of old army huts near Muir of Ord for tinker families and the experiment appears to have been similar to that at Pitlochry." The memorandum goes on to state that houses erected at Alness didn't have special provision for rough usage but that "once properly housed the tinker families better their position naturally." The County Architect goes on to say that the Housing Committee [in Perth and Kinross] desire a type plan for houses for tinkers to be somewhat substandard." See Perth and Kinross Archives: CC1/H/A3.

¹⁶⁸ Ross and Cromarty County Council (1960) op. cit., p. 8.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ross and Cromarty County Council (1965) HCA/CRC/3/1/85 - Ross and Cromarty County Council Minute Book, 1964-65, Highland Archive Services, Inverness, p. 2.

¹⁷¹ Ross and Cromarty County Council (1960) op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 11

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 6

¹⁷⁵ Ross and Cromarty County Council (1960) op. cit., p. 5

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁷⁸ Ross and Cromarty Council (1957) op. cit., p. 13.

¹⁷⁹ Ross and Cromarty County Council (1959) HCA/CRC/3/1/79 - Ross and Cromarty County Council Minute Book, 1958-59, Highland Archive Service, Inverness, p. 2.

¹⁸⁰ Ross and Cromarty County Council (1956) HCA/CRC/3/1/76 - Ross and Cromarty County Council Minute Book, 1955-56, Highland Archive Service, Inverness, pp. 8, 10; Ross and Cromarty County Council (1957) op. cit., pp. 9, 13, 24, 27, 31-32

¹⁸¹ Ross and Cromarty County Council (1957) op. cit., pp. 22, 26.

¹⁸² Ross and Cromarty County Council (1961), op. cit., p. 3; Ross and Cromarty County Council (1962) HCA/CRC/3/1/82 - Ross and Cromarty County Council Minute Book, 1961-62, Highland Archive Service, Inverness, p. 2. As stated earlier, 'problem family' was a euphemism commonly used to refer to Gypsy/Traveller families in a number of local authority areas.

¹⁸³ Ross and Cromarty County Council (1963) HCA/CRC/3/1/83 - Ross and Cromarty County Council Minute Book, 1962-63, Highland Archive Service, Inverness, p. 9; Ross and Cromarty County Council (1965) op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁸⁴ This was not the only local authority evidence that we discovered. We also found evidence of discriminatory housing policies across the Highlands including Skeabost Bridge, Skye, where there was discussion of Scottish Gypsy/Traveller families moved into substandard accommodation Inverness County Council (1963) HCA/CI/3/1/106 - Inverness County Council and Committees Minutes, 1962-63, Highland Archive Service, Inverness, p. 9; Inverness County Council (1964) HCA/CI/3/1/107 - Inverness County Council and Committees Minutes, 1963-64, Highland Archive Service, Inverness, p. 3. Tong Bridge on Lewis where there is discussion of the erection of a hut in 1957 and which continued to be discussed as a housing site into the 1960s. Ross and Cromarty County Council (1958). There is also anecdotal evidence that those who were living there were living in cramped conditions and doing so because of the need to settle for education purposes. HCA/CRC/3/1/78 - Ross and Cromarty County Council Minute Book, 1957-58, Highland Archive Service, Inverness, pp. 8, 15, 17; Ross and Cromarty County Council (1960), op. cit., p. 2; Ross and Cromarty County Council (1961) op. cit., p. 2; Ross and Cromarty County Council (1963) op. cit., pp. 2, 6. Finally, we see a report in the Sunday Mail on 21 June 1964 noting:

Caithness County Council and the Burghs of Wick and Thurso are now in the middle of a scheme to rehabilitate the tinkers. These three local authorities know that the tinkers must be re-educated to a new life under a roof in a new community. Their experiment is working, but it hasn't been easy for either them or the tinkers.... Said Mr William C. Hogg, Town Clerk of Wick "We are re-educating the tinker families in Wick. When they leave their tents they start serving an apprenticeship as citizens in old, but re-decorated property. As soon as we judge them ready for final resettlement they get a new Council house.

¹⁸⁵ Ross and Cromarty County Council (1960) HCA/CRC/3/1/80 - Ross and Cromarty County Council Minute Book, 1959-60, Highland Archive Services, Inverness, p. 4.

¹⁸⁶ There was evidence of similar feelings elsewhere. At a 1960 meeting of the Lewis Problem Families Sub-Committee, for example, there was discussion of a possible housing site at Laxdale Road. Because it had been found that there was a 'considerable flow of surface water over the site in bad weather in bad weather' an alternative site had been selected near the Blackwater Bridge. The Housing Officer was opposed to the latter site, thinking it would be too close to the water and therefore of danger to children and suggested that instead of Laxdale the Council should consider building additional houses at another site at Tong where it was proposed that houses be built for 'problem families'. In response, however, 'The Sub-Committee adhered to the view previously expressed that the particular problem families involved should be kept separate from those to occupy the Tong houses and decided to proceed with arrangements to house two families at Laxdale.' When no suitable other site was found at Laxdale, in a meeting in 12 October 1960: 'The Sub-Committee were firmly of the opinion that the Laxdale families should be kept separate from the Tong community and approved the proposed site near the Blackwater Bridge.'

¹⁸⁷ Ross and Cromarty County Council (1960) op. cit., p. 8. We should also note here that we uncovered evidence in Perth and Kinross Archives that Mrs Fraser-Mackenzie was also in contact with officials in Perth and Kinross about the issue of the "Accommodation of Tinkers". Specifically, a reply to Mrs Fraser-Mackenzie from the County Clerk in February 1957 notes: "I am in receipt of your letter of 17 February. A few years ago as an experiment and to endeavour to provide permanent homes for some of the tinker class, Perth County Council erected four timber houses at Bobbin Mill, Pitlochry. The houses have been constantly occupied by tinker families ever since subject to very close supervision.... On the whole, however, the experiment cannot be regarded as a failure." See: SS1/H/A3.

¹⁸⁸ Note the use of the word 'rehabilitate' here which is in keeping with wider research, including that focusing upon the treatment of Gypsy/Travellers in Hampshire which highlights a 'rehabilitation scheme' that aimed to: 'reintegrate Gypsies and Travellers into mainstream society, rendering them indistinguishable from the wider population'. Jim Hinks, Becky Taylor, Hampshire's Gypsy Rehabilitation Centres: Welfare and Assimilation in Mid-20th Century Britain, History Workshop Journal, Volume 94, Autumn 2022, p. 187.

¹⁸⁹ Ross and Cromarty County Council (1960) op. cit., p. 8

¹⁹⁰ Appointed in November 1956 by the Ross and Cromarty Council's Health Committee to address 'the question of the provision of improved accommodation for tinker families in the Landward area of the Mainland of the County'. See: Ross and Cromarty County Council (1957) HCA/CRC/3/1/77 - Ross and Cromarty County Council Minute Book, 1956-57, Highland Archive Services, Inverness, p. 7.

¹⁹¹ Ross and Cromarty County Council (1961) op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁹² Ross and Cromarty County Council (1945) op. cit., p. 7; Ross and Cromarty County Council (1948) op. cit., p. 4; Ross and Cromarty County Council (1955) op. cit., p. 2; Ross and Cromarty County Council (1957) op. cit., pp. 12, 19, 27-28.

¹⁹³ Ross and Cromarty County Council (1957) op. cit., p. 19.

¹⁹⁴ Scottish Development Department (1956) DD6/2075 - Improvement under the Housing (Scotland) Act 1950: Local Authorities, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 5.

¹⁹⁵ The Secretary of State was involved as part of a process of local authorities reporting back to central government.

¹⁹⁶ Church of Scotland (1948) CH1/8/84 - Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts, 1948, Records of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 207.

¹⁹⁷ Courland, M. (1943) 'Letter to Dr. D.J. McLeish on Housing', 3 December, CC1/LH/109 - Tinker Accommodation 1946-1966, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth; Courland, M. (1944) 'Letter to Dr. D.J. McLeish on Permanent Tinkers' Camping Grounds', 29 February, CC1/LH/109 - Tinker Accommodation 1946-1966, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth; Perth Housing Committee (1944) 'Housing Committee - 7th January, 1944', CC1/LH/109 - Tinker Accommodation 1946-1966, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth.

¹⁹⁸ The County Architect (1956) 'Letter to The County Clerk', 15 September, CC1/H/A3 - Accommodation of Tinker from Nov. 1945 to Jun 1966, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth; Special Sub-Committee appointed to consider the 'tinker' problem in Perthshire (1965) op. Cit.; County Clerk (1958) 'Letter to Agnes Johnstone on Houses at Bobbin Mill, Pitlochry', 26 July, CC1/H/A3 - Accommodation of Tinker from Nov. 1945 to Jun 1966, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth.

¹⁹⁹ The County Architect (1956) op. cit.

²⁰⁰ The County Clerk (1964a) 'Letter to A. D. Jackson on Housing of Tinkers', 20 October, CC1/H/A3 - Accommodation of Tinker from Nov. 1945 to Jun 1966, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth; The County Clerk (1964b) 'Letter to the Secretary, Scottish Development Department', 16 June, CC1/H/A3 - Accommodation of Tinker from Nov. 1945 to Jun 1966, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth.

²⁰¹ The County Factor (1956) 'Letter to the County Clerk on Bobbin Mill, Pitlochry - Housing', 24 August, CC1/H/A3 - Accommodation of Tinker from Nov. 1945 to Jun 1966, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth.

²⁰² See: Accommodation of Tinkers (1965) op. cit.

²⁰³ The over-representation of Gypsy/Traveller children in child-welfare systems is an area examined by Allen and Hamnett (2022), who note that "[o]ver the last five decades, there has been growing concern that Gypsy, Roma and

Traveller children are over-represented in Child Welfare Services (CWS) in Europe.” See: Allen, D. and Hamnett, V., 2022. Gypsy, Roma and Traveller children in child welfare services in England. *British Journal of Social Work*, 52(7), pp.3904-3922.

²⁰⁴ In minutes of its General Assembly, the Church of Scotland similarly notes that “the successful housing experiment at Pitlochry shows what can be done and what surely ought to be done to remedy matters.” See: Church of Scotland (1950) CH1/8/86 - Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts, 1950, Records of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 243; The County Clerk (1964b) op. cit.

²⁰⁵ The County Clerk (1957) 'Letter to D.E. Fraser-Mackenzie on Accommodation of Tinkers', CC1/H/A3 - Accommodation of Tinker from Nov. 1945 to Jun 1966, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth.

²⁰⁶ McPhee, S. (2021) 'The Uglier Side of Bonnie Scotland: The Tinker Housing Experiments', *International Journal of Roma Studies*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 180-208 [Online]. DOI: 10.17583/ijrs.8588. Please note that this article was also referenced in the Scottish Government's tender document.

²⁰⁷ Home Mission Committee (1934) op. cit., p. 652.

²⁰⁸ Scottish Development Department (1961) op. cit., p. 56; Accommodation of Tinkers (1965) op. cit.; Scottish Development Department (1965) DD6/3200 - Housing Needs, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 27; Proposed Caravan Site for Tinkers at Broxie, near Perth (1969) CC1/LH/206 - Tinker Accommodation, from October 1968 to December 1969, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth; Wright, J. G. L. (1977) 'Letter to R. W. Williamson on Education of Travelling families in Tayside', 15 August, DD6/5192 - Policy on Travelling People, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 6.

²⁰⁹ Fleming, M. (1968) 'Letter to the County Clerk', CC1/H/A3 - Accommodation of Tinkers from Nov. 1945 to June 1966, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth.

²¹⁰ Stewart, L. (1978) 'Site near Perth for Travelling families', ACC09/23/1/23A - Muirton Community Council records, 1977 - 1980, including Perth & Kinross District Council Policies on the settlement of travelling families, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth.

²¹¹ Picker, G., Greenfields, M. and Smith, D., 2015. Colonial refractions: the 'Gypsy camp' as a spatio-racial political technology. *City*, 19(5), pp.741-752.

²¹² See, for example, Sibley, D., 1998. The racialisation of space in British cities. *Soundings*, London, Lawrence and Wishart, pp.119-127. Sibley sees Gypsy/Traveller camps as demonstrating how the state attempts to isolate and then transform a discrepant minority, discrepant in this case because of its ethnicity and nomadic tradition. The attempt to regulate the lives of gypsies on sites ... is an instance of a “micro-form” of discipline, which is functional within a larger system.'

²¹³ Calderwood, R. (1980) SR1/2 Box 49 - Provision of Sites for Travelling People - Report by the Chief Executive, Glasgow City Archives, Glasgow, p. 4; The Planning Exchange (c. 1983) op. cit., pp. 22-25; Maud, R. (1991) 'Traveller Site Provision in Strathclyde - Progress Report', SR1/2 Box 203 - Travelling People - Information Report, Glasgow City Archives, Glasgow, p. 5; Scottish Development Department (1991) 'Number of Travellers Children Attending School Nearby to Sites - Results of survey carried out May - November 1989 (179 schools)' DD6/5496 - Scotland's Travelling People: Policy on Education of Travellers Children, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 11; Maud, R. (1992) SR1/2 Box 229 - Traveller Site Provision in Strathclyde - Monitoring Report No. 1, Glasgow City Archives, Glasgow, pp. 10-11, 34; Maud, R. (1993) SR1/2 Box 255 - Traveller Site Provision in Strathclyde - Monitoring Report No. 2, Glasgow City Archives, Glasgow pp. 6-7, 29; Maud, R. (1994) SR1/2 Box 285 - Traveller Site Provision in Strathclyde - Monitoring Report No. 3, Glasgow City Archives, Glasgow, pp. 7, 27.

²¹⁴ Scottish Development Department (1961) op. cit., p. 13; Duncan, I. R. (1968) 'Letter to V. C. Stewart and M. J. Morrison on Gypsies and Tinkers', DD6/3161 - Caravans and Second Homes, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 13; Scottish Development Department (1971) SEP/53/1 - Caravan Sites, Gypsies and Tinkers, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, pp. 10, 13, 22; Scottish Development Department (1974) DD12/4246 - Birsay Committee on Scotland's Travelling People, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, pp. 1, 3, 4, 26, 30; Central Region Planning Department (1978) op. cit., p. 26; Calderwood, R. (1980) op. cit., pp. 2, 4; The Planning Exchange (c. 1983) op. cit., pp. 30-33; Maud, R. (1991) op. cit., p. 6; Scottish Development Department (1991) op. cit., p. 13; Maud, R. (1992), op. cit., pp. 22, 34; Maud, R. (1993) op. cit., pp. 14-15, 29; Maud, R. (1994) op. cit., pp. 9, 27;

²¹⁵ Central Region Planning Committee (1978) op. cit., p. 26; Strathclyde Regional Liaison Committee (1979) DD6/5192 - Policy on Travelling People, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, pp. 4, 10; Calderwood, R. (1980) op. cit., p. 2; The Planning Exchange (1980) Planning Exchange Forum Report - Scotland's Travelling People: Second Report, Spring 1980, Dundee City Council Archives, Dundee, p. 13; The Planning Exchange (c. 1983) op. cit., pp. 14-17; Scottish Development Department (1991) op. cit., p. 11; Maud, R. (1991) op. cit., p. 5; Maud, R. (1992), op. cit., pp. 8-9, 34, 34; Maud, R. (1993) op. cit., pp. 5-6, 29; Maud, R. (1994) op. cit., pp. 6, 27.

²¹⁶ The Planning Exchange (c. 1983) op. cit., pp. 34-37; Scottish Development Department (1991) op. cit., p. 13

²¹⁷ Clare, L. (1984) 'SDD Circular 34/184 - Scotland's Travelling People Site Provision and Toleration Policy', Director of Housing File re travelling people, including minutes of meetings, correspondence, memoranda, maps, site information sheets, etc., Dundee City Archives, Dundee; City of Dundee District Council (1990) 'A Permanent Site for

Travelling People', Director of Housing File re travelling people, including minutes of meetings, correspondence, memoranda, maps, site information sheets, etc., Dundee City Archives, Dundee.

²¹⁸ *ibid.*

²¹⁹ In the report commissioned by the Secretary of Scotland in which this policy originates, the expressed goal of the report was "to provide a bridge between the settled community with a view to achieving greater tolerance and understanding of each other's point of view". See City of Dundee District Council (1990) *op. cit.*, p. 2.

²²⁰ See: [Equality & Human Rights Commission report on successful site provision in Scotland](#)

²²¹ In 'A Permanent Site for Travelling People' part 1 (Dundee Council Archives), it notes in relation to Dundee District not meeting its pitch targets and other areas meeting theirs, that this risks other council areas moving illegal campers into Dundee District as the policy would no longer apply within their council.

²²² Maud, R. (1986) SR1/2 Box 109 - Travelling People in Strathclyde - A Framework for Site Provision (Final Edition) 1986, Glasgow City Archives, Glasgow, p. 5.

²²³ Maud, R. (1984) SR1/2 Box 95 - Travelling People in Strathclyde Region - A Framework for Site Provision (Revised Edition), Glasgow City Archives, Glasgow, pp. 2, 17

²²⁴ Maud, R. (1986) *op. cit.* Note that the use of the word [districts] is taken directly from the archives. In the case of Strathclyde Regional Council – which operated as a single entity and covered most of the Central Belt – it contained many sub-divisions, which were referred to as districts.

²²⁵ Parliament of the United Kingdom (1969) Tinkers (West Midlands), House of Commons, vol. 784 [Online].

Available at: [Text of Hansard information on debate.](#)

²²⁶ City of Dundee District Council (1990) 'A Permanent Site for Travelling People', Director of Housing File - Travelling People 1982-1992, Dundee City Archives, Dundee, pp. 1, 7-8.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

²²⁸ Inverness County Council (1962) HCA/CI/3/1/104 - Inverness County Council Minutes and Committees, 1961-62, Highland Archive Service, Inverness, p. 622.

²²⁹ Blair, R. T. (1961) 'Letter to the Department of Health for Scotland on Housing of Tinkers', 29 November, CC1/H/A3 - Accommodation of Tinkers from Nov. 1945 to Jun 1966, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth.

²³⁰ Picker, G., Greenfields, M. and Smith, D. (2015) 'Colonial refractions: the "Gypsy camp" as a spatio-racial political technology', *City*, vol. 19, no. 5, pp. 741-752 [Online]. DOI: 10.1080/13604813.2015.1071123, p. 746

²³¹ This includes some Council areas, like Inverclyde, having no official, or even unofficial campsites for Gypsy/Travellers ([Link to article](#)); some plans for new sites:

[Link to article](#);

a set of existing sites where there is a desperate need for investment, see, for example:

[Link to article](#). We would also highlight recent research that suggests that in terms of current local authority-managed Gypsy/Traveller sites across Scotland, England and Wales, 39% were sited within 50 metres of one or more major pollutants and 54% were sited within 100 metres of major pollution. See: Bloch, A. and Quarmby, K., 2024. Environmental racism, segregation and discrimination: Gypsy and Traveller sites in Great Britain. *Critical Social Policy*, p.02610183241229053.

²³² This term was used widely in the 1940s and 50s in reference to post-WWII housing shortages. The context of the housing crisis was used by local authorities to legitimise the provision of sub-standard accommodation, such as military infrastructure, wooden huts, or disused buildings.

²³³ Within many of the minutes produced by Ross and Cromarty minutes, the term 'squatters' was used. In many cases it was used as a synonym for Scottish Gypsy/Traveller; in later years, when more specific mentions of 'tinkers' and 'problem families' arise, references to 'squatters' largely disappear. See: Ross and Cromarty County Council (1946) HCA/CRC/3/1/66 - Ross and Cromarty Council Minute Book, 1945-46, Highland Archive Service, Inverness, p. 103.

²³⁴ Inverness County Council (1955) HCA/CI/3/1/90 - Inverness County Council Minutes and Committees, 1954-55, Highland Archive Service, Inverness, pp. 8, 11; Inverness County Council (1956) HCA/CI/3/1/92 - Inverness County Council Minutes and Committees, 1955-56, Highland Archive Service, Inverness, p. 9; Inverness County Council (1958b) HCA/CI/3/1/97 - Inverness County Council Minutes and Committees, 1958, Highland Archive Service, Inverness, p. 10.

²³⁵ Inverness County Council (1956) *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 11.

²³⁶ Inverness County Council (1958a) HCA/CI/3/1/96 - Inverness County Council Minutes and Committees, 1957-58, Highland Archive Service, Inverness, p. 3; Inverness County Council (1958b) *op. cit.*, p. 10; Inverness County Council (1959) HCA/CI/3/1/98 - Inverness County Council Minutes and Committees, 1958-59, Highland Archive Service, Inverness, pp. 3-4.

²³⁷ Inverness County Council (1958b) *op. cit.*, p. 10.

²³⁸ Inverness County Council (1955) *op. cit.*, p. 7; Inverness County Council (1956) HCA/CI/3/1/93 - Inverness County Council Minutes and Committees, 1956, Highland Archive Service, Inverness, p. 3; Inverness County Council (1957) HCA/CI/3/1/94 - Inverness County Council Minutes and Committees, 1956-57, Highland Archive Service, Inverness, pp. 3-4, 6, 10, 12; Inverness County Council (1957) HCA/CI/3/1/95 - Inverness County Council Minutes and

Committees, 1957, Highland Archive Service, Inverness, pp. 3, 5; Inverness County Council (1958b) op. cit., pp. 8, 10.

²³⁹ In other words, the local authorities so-called 'problem families' likely did not begin to exist only when the records stated the presence of such families. Rather their presence can most probably be seen 'between the lines' of existing archival evidence of what are perceived as 'non-standard' housing arrangements, e.g. squatting.

²⁴⁰ Canmore (2024) Canmore - National Record of the Historic Environment [Online]. Available at: [Link to article](#). Castlehill Barracks was also referred to in the Aberdeen Evening Express, 23 June, 1959 as a 'clearing centre for the housing department' ([Link to article](#)).

²⁴¹ Kelman, H. S. (1917) 'Letter to Mr Smail', NRAS980/File 20/5 - Memoranda and reports of, or submitted to, Departmental Committee of Tinkers - relates to visits, interviews, etc. in Aberdeenshire, the Borders, Perthshire, Dundee, Inverness and Wick. Information, etc., circulated to members of the Departmental Committee on Tinkers, Private archives of Katherine Majory-Stewart, Duchess of Atholl, Blair Castle Archives, Blair Atholl.

²⁴² Scott, J. (1917) 'Letter to R. Menzies Fergusson', 22 October, NRAS980/File 20/4 - Official correspondence, reports and memoranda etc., relating to conditions of tinkers; bibliography of books dealing with Scottish tinkers; printed official report of Departmental Committee on Employment of Boys and Girls from the Congested Districts in the Highlands of Scotland, 1909, Private archive of Katharine Marjory Stewart-Murray, Duchess of Atholl, Blair Castle Archives, Blair Atholl, p. 15.

²⁴³ Maitland, D. (1933) 'Letter to the Duchess of Atholl on Tinkers in Perthshire', 12 June, NRAS980/File 90/9 - Correspondence relating to Perthshire affairs, Private archives of Katharine Marjory Stewart-Murray, Duchess of Atholl, Blair Castle Archives, Blair Atholl.

²⁴⁴ Departmental Committee on Tinkers (Scotland) (1918) op cit., p. 4.

²⁴⁵ We note that the Church of Scotland was the only religious institution mentioned in the original tender document by the Scottish Government. Scottish Government, Invitation to Tender - Provision of Archival Research to Explore 20th Century Policies Affecting the Gypsy/Traveller Communities', p. 11.

²⁴⁶ As noted by the Scottish History Society: '[the] blueprint for what would become the Church, or Kirk, of Scotland, later known as the First Book of Discipline, was accepted in an act of secret council in January 1561, and aimed to bring about sweeping changes to the Scottish parish system.' See: [History article on the Scottish Reformation](#)

²⁴⁷ We also saw narrative evidence of supervision earlier than this, when it is reported that in the Kirk Session records for Cluny in Aberdeenshire on 17 February 1765, that "it met and appointed two men to act as constables for apprehending tinkers and others, and that on 3 March, the precentor [a layperson appointed by the Kirk Session to lead the congregation in singing] made, in presence of the congregation, the instructions to the constables." See: Allardyce, John, Bygone Days in Aberdeenshire, The Central Press: Aberdeen, 1913: p.10.

²⁴⁸ Lindsay, J. (1936) 'Letter to C. A. Cumming Forsyth on Census of School Attendance of Itinerant Children', GD409/29/7 - Reports and correspondence by the Royal Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children's inspectors on the school attendance records of tinker children, Records of the Royal Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children (RSPCC)/Children 1st, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 5.

²⁴⁹ Methods adopted to settle down the Border Tinker-Gipsies (1917) NRAS980/File 20/5 - Memoranda and reports of, or submitted to, Departmental Committee of Tinkers - relates to visits, interviews, etc. in Aberdeenshire, the Borders, Perthshire, Dundee, Inverness and Wick. Information, etc., circulated to members of the Departmental Committee on Tinkers, Private archives of Katherine Majory-Stewart, Duchess of Atholl, Blair Castle Archives, Blair Atholl, pp. 22, 25.

²⁵⁰ Macritchie, D. (1894) op. cit., p. 6

²⁵¹ Crabb (spelt as 'Crabbe' in archival evidence) was the author of The Gypsies' Advocate; or Observations on the Origin, Character, Manners, and Habits, of the English Gypsies (published 1832), as noted in the archives. See Methods adopted to settle down the Border Tinker-Gipsies (c. 1917), op. Cit., p. 24.

²⁵² The term 'Minister of the High Church' is what was stated in the archival evidence. Despite a period of research specifically on the use of this term, the research team could not say with certainty what this title refers to.

²⁵³ Methods adopted to settle down the Border Tinker-Gipsies (c. 1917), op. cit., p. 26. John Baird is somewhat more sympathetic in his Statistical Account from 1845, although he is still advocating acculturation, see pp.165-170.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 28.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 28.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 33.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Lindsay, J. (1936) 'Letter to C. A. Cumming Forsyth on Census of School Attendance of Itinerant Children', GD409/29/7 - Reports and correspondence by the Royal Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children's inspectors on the school attendance records of tinker children, Records of the Royal Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children (RSPCC)/Children 1st, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 5.

²⁵⁹ See: Acts Church and Society Network (2011) A Report on the Churches' attitude to the Travelling Community in Scotland [Online]. Available at: [Church of Scotland report on Churches' attitudes towards the Travelling Community in Scotland](#).

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Church of Scotland (1927) CH1/16/31 - Report by the Home Mission Committee to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, Records of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 8.

²⁶² Scottish Home and Health Department (191) op. cit., pp. 10-14; Scottish Development Department (1965) op. cit., pp. 36-37, 46, 55.

²⁶³ Dorothea Maitland (1934) 'Letter to Duchess of Atholl on Tinkers in Perthshire', 8 January, NRAS980/File 90/9 - Correspondence relating to Perthshire affairs, Private Archives of Katharine Marjory Stewart-Murray, Duchess of Atholl, Blair Castle Archives, Blair Atholl, p. 48. We would also note an example from the Report of the Home Mission Committee 1932 which states: "where there are evils associated with the tinker's mode of living, these cannot be prevented by the unsympathetic treatment which compels them to keep moving on". The latter quote is also interesting in terms of recognising that there was indeed unsympathetic treatment that was taking place related to stopping places, which arguably reflects back to the legislation highlighted in Chapter 3.

²⁶⁴ Gentleman, H. and Swift, S. (1971), op. cit., p. 14.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ The County Clerk (1957) op. cit.

²⁶⁷ Gentleman, H. and Swift, S. (1971), op. cit., p. 16

²⁶⁸ Gentleman, H. and Swift, S. (1971), op. cit., p. 15.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ The use of education as a means of enforcing settlement into housing was also noted as a central goal of the 1936 Departmental Committee's Report. See: Department of Health for Scotland (1936) op. Cit., p. 41,

²⁷¹ Gentleman, H. and Swift, S. (1971), op. cit., p. 16.

²⁷² Ibid. We should also note that narrative evidence was discovered related to an 'experiment' by the Free Church in Campbeltown. As noted in the Edinburgh Evening News on 26 May, 1928: "The Free Church experiment of setting up a tinker settlement in the Campbeltown district was referred to at last night's sitting of the General assembly of the Church, held in Edinburgh. Speaking on the Work of the Committee for the Welfare of Tinkers, the Rev. John Calder, Campbeltown, said the tinkers had been enclosed in a little compound during the winter months and were still there. The result was that the tinker child could attend school regularly, and the remarkable thing was that not a single child in that encampment had failed to put in the full attendance." See: [Link to article](#)

²⁷³ Home Mission Committee (1934) CH1/16/27 - Minutes, Records of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, pp. 737-738; Home Mission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (1955) CH1/51/20 - Home Board minutes, Records of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 5842.

²⁷⁴ See: Gentleman, H. and Swift, S. (1971) op. cit., p. 24; The Scotsman (1933) 'Scheme for Tinkers - Church Lends a Hand', 4 February [Online]. Available at: [Link to article](#); Maitland, D. (1933) 'Letter to the Duchess of Atholl on Vagrancy in Perthshire & Kinross', 10 March, NRAS980/90/9 - Correspondence relating to Perthshire Affairs, Private archives of Katharine Marjory Stewart-Murray, Duchess of Atholl, Blair Castle Archives, Blair Atholl, p. 45; Department of Health for Scotland (1936) op.cit., p. 45.

²⁷⁵ See: Gentleman, H. and Swift, S. (1971) op. cit., p. 24; Department of Health for Scotland (1936) op. cit., p. 45.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Dundee Courier, Saturday 15 October, 1938: See: [Link to article](#)

²⁷⁸ The Scotsman, 15 October, 1938: [Link to article](#)

²⁷⁹ Brydon, R.S. (1938) 'Letter to John M. Dawson on Special School', 29 August, CC1/5/155/189 - Aldour School, Perth & Kinross Council Archive, Perth.

²⁸⁰ Brydon, R. S. (1938) CC1/5/155/189 - Aldour School, Perth & Kinross Archives, Perth.

²⁸¹ Brown, F. (1941) CC1/5/7/7 - Aldour Special School log book 1938-1941, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Dawson, J. M. (1938) 'Letter to R. S. Brydon on Special School', 30 August, CC1/5/155/189 - Aldour School, Perth & Kinross Council Archive, Perth.

²⁸⁵ Bates, R. M. (1940) 'Letter to R. S. Brydon on Aldour School', 6 November, CC1/5/155/189 - Aldour School, Perth & Kinross Council Archive, Perth. We would note too that this question of teaching children from Gypsy/Traveller families separately is seen in a range of archival materials. One Headteacher in Fife in 1982 suggests that a new scheme, in operation at that time, for 'Education of Pupils with Learning Difficulties' will cater admirably for such children with their problem of erratic attendance' See: Fife Regional Council - Education Committee (1982) 'Fife teachers surveys on Traveller children in schools', FC/ED/2/1/1 - File on Education of Travellers' Children in Fife, Fife Council Archives, Glenrothes, p.6.

²⁸⁶ The Scotsman (1940) 'Tinker School at Pitlochry: Satisfactory Progress of Scheme', 26 January, p. 12 [Online]. Available at: [Link to article](#).

²⁸⁷ Particulars of a scheme for the welfare of tinkers in Perthshire, which the Home Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland is prepared to carry out (date unknown) NRAS980/90/9 - Correspondence relating to Perthshire Affairs, Private archives of Katharine Marjory Stewart-Murray, Duchess of Atholl, Blair Castle Archives, Blair Atholl, p. 12.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ See, for example, *Campbeltown Courier*, Saturday 4 May, 1946. See: [Link to article](#) The *Inverness Courier* reported later that year, on Friday 8 November 1946 that William Webb, "Church of Scotland chaplain to the tinkers, arrived in Inverness this week to make a tour of Inverness-shire.... When interviewed, Mr Webb explained that there were approximately 500 families of Tinkers in the whole of Scotland, and the children of school age numbered a thousand. Many of them could neither read or write and the older generation had never been to school. However the police had now been authorised to demand from a tinker family a school ticket to prove that the children were attending school. Mr Webb declared that the Nissen huts which had been vacated by the military forces had been a great boon to the tinkers as they provided ideal homes for them. The younger generation of tinkers desired to get off the road and to rise in life."

²⁹⁰ Perth and Kinross Archives, CC1/H/A3. The Church of Scotland also notes that there was very little oversight of his activities by the Home Mission Committee and the associated 'tinkers' sub-committee. Reports on the 'principals' on which he (and his female counterpart) were working were eventually requested and received in the mid-1950s, and it followed that a request had been made for Mr Webb's activities to be overseen by the local minister and the Presbytery. William Webb resigned soon after.

²⁹¹ Home Mission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (1955), op. cit.

²⁹² Perth and Kinross Joint County Council (1954) CC1/T&CP/54/553 - Travelling people's encampment, Gothens Wood, Meikleour for Church of Scotland Home Mission, per William Webb, Benholm, New Rattray, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth.

²⁹³ Perth County Council (1965) 'Accommodation of Tinkers - Record Note of Meeting with County Sanitary Inspector and The Rev. Mr. Sutherland, Tinkers' Padre on 14th April 1965', CC1/H/A3 - Accommodation of Tinker from Nov. 1945 to Jun 1966, Perth & Kinross Council Archives, Perth; Robertson, I. M. (1965) 'Letter to Mr Daley and Mr Russell on Gypsies', 11 March, DD6/3200 - Housing Needs, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh; Scottish Development Department (1961) op. cit, p. 56.

²⁹⁴ Roughly £256,924.70 today, as calculated by the [Bank of England](#). See: Home Board of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (1970) CH1/8/105 - Reports to the General Assembly, Records of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 316.

²⁹⁵ Home Board of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (1971) CH1/8/106 - Reports to the General Assembly, Records of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p 304.

²⁹⁶ Home Board of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (1973) CH1/8/108 - Reports to the General Assembly, Records of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p 335.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Church of Scotland (1971) CH1/6/106 - Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts, Records of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 304.

²⁹⁹ Home Board of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (1974) CH1/8/109 - Reports to the General Assembly, Records of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, p. 274.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Scottish Government, Invitation to Tender - Provision of Archival Research to Explore 20th Century Policies Affecting the Gypsy/Traveller Communities', p. 11.

³⁰³ 'See: [Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry Evidence Hub](#). We would note too that as a result of the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry charities have already begun to address their role in the history of child welfare in Scotland. For example, Barnardo's have made individual and collective apologies, and have cooperated with a number of Inquiries including multiple appearances at SCAI, and are also party to the Redress Scheme.

³⁰⁴ See: [Traveller Times article on calls from the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry for Travellers abused in care to come forward](#)

³⁰⁵ Please note that we are not providing links to specific testimonies in this report or naming witnesses where those are available. All are available online through the SCAI website which also provides additional research materials regarding the historic child welfare landscape in Scotland. See also endnote 307.

³⁰⁶ See, for example: Allen, D. and Adams, P., 2013. Social Work with gypsy Roma and traveller children; Allen, D., 2016. 'It's in their Culture': Working with automatic prejudice towards Gypsies, Roma and Travellers during care proceedings. *Seen and Heard*, 26(2), pp.40-52; Allen, D. and Hulmes, A., 2021. Aversive racism and child protection practice with gypsy, Roma and traveller children and families. *Seen and Heard*, 31(2).

³⁰⁷ One witness testimony noted a long history of Gypsy/Traveller children in Scotland being taken into care, some of whom were subsequently abused. As a research team we do not feel that it is the role of this report to repeat the testimonies already gathered by the SCAI without the permission of those who gave statements to the SCAI. Those who are interested in examining the current evidence further as it relates to Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland can perform a keyword search at: [Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry website](#). We would note too that SCAI testimonies represent a snapshot in time, and that current SCAI testimonies may in future be augmented by additional testimonies from members of Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland which provide further context to the knowledge that currently exists. We would also point the reader to the experiences of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland in the child welfare system recounted in the podcast series *The Cruelty – A Child Unclaimed* hosted by Davie Donaldson for BBC Sounds, most notably Episode 4.

³⁰⁸ The Society gained Royal Charter in 1921 and became the Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children; from 1995 to the present it has been called Children 1st.

³⁰⁹ Kelly, C., 2019. *Juvenile Justice in Victorian Scotland*. Edinburgh University Press, p. 137.

³¹⁰ Robinson, S. (2004) "Children in good order": A study of constructions of child protection', unpublished Phd., University of Stirling, noted in Clapton, G., 2009. 'Yesterday's Men': The Inspectors of the Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 1888–1968. *British Journal of Social Work*, 39(6), pp.1043-1062. Clapton, in his examination of the 1910s and 1920s notes : "Many Inspectors seem to have been ex-police or ex-army men. Only two particular questions were asked relating to types of previous employment and these were 'Have you been in the Navy/Army/Auxiliary Forces?' and 'Have you been in the Constabulary?'" (2009: 1050). This may be relevant to the subject matter of this report because Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland may have been monitored at one point by the police, and then those same police later employed in a child welfare capacity. It may also mean that there were pre-existing links between RSSPCC inspectors and local police forces who then took on an RSSPCC Inspector role.

³¹¹ Hill, N. (1917) 'Statement of evidence to be submitted by Mr. Ninian Hill, 3 Murrayfield Avenue, Edinburgh', NRAS980/File 20/4 - Official correspondence, reports and memoranda etc., relating to conditions of tinkers; bibliography of books dealing with Scottish tinkers; printed official report of Departmental Committee on Employment of Boys and Girls from the Congested Districts in the Highlands of Scotland, 1909, Private archive of Katharine Marjory Stewart-Murray, Duchess of Atholl, Blair Castle Archives, Blair Atholl, pp. 3-4.

³¹² Hill, N. (1917) op. cit.

³¹³ Williamson, D., 2012. *The Horsie Man: Memories of a Traveller 1928-58*. Birlinn, p. 13-14.

³¹⁴ Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (1936) op. cit., p. 53.

³¹⁵ We should note too that prior to the Adoption of Children (Scotland) Act 1930 child removal didn't need to be documented.

³¹⁶ One example of this took place during the visit of Prof. Wolfgang Abel, Professor of Ethnology and Anthropology at the University of Berlin and a member, since earlier in the 1930s, of the Schutzstaffel (SS), the Nazi paramilitary. We found direct archival evidence in the RSSPCC archival materials which details an account, widely reported in the media at the time, of his 1938 visit to Caithness which was widely reported in the Scottish media at the time. The Dundee Courier reporting on 18 August, 1938, under the headline 'Measures Tinkers' Heads', that: Professor Wolfgang Abel, Berlin, who is making a study of Scottish tinkers, has now practically completed his work in Caithness where he visited almost every tinker encampment in the county. He has taken numerous photographs of these hardy nomads and also measurements of their heads, hands, arms and general physique. Our research discovered further evidence of this in a report written by RSSPCC Inspector G.H. Shennan giving an overview of the work that he (Shennan) had carried out during his time in the Highlands: One day the County Police phoned me to say that a German Professor, visiting Scotland, wanted information about Tinkers. They sent him to me. We met in the local museum. He produced his card, which bore the inscription: 'Wolfgang Abel: Professor of Anthropology, University of Berlin.' He said he would be very grateful if I could tell him where he might be able to meet gypsies, primitives and cave dwellers. As an Anthropologist he wanted to take certain head measurements - for scientific purposes. I could only think of the McPhees of Caithness, indicating from a map their most likely abodes and if in doubt to consult the Police in Wick or Thurso. Shennan then writes that at a later date he was approached by one of the McPhees at a fair in Inverness, who inquired: 'who yon man was that cam' to wir tent and wanted to measure wirs heids. A asked him what for. He said he was a learned man and was wanting to fin oot wha wir the oldest fowl in the world - he said he was telt they lived in the Smoo Cave [located to the east of Durness in Caithness]. He said he was pay us if we was let him dae it. He gied a shullan for every heid he measured.³¹⁶ Shennan also noted that: "Time passed - then one day I read in a newspaper that somewhere off the American coast a foreign submarine was caught - and amongst the prisoners was Wolfgang Abel. I have often wondered if he was our Professor from Berlin - a Spy." See: 'Measures Tinkers' Heads', Dundee Courier, 18 August, 1938, p. 7 [Online]. Available at: [Link to article](#).; Shennan, G. H. (1965) GD409/29/14 - Report by Inspector G H Shennan [Shennan] on his work with the Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Records of the Royal Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children (RSSPCC)/Children 1st, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, pp. 3-4.

³¹⁷ We would note that this statement is made based on information contained within what is available online from the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry (see: [Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry website](#)) rather than from information that we discovered within the archives of individual charitable institutions.

³¹⁸ See: [Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry case study into migration schemes](#)

³¹⁹ We recognise too that this limited the ability to make requests for specific records, and for archivists in turn to provide material relevant that would be relevant to such a request.

³²⁰ Gentleman, H. and Swift, S., op. cit.

³²¹ See also: Bessant, J.C., 2013. History and Australian indigenous child welfare policies. *Policy Studies*, 34(3), pp.310-325.; Fallon, B., Lefebvre, R., Trocmé, N., Richard, K., Hélie, S., Montgomery, H.M., Bennett, M., Joh-Carnella, N., Saint-Girons, M., Filippelli, J. and MacLaurin, B., 2021. Denouncing the Continued Overrepresentation of First Nations Children in Canadian Child Welfare: Findings from the First Nations/Canadian Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect, 2019 [online] ; MacDonald, D.B., 2023. Aotearoa New Zealand, the Forcible Transfer of Tamariki and Rangatahi Māori, and the Royal Commission on Abuse in Care. *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, 17(1), pp.1-22.; Crofoot, T.L. and Harris, M.S., 2012. An Indian child welfare perspective on disproportionality in child welfare. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 34(9), pp.1667-1674.

³²² Departmental Committee on Habitual Offenders, Vagrants, Etc. (1896), op. cit., pp. 16-17.

³²³ Scottish Office Education Department (1929) ED15/179 - Mars Industrial School Ship (Newport, Fife), National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh.

³²⁴ See: [Introduction to the Aberlour Archive](#)

³²⁵ Aberlour Trust Archives, University of Stirling, Individual Records 1559-60.

³²⁶ Admission Register No. 2725.

³²⁷ Aberlour Trust Archives, University of Stirling, Schedule 2008.

³²⁸ See: [Report on Barnado's Homes, made to the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry](#)

³²⁹ See: [Report of the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse at Barnado's](#)

³³⁰ See: [Little Immigrants website - profile of Gypsy Simon Smith](#)

³³¹ See: [Quarriers website](#).

³³² Magnusson, A., 2006. Quarriers Story: One Man's Vision That Gave 7,000 Children a New Life in Canada. Dundurn, p. 35.

³³³ See: [Quarriers website](#).

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Quarriers Narrative of Facts, 1902, 74, quoted in: Quarrier's Homes Conservation Area Appraisal, Inverclyde Council, Austin-Smith:Lord LLP, August 2019, p. 89.

³³⁶ See: [Quarriers website](#)

³³⁷ Kevin, McKenna, Scottish Gypsy-Travellers: Dr Lynne Tammi-Connelly on Tinkers' trauma, *The Herald*, 27 January, 2024.

³³⁸ The make-up and roles of those who joined the police force also varied depending on geographic location. One-person police stations, for example, were found in rural areas of Scotland, often staffed with someone local and knowledgeable of local nuances (e.g. social relationships, Gaelic fluency), and whose power over localities became centralised in one individual. Depending on the region, the police of particular constabularies had histories of being perceived to have biases, whether as more-Protestant leaning in Glasgow or as protectors of landowners, evidenced by their involvement in the mid-19th century clearances of the Western Isles and the Crofters' Wars of the 1880s.

³³⁹ On this latter point, the Gentleman and Swift report noted that 'local authorities used the police as a source of information about the location of travellers. Op cit.

³⁴⁰ Departmental Committee on Tinkers (1918), op. cit., p. 23.

³⁴¹ See, for example: Davidson, N., Fleming, L., Jackson, L., Smale, D. and Sparks, R., 2017. Police and community in 20th-century Scotland: The uses of social history. *British Journal of Criminology*, 57(1), pp.18-39.

³⁴² Departmental Committee on Tinkers (1918), op. cit., p. 23.

³⁴³ Perth and Kinross Archives, CC1/H/A3.

³⁴⁴ Departmental Committee on Tinkers (1918) op. cit., pp. 343-345.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 349.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 349-350.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 353.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 353-354.

³⁴⁹ This also include evidence that we uncovered in Perth and Kinross where the Chief Constable of Perthshire and Kinross-shire Constabulary commented on the suitability of a "Proposed Tinker Encampment at Gothens Wood in Meikleour" in 1954." As the Chief Constable notes: "The proposed site is close to the Perth-Blairgowrie public road and would appear to offer little privacy or shelter to the occupants, particularly during the winter months. The tinker fraternity are notoriously careless about the supervision of their children and animals and these would undoubtedly wander on to the public road with resulting danger to themselves and other road users."

³⁵⁰ Under this category we would also include the monitoring of living conditions. As John Thomas Maxwell, Secretary to the Local Government Board for Scotland, notes in his 1917 evidence to the Departmental Committee on Tinkers (Blair Castle Archives, p. 3-4) when discussing the Burgh Police (Scotland) Act, 1892, (Sections 118 and 119), "[t]he former section gives the officers of a local authority power to enter and cleanse dirty houses at the expense of the occupier, if occupied, and of the owner, if unoccupied, while the latter section provides for a penalty for keeping a house dirty after notice to cleanse has been served by the local authority."

³⁵¹ The 'toleration' policy eventually ended because a grant scheme to provide campsites was discontinued.

³⁵² McNaughtan, J.H., 1985. Scotland's travelling people: An analysis of government policy. University of Glasgow (United Kingdom), p. 147.

³⁵³ Scottish Development Department (1980) DD6/5192 - Policy on Travelling People, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Equal Opportunities Committee's "Inquiry into Gypsy Travellers and Public Policies" published on 27 June 2001. See www.bemis.org.uk.

³⁵⁶ Fife Regional Council (1989) 'Travellers' Meeting - 17th August, 1989', FC/ED/2/1/1 - File on Education of Travellers' Children in Fife, Fife Council Archives, Glenrothes.

³⁵⁷ Departmental Committee on Tinkers (Scotland) (1918), op. cit., p. 22

³⁵⁸ Maiese, Michelle. "Dehumanization." Beyond Intractability. Eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder. Posted: July 2003

³⁵⁹ There are also numerous examples in the life narratives of other marginalised peoples. See: Zlobina, A., Bettinsoli, M.L., Miranda, M.P. and Formanowicz, M., 2023. Back to basics: Human rights violations and dehumanization. *Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences*, 51, p.101263. See also: Haslam, N., 2019. The many roles of dehumanization in genocide. *Confronting humanity at its worst: Social psychological perspectives on genocide*, pp.199-139. for an examination of the literature on the relationship between dehumanisation and genocide.

³⁶⁰ See for example, Crearie, R. S. (1958) 'The Tinker Tribes of Scotland, *The Scotsman*, 6 October, p. 8 [Online]. Available at: [Link to article](#)

³⁶¹ Dundee Courier (1938) 'The Scottish Tinkers', *Dundee Courier*, 18 August, p. 6 [Online]. Available at: [Link to article](#)

³⁶² Departmental Committee on Tinkers (Scotland) (1918) HH61/77 - Departmental Committee on Tinkers (Scotland) Report, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK, p. 22.

³⁶³ As stated by William Mitchell - Vice-Chairman of the Glasgow School Board. See: Departmental Committee on Habitual Offenders, Vagrants, Etc. (1896) GD409/37/2 - Gypsy or Tinker Children in Scotland (extracts from evidence given to the Departmental Committee on Habitual Offenders, Vagrants, etc, 1894), Records of the Royal Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children (RSSPCC)/Children 1st, National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK, p. 13.

See: [Travellers Times article on seeing past gypsies and travellers through non-gypsy eyes](#) for a discussion.

³⁶⁵ Hitchcock, Robert K. 'Mobility, sedentism, and intensification: Organizational responses to environmental and social change among the San of southern Africa.' in *Processual Archaeology: Exploring Analytical Strategies, Frames of Reference, and Cultural Process*. Edited by Amber L. Johnson. Westport, CT: Praeger/Greenwood, 2004

³⁶⁶ Drakakis-Smith, A. (2007) 'Nomadism a Moving Myth? Policies of Exclusion and the Gypsy/Traveller Response', *Mobilities*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 463-487 [Online]. DOI: 10.1080/17450100701597467; Powell, R. (2008) "Understanding the Stigmatization of Gypsies: Power and the Dialectics of (Dis)identification', *Housing, Theory and Society*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 87-109 [Online]. DOI: 10.1080/14036090701657462.

³⁶⁷ Departmental Committee on Tinkers (Scotland) (1918), op. cit., pp. 26-27

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Departmental Committee on Tinkers (1918) NRAS980/File 20/2 - Transcripts of Oral Evidence given to the Departmental Committee on Tinkers - witnesses from Inverness, Dingwall, Golspie, Oban, Edinburgh, Thurso, Wick, Glasgow, Perth, Private Archives of Katharine Marjory Stewart-Murray, Duchess of Atholl, Blair Castle Archives, Blair Atholl, p. 350.

³⁷⁰ Sam, David L., and John W. Berry. "Acculturation: When individuals and groups of different cultural backgrounds meet." *Perspectives on psychological science* 5.4 (2010): 472-481; As Pauls notes: 'Attempts to compel minority groups to assimilate have occurred frequently in world history. The forced assimilation of indigenous peoples was particularly common in the European colonial empires of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. In North and South America, Australia, Africa, and Asia, colonial policies toward indigenous peoples frequently compelled their religious conversion, the removal of children from their families, the division of community property into salable, individually owned parcels of land, the undermining of local economies and gender roles by shifting responsibility for farming or other forms of production from women to men, and the elimination of access to indigenous foodstuffs. Forced assimilation is rarely successful, and it generally has enduring negative consequences for the recipient culture.' See: Pauls, Elizabeth Prine. "assimilation". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 12 Jun. 2024.

³⁷¹ Departmental Committee on Habitual Offenders, Vagrants, Etc. (1896) op. cit., pp. 29, 34

³⁷² David B MacDonald & Graham Hudson, "The Genocide Question and Indian Residential Schools in Canada" (2012) 45:2 Can J Political Science 427 at 430-431

³⁷³ The 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide responded to the systematic murder of over six million Jews, as well as Roma, Queer people, disabled people, Black people, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Free Masons, by the Nazi regime on the basis of group identity and cultural practice. In the drafting of the convention, however, the crime of cultural genocide - or the intent to destroy a particular group's culture as well as their ability to practice it - was largely omitted. It is only Article 2(e), or 'the forced transfer of children from one group to another', that locates how the destruction of a group of people can be realised in a way that can appear non-violent and even framed by them as 'good intentions'. Cultural genocide has been increasingly discussed in recent years thanks to the advocacy of Indigenous peoples, from Australia to Canada to the US to Greenland, who had been forcibly placed in various child welfare systems designed to strip them of their culture. The Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CTRC, 2008-2015) and the Maine Wabanaki-State Child Welfare Truth and Reconciliation Commission (MWTRC, 2013-2015), for example, separately investigated claims by survivors of these systems that policies surrounding child welfare, housing, education, and health had been historically and systemically discriminatory against them, resulting in higher mortality rates and the loss of culture in their communities. In their concluding reports, both truth commissions demonstrated that Canadian and American institutions, entrusted with public welfare, were collectively complicit in assimilating Indigenous children into dominant Euro-centric American and Canadian cultures, and had therefore committed 'cultural genocide'.

³⁷⁴ MacDonald & Hudson, op cit. supra note 7 at 430-31.

³⁷⁵ See, for example: Smith, D.M. and Greenfields, M., 2013. Gypsies and Travellers in housing: The decline of nomadism. Policy Press.

³⁷⁶ Cant is a language used by many Scottish Gypsy/Travellers for communication and expression. It is also a cryptolect, whose usage is intended as both a form of resistance to wider Scottish society and as a means of identifying fellow Gypsy/Travellers. See: McKean, T. A. (2021) 'Multi-Layered Communication and Function in Scottish Traveller Cant', *Traditiones*, vol. 50, no. 2, pp. 95-121 [Online]. DOI: 10.3986/Traditio2021500206.

³⁷⁷ See, for example: Scottish Government, Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland: A Comprehensive Analysis of the 2011 Census, 2015.

³⁷⁸ See, for example: Parker, T. and Kelley, A., 2023. American Indian and Alaska Native life expectancy: writing a new narrative. JAMA.

³⁷⁹ Tinker, George E. *Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, (1993), pg. 5

³⁸⁰ See, for example: Collins, B., McEvoy-Levy, S. and Watson, A., 2014. The Maine Wabanaki-state child welfare truth and reconciliation commission: perceptions and understandings. *Indigenous peoples' access to justice, including truth and reconciliation processes*, pp.140-169; Collins, B. and Watson, A.M., 2015. Examining the Potential for an American Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs* http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/ethics_online/0102; Collins, B. and Watson, A., 2023. Refusing reconciliation with settler colonialism: wider lessons from the Maine Wabanaki-State Child Welfare Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 27(2), pp.380-402.

³⁸¹ Please note that there is precedent for historic apologies to be made by the Scottish Government including: "[o]n 22 March 2023, the then First Minister, Nicola Sturgeon MSP, issued a formal apology on behalf of the Scottish Government to those affected by historic adoption practices; On 8 March 2022, the then First Minister, Nicola Sturgeon MSP, issued a formal apology on behalf of the Scottish Government to those accused of witchcraft between the 16th and 18th centuries; on 1 December 2021, the then Deputy First Minister, John Swinney MSP, reiterated a formal apology on behalf of the Scottish Government to those who were abused as children in care." See: [Scottish Government Freedom of Information release](#)

³⁸² Please note that records exempt under the Freedom of Information (Scotland) Act 2002 cannot normally be made publicly available until the exemption ceases to protect confidentiality, although applications for access can still be made.

³⁸³ This is in keeping with research released last year, commissioned by the Scottish Government Directorate for Learning that finds that "[t]he absence of Gypsy/traveller culture in schools and the curriculum contributes to feelings of exclusion." See: Finn, M., *A review of the educational experiences of children and adults from the Gypsy/Traveller communities in Scotland.*, p. 6.

³⁸⁴ This would need to be informed by principles of archival theory on provenance of records.

³⁸⁵ There is already work being done in this area that could be considered to be approaching best practice, including that done by Aberdeenshire Libraries, and by the Gairloch Museum. For additional research on Scottish museums, see: Ramsay, R.E., 2021. *Unsettling Nacken chaetrie: the absence and presence of Gypsy/Travellers in Scottish museums.*

³⁸⁶ See also: Amnesty International, 'Caught in the Headlines, Scottish media coverage of Scottish Gypsy Travellers', 2012, available at: [Amnesty International article on media coverage of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland](#) For a perspective

on the history of media engagement, see: Alston, D., 2024. Highland Gypsy Travellers in the News: A Note on Prejudices as Reflected in 19th-Century Newspapers in the Highlands. *Northern Scotland*, 15(2), pp.133-143.

³⁸⁷ See also Amnesty International's 2012 Report, 'Caught in the Headlines', available as a link from: [Amnesty International article on media coverage of Gypsy/Travellers in Scotland](#)

³⁸⁸ Note that there is a useful example of this that took place in 2020. On December 22nd, 2020, the Kansas City Star published an apology from the Editor noting that "For 140 years... [the Kansas City Star] has been one of the most influential forces in shaping Kansas City and the region. And yet for much of its early history — through sins of both commission and omission — it disenfranchised, ignored and scorned generations of Black Kansas Citizens. It reinforced Jim Crow laws and redlining. Decade after early decade it robbed an entire community of opportunity, dignity, justice and recognition.... We are sorry." See: [Link to article](#)



© Crown copyright 2025

OGL

This publication is licensed under the terms of the Open Government Licence v3.0 except where otherwise stated. To view this licence, visit nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence/version/3 or write to the Information Policy Team, The National Archives, Kew, London TW9 4DU, or email: psi@nationalarchives.gsi.gov.uk.

Where we have identified any third party copyright information you will need to obtain permission from the copyright holders concerned.

This publication is available at www.gov.scot

Any enquiries regarding this publication should be sent to us at

The Scottish Government
St Andrew's House
Edinburgh
EH1 3DG

ISBN: 978-1-83691-633-8 (web only)

Published by The Scottish Government, June 2025

Produced for The Scottish Government by APS Group Scotland, 21 Tennant Street, Edinburgh EH6 5NA
PPDAS1582434 (06/25)

W W W . g o v . s c o t