SCOTISH COAL MINERS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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Changes in ownership and employment in the coalfields were accompanied by important long-term shifts in the character of communities and collieries. Miners mobilised frequently in defence of community, but the term was highly ambiguous, concealing important divisions of class and gender. Workplace tensions between employers and employees were an ever-present reminder of the limits of cross-class social solidarity in mining communities. Intraworking class divisions were observable too, however, especially in times of stress such as the lockouts of the 1920s and the strike in 1984–5. In gender terms the male breadwinner ideology was deeply embedded in the coalfields and the defence of jobs and collieries at times appeared to privilege male interests.

The conflicts of gender and class are examined in the first part of this chapter. Analysis then moves to migration and changes in the built environment. The broader pattern of economic and social restructuring examined in Chapter 1 included the migration of large numbers of miners within Scotland from west to east, and to the expanding regions of the English coalfields, in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire. Security in the Scottish coalfields was strengthened with a move to public sector housing, reducing the miners’ social dependence on their employers. Re-housing nevertheless had complex long-term effects. It was a factor in loosening the relationship between coalfield workplace and residence, along with the concentration of production in a smaller number of larger collieries and the introduction of new employment in purpose-built
industrial estates. This is examined in the third part of the chapter, focusing on the evolution of coal production from the 1920s onwards. The importance of transitional points is emphasised, with three phases of industrial development identified, embodied in the establishment of distinct types of production unit: the Village Pit of the 1900s, the New Mine of the 1930s, and the Cosmopolitan Colliery of the 1960s. These different units represented ever-increasing scale. New production techniques were also involved, plus changes in workforce composition as employees were drawn from a progressively wider locale. These colliery types are related to three generations of miners’ union leaders with distinct formative experiences and expectations. Generational changes arising from restructuring were important to the development of the miners’ moral economy, and their defence of coalfiel secure.

Community in the Coalfields

Community is a positive and inclusive term, which partly explains why it is often used to frame understanding of localities, and also of interest groups, sometimes spread over a broad and even international geographical area. ‘Imagined Communities’, the term applied by Benedict Anderson to nations, could equally hold for other dispersed collectives formed by political ideology, ethnicity, faith, occupational background or even leisure activity.1 Given this wide application, however, community is also ambiguous and problematic. The cohesion of mining communities was qualified by class divisions and gender inequalities. Diverse in character and changing over time, these localities were less stable and homogeneous than the term ‘mining community’ implies. The varied nature of mining communities is well recognised in US as well as British literature. The ‘isolated mass’ thesis in particular has been interpreted as both useful and a misdirection in making sense of communities which varied substantially in scale, occupational profile and proximity to larger urban centres.2

Given these theoretical and empirical ambiguities, coal communities are perhaps best understood in dual terms: as economic localities and ideological communalities.3 The ‘ideal type’ of occupational community hypothesised by Michael Bulmer, where coal absorbed an overwhelming proportion of male employment, was increasingly
unusual in Britain after the Second World War, possibly excepting the South Wales valleys, and in Scotland parts of Ayrshire. A key factor in generating variety was the process of economic diversification examined in Chapter 1. To recap, coal production from the late 1950s was increasingly concentrated in a smaller number of larger pits. The established connection between workplace and residence was disrupted. Increasing numbers of miners lived in coal villages where pits had closed, and travelled daily to work in the ‘Cosmopolitan Collieries’ opened by the NCB in the 1960s. The alternative employment track, work in regional policy factories, was available to women as well as men. The contrasting employment profiles of Scotland’s five New Towns, designed and developed to relieve housing congestion in Glasgow after the Second World War, indicate that restructuring as a whole had a less beneficial impact in Ayrshire than in Lanarkshire, the Lothians and Fife. In 1971 in Cumbernauld, in the historic coalfield of North Lanarkshire, one-third of male jobs were in mechanical engineering. In Irvine, 20 miles from the South Ayrshire mining towns of Cumnock and Auchinleck, less than one-fifth of male jobs were in this category. In 1981, two years into the Thatcher-era acceleration of industrial job loss, 10.6 per cent of men in Cumbernauld were unemployed and looking for work. Less successful diversification in Ayrshire in the 1960s and 1970s meant that 15.3 per cent of Irvine’s men were now in this position. New opportunities for women were also unevenly shared across the coalfields. In Fife the ratio of males to females in employment was 2.6 to 1 in 1961 but just 1.5 to 1 in 1981. More than 9 per cent of all women in Fife were employed in electrical engineering in 1971, most of these in Glenrothes. In Irvine, by contrast, the largest industrial employer of women was the older and contracting sector of textiles. Across Scotland the post-1945 expansion of the public sector was important too: state education, the National Health Service and other welfare services, provided an increased range and volume of jobs open to coalfield women. These various changes bolstered the economic sustainability of most coal communities, with Ayrshire a partial exception, and gradually altered social relations in progressive ways.

Social divisions within coal communities were stark in the 1950s. *Coal Is Our Life*, the classic study of coalfield social relations by Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter, was based on miners in ‘Ashton’, a
pseudonym for Featherstone in West Yorkshire. A powerful sense of class was prevalent, with simmering workplace tensions between employees and their managers. Class feeling was powerful in Scottish communities too. The 1921 and 1926 mining lockouts were major expressions of social conflict with strong localised dynamics. Locked-out miners and their supporters attempted to impose significant costs on employers, destroying their private and industrial property, and fought with police officers. After 1926 the owners exacted punitive wage cuts on their workers and victimised union representatives, including the Moffats of Lumphinnans. This was one of the ‘Little Moscows’ of Central Fife, where the Red Flag was flown annually above Cowdenbeath Town Hall to celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution. Class remained a powerful and compelling force after nationalisation. This would be evident in workplace politics in the 1950s and 1960s, examined in Chapter 4, the national pay disputes of the 1970s, explored in Chapter 6, and the strike against pit closures in 1984–5, analysed in Chapter 7. But intra-working class unity was tempered by significant political and religious fissures. Some miners were socially conservative, and sectarianism was a significant force. The Scottish Miner, a monthly newspaper, was established by the NUMSA in 1954. Its title conveyed the union’s ambition to construct greater political unity among Scotland’s miners. Differences of locality and region were more easily overcome than divisions of politics and religion. The union’s leadership worked hard to build a common identity around the twin themes of class and nation. It campaigned on the basis that miners in Scotland occupied a distinct political position: members of a British and indeed global working class, but with values and interests particular to plebeian citizens of the Scottish Nation.

Social solidarity was further compromised by gender inequalities in the coalfields. Everyday experience was unambiguously structured by gender, which ‘is centrally implicated in the very formation of all types of working-class politics’. This observation was made by Savage in 1987, boldly, but more than thirty years later class and gender are generally accepted as points of intersectionality with race in shaping collective and individual social identity. The male breadwinner ideology featured strongly within working class male identity and esteem in the coalfields, and permeated gender relations. Reading Coal Is Our Life in the 2010s, the most striking inequality
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is between working class men and working class women. Organised leisure was structured around the activities of male wage earners. A variety of social and recreational facilities were established in the coalfields in the 1930s and 1940s by the Miners’ Welfare Committee and its successor body, the Miners’ Welfare Commission. Women gradually acquired greater access to these amenities, particularly the welfare institutes, which were key institutions of coalfield leisure along with working men’s clubs. In 1944 one-third of mining institutes had women members and organised joint activities for women and men, and one-quarter had women’s groups. In the 1950s and 1960s female participation in these institutes and clubs expanded, but was still circumscribed in a highly gendered social world. The Coal Industry Social Welfare Organisation oversaw an annual ‘Retired Mineworkers’ Indoor Games Competition’ in Scotland. Men and women competed in gender-segregated whist and dominoes, while men alone contested darts.

Gender roles were similarly demarcated in families and households. The needs of women were subordinate to those of men. Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter acknowledged these inequalities, but nevertheless emphasised the primacy of class loyalty and identity. Married women especially, they implied, were reconciled to gender inequality because ‘they share the sense of injustice felt by miners and support their husbands against the enemy’. This argument appears in Scottish literature also. Alan Campbell makes qualified reference to women’s enforced monopoly of domestic labour before 1939 as an exercise in working class solidarity, enabling men to earn the family wage and fight the employers for improved living standards. The partnership was far from equal, however, with women fulfilling a supporting and therefore subordinate role within the broader pattern of class relations. This was a major qualifier to the ideological unity of coal communities, and a reminder that the miners’ pursuit of security was at least partly a defence of their gendered privilege as male wage-earners.

Social cohesion within coal communities was nevertheless strengthened over time. Writing of the areas that broadly supported the 1984–5 strike, which included Scotland, Raphael Samuel argued that the prolonged experience of crisis had rebuilt ‘community’. Economic and industrial changes since 1945 had eroded the centrality of coal employment; the linkages between residence and work
had become more diffuse over time; and the acceleration of deindustrialisation after the strikers’ defeat further diminished the economic viability of coal settlements. But in many localities the strike – mobilising against the unambiguous class enemies of Thatcher’s Conservative government and NCB management – solidified the ideological and political basis of community. The changes in gender relations were neither sudden nor transformational. Sexism remained a repellent feature of coalfield social relations but ebbed as women assumed a greater diversity of economic and social responsibilities. This was an important paradox of deindustrialisation, confirmed in Chapter 7. Coalfield communities became stronger in ideological terms as the industry’s share of economic activity dwindled. The communal values of miners retained currency in these post-industrial localities, as ‘resources of hope’, Raymond Williams’ phrase, encouraging women and men to maintain their struggle for economic and social security in the twenty-first century.24

Migration and Housing

Three factors stimulated changes to the character of coalfield localities: migration, mainly within Scotland but also within the UK, which arguably weakened security; the widening ‘locale’ or catchment area of pits, as production was concentrated in a smaller number of collieries, with an ambiguous impact on security; and the construction of new housing, with the expansion of public sector provision significantly strengthening security.

Migration was an established feature of coalfield life. In the nineteenth century it was often seasonal. Economic dislocation and social conflict were nevertheless major triggers. Many miners left in the three or four decades before the First World War to evade unemployment and victimisation. Some travelled within Scotland and Britain; others emigrated within the British Empire and to the USA. Among them was Philip Murray, Vice President of the United Mine-workers of America from 1920 to 1942, President of the United Steelworkers of America from 1942 to 1952, and President of the Congress of Industrial Organisations from 1940 to 1952. Murray was born into a mining family in Bothwell, Lanarkshire in 1884, and moved to the Pennsylvania coalfields in 1902 with his father, William, whose working life as a union activist was interrupted
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by unemployment and disputes with employers. Migration in the 1920s and 1930s was likewise shaped by economic and social disruption. Campbell points out that several leading figures in the NUMSA from the 1960s to the 1980s experienced enforced migration to England in childhood after their activist fathers had been victimised by employers in the 1920s and 1930s.

The scale of coalfield migration before the Second World War is hard to quantify, but NCB data provides a more precise measure of movement after 1947. This was shaped in the first instance by the changing regional distribution of the coal industry, noted in Chapter 1, as the relative importance of Yorkshire and the Midlands grew. The NCB encouraged migration through two distinct schemes which commonly met the costs of relocation and assisted miners in housing themselves and their families, usually in local authority estates. The Inter-Divisional Transfer Scheme (IDTS) was launched in 1962, shifting miners in NCB employment from one coalfield area to another. This was supplemented from 1964 by the Long Distance Re-entrants Scheme (LDRS), encouraging ex-miners to re-join the NCB and move to the higher production areas. By March 1971 a total of 15,000 miners had moved under the two schemes. Scots represented a substantial number of these migrants, along with many from Northumberland and Durham. Ministry of Power data, supplied in a House of Commons written answer in December 1966, showed that 2,768 miners left Scotland from April 1962 to March 1966 under the IDTS and 606 under the LDRS, amounting to 39.7 per cent of the NCB total under the combined schemes.

Migration could be unsettling. David Hamilton, future NUM delegate at Monktonhall in Midlothian, moved to Nottinghamshire as a young man in the late 1960s, with Jean, his wife. They appreciated the social life and friendships in the community, but David disliked what he saw as an overly authoritarian workplace, with miners obliged to address their overseers as ‘sir’. This was a jarring contrast with the easier and more democratic underground culture in Midlothian. Monktonhall’s expansion offered David and Jean a welcome opportunity to return home within a year. Ian Terris, originally from Lanarkshire, was working at Rothes in Central Fife when it closed in 1962. He was transferred under the IDTS to Thurcroft, near Rotherham in South Yorkshire. The move
was short-lived. Within days Terris was rebuked by a workmate for speaking ‘informally’ to an under-manager who had shone a light in his eyes. Likening these relationships to ‘serfdom’, he returned shortly afterwards to Fife, accepting lower paid employment with Alexander’s buses. Other miners had a far more positive experience of migration. Jimmy Hood, born in 1949, began his working life as a mining engineer at Auchlochan in South Lanarkshire. This closed in 1968, and Hood accepted redeployment to Ollerton Colliery in Nottinghamshire. Hood, who served as Labour MP for Clydesdale from 1987 to 2015, looked back on the transfer as a valuable opportunity to secure his economic future. He was glad to have made the move, despite the difficulties he encountered as a union branch official supporting the strike in 1984–5 while the vast majority at Ollerton continued working.

Migrants shaped their new environment as well as being influenced by it. When a new colliery opened in 1964 in Cotgrave, five miles south-east of Nottingham, the village of several hundred inhabitants was transformed into a small mining town of several thousands. NCB documents show that these new residents were accommodated in three and four bedroom houses, roughly half of which were equipped with garages, itself a sign of expanding material horizons in this part of the English coalfield. Large numbers of miners from the Cumnock area of Ayrshire were redeployed in the early 1960s to Whitwick and Bagworth collieries in the Leicestershire conurbation known as Coalville. With their families they inhabited a new local authority housing estate in Thringston. Officially named the Woodside Estate, this was widely referred to in Coalville as the ‘Scotch Estate’. The fabric of culture assumed distinctly Scottish elements. Hogmanay was celebrated and New Year’s Day became an unofficial local holiday. Ex-Ayrshire miners were prominent in founding the Thringston Rangers Supporters Club in 1968, a social facility as well as a football fans’ association still operating in the late 2010s.

Migration was part of the broader dispersal of older mining localities. This occurred in Lanarkshire and Ayrshire especially, and within the Scottish coalfields more generally the process of re-housing contributed to a spatial distancing of workers from surviving pits. In the 1920s the Fife Coal Company employed roughly three in four of the occupied population in the conurbation of Cowdenbeath, Lumphinnans and Lochgelly. It was a dominant force also in
the settlements immediately to the north and east: Kelty, Lochore, Glencairn, Ballingry and Cardenden. Changes in colliery scale and production regime from the 1920s to the 1970s are discussed below, but the impact of these on community ‘closeness’ can be gauged here. Lochhead in Coaltown of Wemyss in East Fife was an old Village Pit, opened in 1890. When it closed in 1970 there were 156 face workers seeking redeployment. Of these there were 26, exactly one in six, who lived less than two miles away, in West Wemyss, Coaltown of Wemyss or East Wemyss. Family connections were evident among these men: J. and T. Christie both lived in West Wemyss; D. and J. Penman and H. and J. Reekie all resided in Coaltown of Wemyss; and G. Rodger of East Wemyss was perhaps a relative of R. Rodger in Coaltown of Wemyss. Another 93 of the Lochhead face workers lived within four miles, in Buckhaven, Methil, Leven, Windygates and Kennoway to the east, or Dysart and Kirkcaldy to the west. At this long-established colliery, to summarise, less than a quarter of the workforce lived more than four miles away. Community ‘closeness’ was less evident at younger pits. At Comrie, a New Mine which opened just before the Second World War in West Fife, there were 1,458 miners employed in 1964–5. Only 297 of these lived in the nearest settlement, Oakley, with a larger number, 364, travelling daily from Dunfermline, five miles away, and another 400 from Cowdenbeath and Kelty, 10 miles away. Bilston Glen, a Cosmopolitan Colliery south of Edinburgh, employed 2,124 in December 1965, close to its eventual peak of 2,367 in 1970. Residentially these miners were even more scattered. Roughly half lived five or more miles away, including 163 spread across Edinburgh and Leith, with about one in four at least nine miles distant by road, including 194 from Prestonpans and 111 from Tranent. This resembled the pattern at Cardowan, the largest survivor in Lanarkshire, where half the workforce also lived more than five miles from the colliery by the mid-1960s.

Iain Chalmers, a Central Fife miner who was active in the NUM at Seafield in East Fife in the 1970s and 1980s, said in 2009 that in Glenrothes the local authority made deliberate use of housing allocation to place miners in streets alongside factory, shop and local authority ancillary workers. This countered the effect on solidarity of concentrating large volumes of miners in the new Cosmopolitan Collieries, including Seafield. The widening locale of these collieries
could frustrate union efforts to build common feeling among miners who lived in different villages and towns, distant from each other and their workplace. The internal NCB discussion about absenteeism in the early 1970s was noted in Chapter 1. This involved some emphasis on housing changes, which were mapped to contrasting ‘expressive’ and ‘instrumental’ work attitudes. A miner living in the same village as his pit had an expressive attitude: ‘he was involved in his work and had a sense of duty and obligation’. His status in a small community was more important to him than the ‘economic rewards’ which were supposedly prioritised instead by miners with ‘instrumental’ attitudes, and prepared to travel beyond their immediate community for employment. This was a problematic argument, overlooking the blurring of ‘intrinsic’ and ‘extrinsic’ rewards as the ‘Affluent Worker’ study put it, but the increasing frequency and vehemence of pay disputes in the late 1960s and early 1970s provided some rationale for this internal NCB perspective. ‘Many pits have a cosmopolitan work force and a man’s status at home depends much more on being a conspicuous consumer’. The ‘Affluent Worker’ study saw no tension between wage bargaining disputes and an emphasis by manual employees on family life and domestic material comfort. But solidarity on other questions, notably closures affecting miners at some but not all pits, was potentially being weakened, along with the longer term security of the coalfields. Willie Clarke, another Central Fifer who led the NUM at Seafield, believed that rehousing and the move to bigger collieries ‘divorced’ the social life of miners from the job. Building solidarity in this environment was sometimes difficult.

Where migration and the loosening connection between work and home had uncertain effects on coalfield security, broader changes in housing were an unambiguous source of improvement. A key factor was the growth of public provision in housing. In the north ward of Cambuslang in Lanarkshire, boyhood home of Michael McGahey, tuberculosis rates were reputedly higher than anywhere else in Western Europe in 1939. Campbell’s assessment of housing in the pre-nationalised coalfields is bleak. The rows of Lumphinnans in central Fife, shown in Figure 2, were typical. Much of the stock was owned by private employers or their agents, compounding the miners’ insecurities.
Figure 2: The poverty of social conditions before nationalisation: housing in Lumphanans, Central Fife. © NMMS
The implications were clear: confronting an employer also meant challenging a landlord. Dismissal from work was often followed by eviction from home, a terrible class punishment on mining families.\(^47\) Memories of such dispossession influenced the singular character of housing provision in the Scottish area of the UK coalfields after 1947. The NCB agreed to establish a Housing Association to build and manage new homes for miners in England in the 1950s. The NCB Scottish Division avoided this commitment, unwilling to depart, as a Ministry of Fuel and Power official put it, ‘from the sound principle that employers should not be responsible for housing the people’.\(^48\) Tied housing, tolerated by workers in England, ‘would be entirely unacceptable to the Scottish NUM and was not worth considering’, according to the NCB’s Scottish Divisional Deputy Chairman in 1952.\(^49\) The same thinking shaped the abolition of the Miners’ Welfare Commission in the same year, with the CIWSO assuming responsibility from the NCB for social welfare.

Opposition to tied housing was expressed during a debate in the early 1950s about whether home-building in Scotland’s coalfields should be conducted by the NCB’s Housing Association – as in England – or remain the province of the Scottish Special Housing Association (SSHA), along with local authorities. The SSHA was established in 1937 in parallel with the limited economic stimulus of the 1934 Special Areas Act. In 1944 the SSHA and the Department of Health for Scotland agreed a Miners’ Housing Programme, with a projected target of 13,806 homes. This played a major role in the west to east transfer of miners in the early years of nationalisation: 9,509 houses were completed by July 1952, of which almost 2,500 were in East and West Fife combined, with more than 2,000 in the Lothians, and almost 1,200 in Alloa. The NCB Scottish Division, supported by the Ministry of Fuel and Power, resisted pressure from other government departments led by the Treasury to accept direct responsibility for housing provision, and the SSHA built another 2,500 homes in the two years to July 1954.\(^50\) This was good progress, given the scarcity of building materials and labour.\(^51\)

Some pre-1939 housing was admittedly in good condition and of relatively favourable amenity, particularly in parts of East Fife and Midlothian. The villages of Coaltown of Wemyss and Newtongrange exemplify the best of this stock, built before the First World War,
carefully laid out in well-ordered avenues. In Newtongrange the semi-detached, single-storey cottages were built in residential streets running west to east, away from the Lady Victoria Colliery, numerically sequenced from First to Tenth, south to north. But much housing elsewhere in the coalfields was of poor quality: cramped and of limited facility. Even in the 1930s and 1940s electrification was by no means widespread. Water for baths, washing dishes and clothes had to be heated by coal fire. This accentuated gender divisions and inequalities, extending the complexity and time-intensity of domestic labour undertaken by women. The 1920s and 1930s witnessed only limited expansion and improvement. Robert Duncan has emphasised the value of some local authority initiatives, but the legacy of the privately owned industry was severe shortage after the Second World War.52

Housing scarcity briefly melded with industrial tension in the Stirlingshire village of Plean in the summer of 1946. The Plean Colliery Company attempted to recruit new workers from outside the village by offering homes which it owned. Local men sensed injustice and occupied some of these homes. This direct action was part of a broader social movement that summer across Scotland, Wales and England. The Plean squatters were evicted, like many in other communities, and prosecuted and fined. An unofficial strike at the colliery in their support nevertheless produced an undertaking from the company that the housing requirements of miners already employed would be prioritised more strongly in the future.53 The NCB inherited a limited quantity of houses in Scotland in 1947, but – conscious of the conflict of interest inherent in housing its employees – sought to pass this on to local authorities. Where the NCB remained a landlord difficulties were readily apparent. In Lochore in Central Fife there were a small number of NCB houses in 1959–60. Workers at the local Mary Colliery, especially those on a lengthy waiting list, resented the allocation of houses to ‘strangers’ employed at other pits. One of these Mary miners, Andrew Summers, was living in 1960 with his wife and baby son in one room with no coal fire or alternative source of heating.54

These problems were gradually resolved by the trend over time to local authority construction and tenure. Exceeding 50 per cent of households in the mining communities of Ayrshire, Fife, Lanarkshire...
and Midlothian by 1961, local authority tenure across Scotland’s coalfields reached 74 per cent in 1981. The substantial reconstruction of mining communities through local authority provision brought great relief, easing the burden especially on women. Local authority houses were better equipped and more spacious than most of the pre-1939 stock. This had a big impact on collective comfort, and is an important element in social memory. In Gillesbie, on the southern fringes of the ex-Lanarkshire coalfield, children in the 1990s were still explaining the geography of their village to a new teacher in terms of the distinction between the ‘electric’ houses, built by the local authority in the 1950s, and older homes that were only wired long after their original construction. The parallel extension of pit-level welfare amenities from the 1930s onwards further eased the weight of domestic labour. This equipped women with more time, enabling widespread take-up of the new job opportunities arising in the 1950s and 1960s. This proved an important factor in sustaining the solidarity of the strike in 1984–5. The cost of striking was reduced through a combination of female earnings, and the response to the crisis of Labour-controlled councils in Fife, the Lothians, Lanarkshire and Ayrshire, which deferred or lowered housing rents. The contrasting structural position in Nottinghamshire, where the majority of miners neither observed nor supported the strike, is instructive. There were important ideological and geological distinctions which divergences in housing tenure underlined, accentuating the variety of social conditions and material aspirations in different parts of the British coalfields. In Nottinghamshire there was a clear shift to increased owner-occupation, which provided material incentive to work rather than strike in 1984–5. In Mansfield in North Nottinghamshire 42 per cent of households were owner-occupied in 1961, rising to 53 per cent in 1971; in the Ashfield area in South Nottinghamshire owner-occupation increased from 47.4 per cent in 1971 to 58.5 per cent in 1981.

Village Pits, New Mines and Cosmopolitan Collieries

The changing employment and housing position in the coalfields reflected a strong trend to industrial concentration in Scottish coal mining. The general movement, with miners progressively labouring in larger average-sized economic units, was summarised in the
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Table 2.1 Predominant types of production unit in the Scottish coal industry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Established</th>
<th>Production</th>
<th>Scale, location and employer</th>
<th>Collieries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900s</td>
<td>Semi-mechanised, with cutting of coal; stoop and room, then long wall</td>
<td>Employment 500–1000; communal solidarity of village; industrial concentration, with multi-pit owner</td>
<td>Valleyfield 1 &amp; 2, Fife (1908–1978); Bedlay, Lanarkshire (1905–1981)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930s</td>
<td>Greater mechanisation of cutting and conveyance; long wall</td>
<td>Employment 1000+; adjacent to or apart from village; workers travelling short distance (3–6 miles); multi-pit owner</td>
<td>Comrie, Fife (1936–1986); Cardowan, Lanarkshire (1924–1983)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>Full mechanisation, with power-loading from long wall faces</td>
<td>Employment 2,000+; adjacent to village or town; workers travelling longer distance (7–15 miles); NCB</td>
<td>Killoch, Ayrshire (1960–1987); Seafield, Fife (1966–1988)</td>
</tr>
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final column of Table 1.1. In 1957 the mean scale of employment per colliery was 500. It doubled to 1,000 by 1977. This reinforces the argument developed in Chapter 1 that nationalisation secured investment which private ownership could not achieve. Table 2.1 sets out a schema for conceptualising this growth of scale.

Three successive and distinctive predominant forms of economic unit are identified. Each represented an ever larger economy of scale, and substantial qualitative changes in coalfield employment. ‘Village Pits’, a designation adopted here, opened at the end of the nineteenth century, concentrated upwards of 500 miners, and were larger than older units. The labour process was changing too. The established stoop and room method of coal-getting prevailed in many Village Pits. Known outwith Scotland as pillar and stall, this advanced the coal face by digging out discrete galleries or rooms (or stalls), divided by walls or stoops (or pillars) of coal that were left to support the roof. As the face advanced these walls were then partly removed, creating a grid-like structure underground. This method was still being used in some Scottish pits in the 1950s, such
as Kames in Ayrshire, but longwall extraction was probably the norm by the 1920s in most Village Pits. In this method the face was advanced by cutting from a continuous stretch or length of coal, usually bounded at each end by a roadway leading back to the main mineshaft. One roadway brought in air; the other took it away. A stretch of roof wide enough to navigate the length of the face was supported by props that advanced with the cutting, leaving the roof behind to fall beneath the weight of the ground above. More productive than stoop and room, with a greater rate of extraction, longwall mining facilitated increased application of mechanisation over time, but new dangers also arose, primarily from roof falls. These are examined in Chapter 3. Subsidence above ground was an additional social cost of longwall production.

The mixed extraction methods were one element of the industry’s uneven development in the 1920s and 1930s. The privately owned industry was highly variegated in Scotland. The 388 separate collieries in 1925 were operated by 153 private companies, with many marginal enterprises running one or two pits. Large-scale capitalism was, however, increasingly predominant. The Fife Coal Company (FCC), marking its golden jubilee in 1922, operated 24 collieries, from Valleyfield in the south west of the county to Leven 1 & 2 in the east. Eighteen of the FCC’s units were in Central Fife. Seventeen FCC pits were still in operation and nationalised in 1947, all but five of which were established before the First World War, including Lumphinnans 11 & 12, known locally as Peeweep because miners could hear the lapwing birdsong as they walked to work. The firm’s limited investment in the 1920s and 1930s can further be adduced from the age-profile of the steam engines it used to shunt coal from collieries to preparation plants and docks. Nineteen locomotives passed from the FCC to the NCB at the end of 1946. Only six had been acquired since the First World War, four of which were ‘Austerity’ locomotives, supplied by central government during the Second World War. In Lanarkshire, Bairds & Scottish Steel Limited ran 10 collieries taken into public ownership in 1947, all pre-dating 1905, the largest being Bedlay. Bairds & Scottish Steel was an amalgamation in 1938 of William Baird & Co. and the Scottish Iron & Steel Co. The FCC and William Baird & Co. were major industrial firms. Like others in the sector, notably the Alloa Coal
Company, the Lothian Coal Company and the Wemyss Coal Company, they were connected to the larger worlds of Scottish, British and Imperial capital through inter-locking directorships and commercial activity.\(^{65}\)

Many Village Pits survived for much of the twentieth century. Table 2.2 details the twenty-one NCB production units operating in Scotland in 1977. Nine of these were Village Pits, pre-dating the First World War in vintage, although crucially, and underlining the positive impact of nationalisation, each was substantially redeveloped by the NCB after 1947, as were two even older survivors, Frances in Fife and Pennyvennie in Ayrshire. Valleyfield 1 & 2, opened by the FCC in 1908, still employed 885 miners in the winter of 1964–5, and did not close until 1978. The pit was in High Valleyfield, home to half of its employees.\(^{66}\) The continued importance of the Village Pits in the 1960s and 1970s is worth emphasising, certainly when measured against the New Mines established in the 1930s. Two New Mines still operated in 1977: Cardowan, owned by Nimmo and Dunlop, and Comrie in West Fife, established by the FCC. The two firms were linked by Sir Adam Nimmo, Chairman of the FCC from 1923 who, as past President and continuing Vice President of the Mining Association of Great Britain (MAGB), was a major political figure in the industry.\(^{67}\) Comrie was the subject of a publicity film, *The New Mine*, in 1945, which provides the designation for this production unit type.\(^{68}\) New Mines employed upwards of a thousand, and longwall extraction was the norm. Coal was machine-cut, then hand-loaded onto mechanical conveyors. These collieries were equipped with better welfare amenities than the Village Pits, and drew on a wider residential locale. New Mines were followed from the late 1950s by Cosmopolitan Collieries, engaging two thousand-plus in longwall extraction with combined cutting and loading machinery, feeding an integrated system of mechanised conveyance. Killoch in Ayrshire and Seafield in Fife are two examples of this type of unit. The term ‘Cosmopolitan’ was used in South Wales to describe pits which employed a spatial mix of workers transferring in as other units closed.\(^{69}\) In Scotland Cosmopolitan also implied an amalgamation of miners from a widened catchment area. They came together with sometimes highly differentiated experience of geological conditions and workplace culture.
These three distinct units can be mapped to the three generations of mining leaders identified at various points in this book. This generational story is examined in Chapter 4. In brief, the first generation commenced work as young men in Village Pits, the second in New Mines, and the third in Cosmopolitan Collieries. Differences in ownership, production regime, scale and location were important in forming the contrasting political outlooks of these three generations. Members of the New Mine generation were more willing than their elders to challenge the structures and operations of the nationalised industry. Their ascendancy facilitated a stronger moral economy resistance to pit closures from the late 1960s onwards. By this point the Cosmopolitan Collieries were being established. These contributed to a further shift in the predominant political outlook of the NUMSA. Cosmopolitan Colliery miners were required to accept unpalatable local closures. Daily travelling added a significant additional burden of time: a Killoch miner from New Cumnock and a Seafield miner from Cowdenbeath in the 1970s would be away from home each day for a minimum of 10 hours, while being paid only for the seven hour shift. But this change came with a promise of a more sustainable industry, operating in bigger units, with larger reserves and achieving greater rates of output per man shift. Moral economy expectations of future security were therefore encouraged, a vital factor both in obtaining workforce and community compliance for the changes being effected, and as a basis for the final resistance to deindustrialisation in 1984–5. By 1982 the seven Cosmopolitan Collieries were responsible for 75 per cent of production in Scotland.70

Table 2.2 shows the relatively minor profile by the 1970s of the New Mines. Only two units opened in the 1920s and 1930s, to reiterate, were still operating. Village Pits retained their importance because the NCB had identified them for redevelopment in Scotland’s Coal Plan of 1955, along with the establishment of the Cosmopolitan Collieries.71 Reconstructions in the 1950s and 1960s included Barony, Kinneil, Manor Powis, Polmaise, Polkemmet and Valleyfield. The necessity of this public investment highlights the limited legacy of the privately owned industry. Michael McGahey started his working life at the age of fourteen in Gateside Colliery in Lanarkshire in 1939. Fifty years later he remembered the relentless physical demands of the job: ‘Hard, brutal work. Pick and shovel’.72
## Table 2.2 NCB collieries in Scotland, 1977

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colliery</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Opened/ Closed</th>
<th>Peak NCB Employment and Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barony 1, 2, 3 &amp; 4, Ayrshire</td>
<td>Village Pit</td>
<td>1910–1989</td>
<td>1,695 in 1958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedlay, Lanarkshire</td>
<td>Village Pit</td>
<td>1905–1981</td>
<td>870 in 1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilston Glen, Midlothian</td>
<td>Cosmopolitan Colliery</td>
<td>1963–1989</td>
<td>2,367 in 1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bogside, West Fife</td>
<td>Cosmopolitan Colliery</td>
<td>1959–1986</td>
<td>1,000 in 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardowan, Lanarkshire</td>
<td>New Mine</td>
<td>1924–1983</td>
<td>1,970 in 1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comrie, West Fife</td>
<td>New Mine</td>
<td>1936–1986</td>
<td>1,498 in 1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalkeith 5 &amp; 9</td>
<td>Village Pit</td>
<td>1903–1978</td>
<td>898 in 1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frances, East Fife</td>
<td>Pre-Village Pit</td>
<td>1850–1988</td>
<td>1,482 in 1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highhouse, Ayrshire</td>
<td>Village Pit</td>
<td>1894–1983</td>
<td>467 in 1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killoch, Ayrshire</td>
<td>Cosmopolitan Colliery</td>
<td>1960–1987</td>
<td>2,305 in 1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinneil, West Lothian</td>
<td>Village Pit</td>
<td>1890–1982</td>
<td>1,268 in 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lady Victoria, Midlothian</td>
<td>Village Pit</td>
<td>1895–1981</td>
<td>1,765 in 1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monktonhall, Midlothian</td>
<td>Cosmopolitan Colliery</td>
<td>1967–1997</td>
<td>1,786 in 1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennyvennie 2, 3 &amp; 7, Ayrshire</td>
<td>Pre-Village Pit</td>
<td>1872–1978</td>
<td>725 in 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polkemmet, West Lothian</td>
<td>Village Pit</td>
<td>1913–1985</td>
<td>1,959 in 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polmaise 3, 4 &amp; 5, Stirlingshire</td>
<td>Village Pit</td>
<td>1904–1987</td>
<td>778 in 1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solsgirth, Clackmannan</td>
<td>Cosmopolitan Colliery</td>
<td>1969–1990</td>
<td>1,007 in 1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorn 1 &amp; 2, Ayrshire</td>
<td>NCB drift mine</td>
<td>1953–1983</td>
<td>294 in 1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valleyfield 1 &amp; 2, Fife</td>
<td>Village Pit</td>
<td>1908–1978</td>
<td>1,052 in 1959</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Oglethorpe, *Scottish Collieries*

General note: Barony consisted of four shafts: the first two sunk in 1910, the third in 1945 and the fourth in 1965; Bogside, Castlehill and Solsgirth were each connected via underground conveyance to the South of Scotland Electricity Board power station at Longannet; Monktonhall was mothballed by the NCB in 1987, and operated intermittently as private enterprise and then miners’ co-operative from 1992 before final closure in 1997.
There were, admittedly, some important developments in productive capacity between the wars. Scotland’s two largest pits in 1957, the peak year of employment after nationalisation, were neighbours in East Fife: Wellesley in Buckhaven, employing 2,603, and Michael, three miles along the Forth shore in East Wemyss, employing 3,353. Wellesley opened in 1885 and Michael in 1905, and both of these Village Pits were redeveloped in the 1930s by the Wemyss Coal Company. The firm protected part of its investment after 1947 by insisting that the Wemyss Private Railway existed as a separate company, although it had operated more or less entirely to move coal from Michael and Wellesley as well as Lochhead Colliery to a washer facility at Denbeath and thence to Methil docks. In this way private capital retained some force in the East Fife coalfields after nationalisation. Wellesley’s prowess was recognised early in the nationalised era, winner of the News of the World 3,150 Guineas Coal Competition for the best NCB pit in its size category in 1952. At Michael the Wemyss Coal Company had enlarged the original shaft to improve ventilation and added a second shaft, along with baths, a canteen and a first aid room. Robert S. Halliday, who joined the NCB after leaving the Indian Civil Service in 1948, claimed that ‘nationalisation proved disastrous for Michael’, with its average annual output from 1935–9 of 949,000 tons drifting downwards in the 1940s and 1950s, partly because of over-investment in other Fife pits, notably Rothes. This assertion is contentious. The colliery’s lowered output actually stemmed from a lengthy programme of NCB development from 1949 to 1962. One shaft was substantially deepened and locomotive haulage was introduced. The baths were also extended, from a surface area of 13,500 to 20,300 square feet. Further investment followed from 1963 to 1966, to expand daily output from 3,350 to 4,000 tons, concentrating on the deeper workings at 450 fathoms. Michael was one of the NCB’s favoured fifty pits for development in 1967, with ‘priority in recruitment, capital investment and managerial expertise’, and producing an annual average tonnage of 845,000, at an annual average profit of £445,000. NCB officials were planning the colliery’s further growth in the mid-1960s, to yield an annual average exceeding 900,000 tonnes, and with a smaller workforce and greater output per manshift than achieved under private ownership.
Power officials shared this highly positive view when preparing *Fuel Policy* in 1967. By 1980, they predicted, coal production in Scotland would largely be concentrated on four collieries feeding Longannet. All other Scottish pits would be closed, except Michael.83

The strongest case for the health and positive contribution of the private industry before the Second World War was Comrie, the FCC’s largest inter-war initiative, with development underway from 1936 on the site between Saline and Oakley, west of Dunfermline. *The New Mine*, produced by Gaumont British Instructional Films in collaboration with the company, presented Comrie as an exemplar of a ‘new story’ for coal. The rural and isolated location was emphasised. Because of its distance from housing, the colliery contributed to improved living conditions, with workers arriving by bus. The principles of ‘safety, efficiency and economy’ were demonstrated by the testing for firedamp, the cutting machinery, the semi-mechanised loading of cars brought to the bottom of the shaft, and the upward winding of coal to be discharged from skips for cleaning, with the waste conveyed aerially to a distant bing. A further novelty was the provision of welfare amenities: showers, canteen and first aid room. The film concluded with the improbable claim that miners in such an environment ‘don’t suffer fatigue’. The broader message, however, was straightforward. To paraphrase Ross McKibbin, the ‘New Mine’ offered clear social improvement and a redistribution of esteem in favour of the workers.84 Given the gendered division of coalfield domestic labour, this had a positive impact on the lives of women also, freed from the burden of heating water and drying clothes after their men came home.85

William Reid, whose career in mine management straddled the transition from private to public ownership, ascribed much of the credit for Comrie’s innovative employee welfare characteristics to the far-sighted generosity of his father, Charles Reid, the FCC’s General Manager in the 1930s.86 The firm and its Managing Director in the 1920s and 1930s, Charles Augustus Carlow, have also been presented as progressive when measured against others in the privately owned industry, establishing high standards of employee safety and welfare.87 Private industry action, however, was stimulated by state intervention. The 1926 Mining Industry Act, as noted in Chapter 1, structured the establishment of pithead baths at more than fifty
collieries in Scotland before the Second World War, including Comrie. These amenities were financed by levies on coal output and royalties paid to landowners. The output levy was reduced by the government, under pressure from mining firms near the bottom of the depression in 1932, from 1d per ton to ½d per ton, and then restored to 1d per ton in better trading conditions in 1938. The fund was centrally administered and disbursed to private companies by the Miners’ Welfare Committee, which was reconstituted as the Miners’ Welfare Commission in 1939, responsible for recreational facilities as well as workplace amenities.

The FCC worked closely with the Miners’ Welfare Committee and its national and district officials when planning Comrie. The blurred boundaries between the private and public ownership eras are further illustrated by subsequent developments. The Miners’ Welfare Committee met more than half the costs associated with the laying of a one-and-a-half mile long drainage pipe at Comrie, along with an enclosed, brick-built cycle storage facility, with capacity for 250 cycles, and the first aid and ambulance room. The construction of the baths, completed in 1942, was funded entirely by the Miners’ Welfare Commission. Payment of their running costs was more complex. A Pithead Baths Management Committee was established in October 1940, with an equal number of employer and employee representatives, although convened by K. H. McNeill of the FCC. Running costs would include wages for a superintendent and two attendants, and were to be met not by the firm or the Miners’ Welfare Commission, but by a weekly levy on each miner employed at the pit. This was the general approach to the funding of welfare running costs, which meant that miners were usually contributing more each year in total than the owners were paying through the royalties levy. The New Mine was silent on this element of welfare expansion: workers were self-funding an important element of the improvement. When it emerged that the workers’ levy initially would not meet the total running costs of the Comrie baths, Charles Reid advanced a loan. This was to be repaid in full by the Baths Management Committee once the colliery was operating at fuller capacity, with sufficient miners employed and paying the levy for the amenity to move into financial surplus.

So the miners had an important role in securing improvement: indirectly, through the industrial struggles that led to the Mining
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Industry Act; and directly, through levies that funded the operational costs of the baths and other facilities. This was an important further element in the miners’ attachment to the idea of nationalisation: their employers were reluctant reformers. The scale of progress by 1941 in Fife and Clackmannan alone, with provision of baths for more than 13,000 mineworkers, with further large facilities at Valleyfield and Comrie close to completion also, is set out in Table 2.3. A number of these facilities employed women surface workers, sorting and cleaning coal. Each of the installations was financed by the Miners’ Welfare Committee and Commission.

Herbert Morrison, Deputy Prime Minister, who helped to design and implement the Labour government’s broader programme of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colliery</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number of Workers</th>
<th>Private Owner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Completed</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blairhall</td>
<td>6 March 1930</td>
<td>1,056</td>
<td>Coltness Iron Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lochhead</td>
<td>16 August 1930</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>Wemyss Coal Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devon</td>
<td>11 February 1931</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>Alloa Coal Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frances</td>
<td>3 October 1931</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>Fife Coal Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumphinnans</td>
<td>29 April 1933</td>
<td>608</td>
<td>FCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aitken</td>
<td>25 August 1934</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>FCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minto</td>
<td>14 March 1935</td>
<td>940 men, 64 women</td>
<td>Lochgelly Iron &amp; Coal Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27 February 1937</td>
<td>2,552 men, 96 women</td>
<td>WCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowhill</td>
<td>30 July 1938</td>
<td>1,512 men, 26 women</td>
<td>FCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellesley</td>
<td>6 April 1940</td>
<td>1,800 men, 36 women</td>
<td>WCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glencairg</td>
<td>4 October 1941</td>
<td>1,300</td>
<td>Wilsons &amp; Clyde Coal Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Under Construction</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comrie</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,008</td>
<td>FCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valleyfield</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,008</td>
<td>FCC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NRS, CB 3/178, Miners Welfare Fund: Fife, Clackmannan, Kinross and Sutherland, Annual Report, 1941
nationalisation, visited Comrie in September 1946. He was hosted by William Reid, then a senior manager at the FCC, and accompanied by Joe Westwood, Secretary of State for Scotland, who was a former Fife miner. Nationalisation of coal was just three months away, and Morrison related his optimism about the future to the progressive productive and welfare amenities that were on display at Comrie. ‘If I had not seen it’, he was reported as saying, ‘I would almost think it was a vision, a painting of fifty years hence under nationalisation’. Some journalists, critical of Morrison and the Labour government from a free enterprise perspective, filed reports emphasising Comrie’s virtues as a triumph of private ownership. Why, they asked, was Morrison so blind to this that he was contemplating the nationalisation of iron and steel along with coal? Such criticism overlooked the role of collective action in improving this aspect of coalfield security. It was the combination of workforce pressure and state legislation that produced the Miners’ Welfare Committee and Commission, and the related compulsion on private owners to invest in new facilities. Nationalisation continued this trend from 1947, with public enterprise making good the limited legacy of private ownership.

Conclusion

Changes in communities and collieries reinforced the broader tendency to greater security in the coalfields. Communities were subject to substantial divisions of class and gender. After nationalisation – and perhaps because of the erosion of coal industry employment – they became socially more cohesive. A key long-term factor was the diversification of the coalfield economy, with new industries bringing a widening range of opportunities for women. Gender divisions gradually became less stark. This theme is examined in greater detail in Chapter 7. Communities were also affected by migration, which was a difficult process. The importance of place within the coalfields was under-estimated by policy-makers, a theme explored further in Chapter 4. Relatively few miners accepted various NCB offers to transfer long-distance from Scotland to the expanding areas of Yorkshire and the East Midlands in England. There was greater take-up of transfers within Scotland, chiefly from Lanarkshire to the Lothians,
Clackmannan and Fife. Security was amplified in all communities by the growth of public ownership of homes. The linkage between employment and housing tenure was largely removed. This was a victory for miners, rooted in personal and communal memory of the 1920s and 1930s, where whole families of workplace union activists were forced from their homes, vindictively punished by recalcitrant employers. The structure of housing ownership in the coalfields after nationalisation was distinct in Scotland, with local authorities assuming the largest share, and the NCB’s role negligible. Re-housing, buttressed by secure local authority tenure, was a major factor in the social improvement won by miners and their families in the twentieth century.

At workplace level the trend to greater security was also contested, and hard won. There were continuities from private to public ownership. The Village Pits established by bigger private firms prior to the First World War were redeveloped by the NCB and remained an important part of the industry’s productive capacity in the 1970s. New Mines in the 1920s and 1930s pioneered more efficient mining methods, and were accompanied by significantly enhanced welfare amenities. But these, continuing the theme of gradual change that was developed in Chapter 1, were secured from policy-makers pressed into action by trade union pressure, and workers contributed directly to their operation through levies on their wages. The expanded role of public enterprise and legislation after the Second World War was anticipated in the coordinating role of the Miners’ Welfare Committee and then Commission, guiding collective action in improving amenity before nationalisation. The Cosmopolitan Collieries opened by the NCB from the late 1950s represented a further advance in the scale and methods of production, but came at a cost to communities that lost their local pits, with miners compelled to travel greater distances to work. Expectations of future security and stability were encouraged, however, enabling workers to accept this cost. So the process of restructuring was broadly reflective of workforce and community concerns. This, to reiterate, was the outcome of the interactive relationship between the priorities of policy-makers and workers in the coalfields. The miners’ moral economy expectations were raised by the state’s pursuit of full employment and social security from the 1940s onwards.
Miners asserted their expectations as rights: to be consulted when changes were being considered; and to be protected when pits were closed, offered new jobs at other pits, within daily travelling distance, or employment in industrial alternatives established in their localities via regional policy. Restructuring was accepted so far as it improved the economic and social security of the coalfields.

Notes
29. David Hamilton, Interview with Author, Dalkeith, 30 September 2009.
38. NRS, CB 346/5/5, NCB, SNA, Colliery Closure, Manpower Department Category: Face Worker, List of men given notice with addresses and dates of birth, no date, presumed January 1970.
39. NRS, CB 51/4, National Coal Board, Scottish Division, Alloa Area, Places of Work and Residence of Mineworkers and NCB Industrial Workers at 28 November 1964.
40. NRS, CB 51/4, NCB, Scottish Division, Lothians Area, Places of Work and Residence of Mineworkers and NCB Industrial Workers as at 4 December 1965.
41. NRS, CB 51/4, NCB, Scottish Division, Central Area, Places of Work and Residence of Mineworkers and Industrial Workers as at 28 November 1964.
42. Iain Chalmers, Interview with Author, Cowdenbeath, 30 July 2009.
43. TNA, COAL 101/488, Melanby Lee, A paper for consideration by the Scottish Area Monday and Friday Absence Committee, 8 August 1973.
44. Goldthorpe, Lockwood, Bechhofer and Platt, *Affluent Worker: industrial attitudes and behaviour*.

45. Willie Clarke, Interview with Author, Ballingry, 13 November 2009.


49. TNA, COAL 26/598, Macdonald, 'Scottish Special Housing Association', 7 October 1952.


54. NRS, CB 353/3/1, William Page, Secretary, Mary Consultative Committee, to Mr Gough, NCB Scottish Division, Assistant Surface Estates Manager, 20 September 1960.


56. Personal information supplied by Roma French, a friend of the author, who worked as a teacher in Gillesbie in the 1990s.


66. NRS, CB 51/4, National Coal Board, Scottish Division, Alloa Area, Places of Work and Residence of Mineworkers and NCB Industrial Workers at 28 November 1964.
78. NRS, CB 260/14/1, NCB Scottish North Area, Proposed Schedule of Buildings to be Demolished at Michael Colliery, May 1968.
81. NRS, CB 360/21/1, NCB, SNA, Michael Colliery: Brief Report on Future Prospects, 18 September 1967.
82. NRS, CB 360/29/2, NCB, Scottish Division, Finance Department, ‘Michael Reorganisation Project – Comparative Figures for 1970–71’, no date but presumed 1965.
83. TNA, POWE 52/113, Department for Economic Affairs, Working Group on Regional Implications of Fuel Policy and Natural Gas (RIFP). Possible Reductions in Employment Opportunities through Colliery Closures, Note by the Secretary, A. J. Surrey, 30 May 1967.
88. McKean, Scottish Thirties, p. 117.
90. Griffin, ‘Not just a case of baths, canteens and rehabilitation centres’, p. 266.
91. NRS, CB 3/177, C. Augustus Carlow to J. A. Dempster, Chief Architect, Miners’ Welfare Committee, 10 June 1935.
92. NRS, CB 3/176, A. R. Cook, Secretary, Miners Welfare Committee, to FCC, 12 July 1938.
93. Duncan, Mineworkers, p. 211.
95. NRS, CB 3/178, Comrie Colliery Pithead Baths Management Committee. Minutes of Inaugural Meeting, 10 October 1940; K. H. McNeill to McArthur, FCC Secretary, 23 October 1940; McArthur to McNeill, 9 November 1940; Charles Reid to McArthur, 15 November 1940.
96. NRS, CB 65/21, Comrie Colliery 1940–1980. 40 Years of Coal, preface by T. Clark, Colliery General Manager; and CB 3/179, various un-labelled press clippings, September 1946.