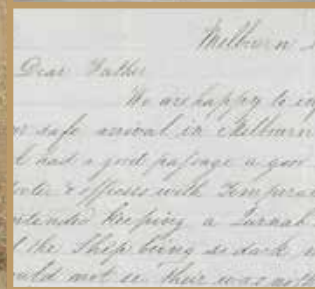
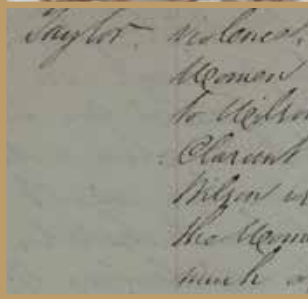


# SCOTTISH WOMEN

## A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY, 1780-1914

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

The part played by women in Scottish political, economic, social and cultural life has been the focus of historical research for several decades, and the volume of work in this field continues to grow. As elsewhere in Britain, the women's movement, which emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s, facilitated the emergence of feminist historical scholarship, with works on Scottish women's history beginning to appear from the 1980s onwards.<sup>1</sup> There were, of course, prior to this period historians who had demonstrated an interest in women's lives,<sup>2</sup> while various schools of historical writing have shed light on women's lives without necessarily having a primary focus on either women or gender relations as such. It is, however, the work inspired by late twentieth-century feminism that has shaped the key debates, definitions and terms of analysis of women's and gender history. This volume of extracts from primary source documents has arisen from our participation in Women's History Scotland,<sup>3</sup> and builds on our own work on women's and gender history. It complements *Gender in Scottish History* (2006) and the *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* (2006),<sup>4</sup> and we hope that, as an additional tool for students and researchers, it will also stimulate further research. As others have noted, there is a distinction to be made between women's history and gender history:<sup>5</sup> the former may be broadly characterised as focusing on the nature of women's lives and role in society and aiming to put women 'in the picture'; the latter focuses on the negotiation of gender roles, the contested nature of gender relations, and the social construction of gendered identities. Despite controversies among feminist scholars on the relative value of these different approaches, they need not be seen as mutually exclusive, rather as forming complementary and overlapping areas of study. This volume, a 'documentary' history of Scottish women, perhaps falls more readily into the category of women's history than gender history, though the sources selected for inclusion permit many different usages by historians.

The period covered in this volume, the 'long nineteenth century', defined here as 1780 to 1914,<sup>6</sup> has perhaps been the most favoured by historians of women in Scotland, though there have also been developments in women's history in the medieval and early modern periods, and in the twentieth century.<sup>7</sup> The

scholarship of recent decades has broken new ground in our understanding of the nature of women's lives in Scotland, and has challenged widely held assumptions about the nature of gender roles, their degree of rigidity and, in particular, the idea of women's confinement to domesticity and motherhood so beloved of the purveyors of Victorian domestic ideology. Indeed, the desire to challenge this ideological construction by demonstrating the presence of women in economic, political and public life was the fundamental impulse initially driving women's history in Scotland, and this is reflected in the variable attention that has been paid to other aspects of women's lives. The economic, social and cultural transformations of the long nineteenth century were all gendered in some way: for example, in the ways in which gender divisions of labour were shaped or the ways in which gender power relations manifested themselves in institutional and associational life. Women were active participants in these transformations, if not necessarily equal ones; as yet, our knowledge of the part they played remains incomplete.

### **Women's bodies**

Taking as our starting point women's experiences as embodied individuals, with physical and sexual lives, it is notable that this remains an under-researched area outside investigations with a medical focus. There is little research on how women approached the maintenance of their health, how they dealt with the typical events of female physiology – from menstruation to childbirth – or how they reacted to illness and treatments for physical and for mental conditions. In particular, finding women's own voices and testimonies in this sphere has often proved challenging. There are, of course, hospital and other institutional and statistical records that give information about typical patterns of infant and maternal mortality, life expectancy, incidence of diseases and so on. To date, much of what has been written on what might be broadly termed 'women's health' issues in nineteenth-century Scotland has tended to focus on health professions and the changing positions of women and men within these. New 'scientific' knowledge about women's bodies informing medical practice in obstetrics and gynaecology was very much a male preserve, and this 'science' itself served to construct ideas of female and male roles.<sup>8</sup> The consolidation of the professional status of male doctors marginalised female and working-class practitioners of traditional methods of healing and homeopathy. While men may have laid claim to scientific knowledge and progress in this period, women were not wholly absent from scientific study as Yeo has indicated, pointing out that this is an area in which further research is much needed. By the late nineteenth century, women had established themselves within medical and related professions, though their roles remained constrained and conditioned by gender inequalities and the ideology of woman as 'helpmeet' of man.

There were books on women's physiology and health, and books of guidance for married women. These, however, tended to be written by men, often doctors or professors of medicine.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, there were certain aspects of physical experience, particularly those dealing with sex, that were not talked about in respectable society and where guidance given was often in euphemistic terms or in a language that contemporary historians must make an effort to decode. Within the sphere of sexual experience, it is particularly hard to come by any direct testimonies from women; one reason why the Madeleine Smith‡ case is so fascinating is the implication, albeit in euphemism, that the unmarried Madeleine had a sexual relationship with her doomed lover, Emile l'Angelier.<sup>10</sup>

For married women multiple pregnancies and frequent childbirth were the common experience. Furthermore, pregnancy among single women was also a common enough occurrence, though its incidence varied a great deal across Scotland.<sup>11</sup> Both the toll taken on married women by childbearing and the stigma of illegitimacy for unmarried mothers must have given incentives to women to seek remedies against pregnancy or methods of getting rid of the baby (and, indeed, kirk session records and court cases testify to this, albeit inevitably only in circumstances where the attempts were unsuccessful). This was likely to have involved a combination of methods communicated by midwives, folk remedies and treatments, and quack medicines that were widely advertised in newspapers. Demographers have noted declining fertility in the later nineteenth century, beginning among the middle classes and later being observable among the working classes. To what extent there was active practice of contraception has been, however, a matter of historical debate. Debbie Kemmer's study of declining fertility among the Edinburgh middle classes in the late nineteenth century has argued that abstinence from sexual intercourse is the most convincing explanation for this.<sup>12</sup>

Women's sexuality was often deemed to be threatening, a force that must be controlled whether by the activities of the kirk session, or by legal means. As Mitchison and Leneman have argued, 'The Scottish Church in the early modern period displayed extreme distaste for physical intimacy between the sexes', and this legacy continued to make itself felt in later centuries: 'In the nineteenth century the middle class held to a puritanical outlook on sexual matters, and regarded extra-marital sexual activity as the clearest indicator of the moral state of society'.<sup>13</sup> Such views underpinned various philanthropic endeavours, and informed discourses concerning responses to social change and social problems. Middle-class women do not appear to have been any more forgiving than their male counterparts of women who were 'debased' by their sexual appetites, and perhaps were less so, given that they had some sense of the male double standards at work, as is evidenced by debates around the regulation of prostitution.<sup>14</sup> Middle-class women did not always adhere to the moral standards in which they professed to believe, however. Cases where this might have come to light, such

as Madeleine Smith's sexual liaison, appear few and were apt to provoke scandal. While it is impossible to get at the range of sexual practices that might have characterised nineteenth-century life, popular broadsides, scandal sheets and pornographic writing may be indicative both of different sexual orientations and diverse sexual practices.

### **Women at home**

It has been a central aim of feminist historians to challenge the view that Victorian 'domestic ideology' reflected the real lives and experiences of women. Thus, such public arenas as the world of waged work, politics, protest and associational life have been a dominant focus within their work. Indeed, reaction to the view that the study of women's history must lie in the scrutiny of family life has meant that, until recently, this area of investigation has been relatively neglected in Scottish women's history,<sup>15</sup> although studies of Scotland's changing demography have provided many insights about patterns of family formation, fertility and so on.<sup>16</sup> As Gordon has argued, despite the frequently articulated ideas about gender roles within the family, appropriate behaviour for wives, and so on, there was often a blurring of gender boundaries of authority and function, depending on particular family circumstances and the nature of economic contributions within the family.<sup>17</sup> In many parts of Scotland women made a contribution to the family economy through earning wages, household production and 'self-provisioning'. At the same time, there was not the complete separation of home and work that has often been assumed. This was true not just of subsistence farming communities but held for other classes, such as small retailers operating from their homes and professionals such as general practitioners and pharmacists. Nor was there a rigid division between work and family life for those engaged in business; entertaining business associates at home was part and parcel of Victorian life, and marriages often consolidated links between families that did business together, or facilitated the retention or accumulation of property and wealth. In working-class communities extended family networks often provided support in hard times, or help with childcare, as well as a focus for socialising. Strongly bonded communities and support networks were also characteristic of migrant and immigrant groups. In sum, the idea of the privatised nuclear family, with women at home and men at work, as the prevalent mode of household organisation does not stand up to scrutiny. Women did, however, have a major responsibility for nurturing and rearing children and for household duties. Men's role within the family has been neglected by historians; recent research has undermined the stereotype of the stern and remote Victorian paterfamilias.<sup>18</sup>

While the law reinforced patriarchal power within marriage, permitting marital violence to some degree, by the early nineteenth century brutal husbands were subject to greater censure. Wife-beating was still prevalent, however, and

legal penalties sometimes very lenient although women were sometimes in a position to turn to their communities for support in the administration of 'rough justice'.<sup>19</sup> Divorce rates in Scotland were extremely low in the nineteenth century; women as well as men could have recourse to divorce. The divorce rate rose after the passage of the Married Women's Property Act in 1888, which suggests that economic factors had led some women to remain in marriages they would have preferred to escape. From the late eighteenth century the concept of companionate marriage gained ground and it has been argued that this idea changed women's expectations of marriage. There was, however, some variation in forms of marriage, according to class and perhaps locality, because in Scotland, unlike in England, 'irregular' marriage was still valid until 1939.

There were, of course, changing discourses of gender roles and of women's domestic role. Prescriptive literature on how to perform housewifely duties was an endemic feature of the nineteenth century. To what extent the prevalence of such literature was an indication of women's resistance to playing the expected role, or a reflection of how women lived, is not always easy to distinguish but many twentieth-century historians seem to have accepted nineteenth-century prescription as fact instead of the wishful thinking it often was. Women's public role was much more extensive than was previously believed, not just through participation in religious, philanthropic or public life but, as Gordon and Nair have shown, in their participation in social entertainments, in educational and leisure activities, and as consumers in the new urban environments of nineteenth-century Scotland.<sup>20</sup> Thus, even the classically domestic role of household management did not necessarily imply confinement in the home nor sheltered domesticity on which the outside world did not impinge.

One of the most dramatic transformations which took place in nineteenth-century Scotland was rapid urbanisation. As industrialisation shaped local economies in varying ways, it also generated new forms of distribution and consumption: in particular, in response to the growing purchasing power of the middle classes. Urban development and planning failed to develop in tune with the pace of migration to the cities by men and women in search of employment and a better life, resulting in concentrations of slum dwellings in city centres, sanitation problems, and endemic disease, eventually to be tackled by provision of better water supplies, public health regulations and attempts to improve housing conditions. By the mid-nineteenth century, middle-class suburbs of spacious housing were emerging in the larger towns and cities while some elite groups had town and country residences, and often also London residences (notable among aristocratic and political elites), not necessarily all owned but rented for the season.<sup>21</sup> Working-class housing was by contrast often inadequate to the needs of the families it sheltered. At its worst this constituted the multi-occupied single rooms of city-centre tenements where disease, squalor and abuse were rampant. The quality of such housing varied across Scotland, with Glasgow

notoriously having the worst reputation. Rural housing was perhaps characterised by an even greater variation of quality of living conditions, from the castles of the landed gentry to the 'blackhouses' of the Western Isles.

Habits of consumption in nineteenth-century Scotland have been a relatively neglected area of historical research,<sup>22</sup> and the status of women's consumerism in respect of the home merits more attention. The nineteenth century gave birth to a domestic consumerism that was very much a part of the wider economy and had a public profile.<sup>23</sup> This particular consumer culture configured the home as a female-managed space that was outside of the formal productive economy,<sup>24</sup> with a consequent loss of prestige to women's status as housewives and to domestic work itself.<sup>25</sup>

### **Women's economic activity**

Women and children's labour appears to have played a more important part in the industrial revolution in Scotland than it did in England.<sup>26</sup> Textiles comprised the most significant sector in the earlier phase of rapid industrialisation of Scotland and became increasingly feminised in the nineteenth century. Until 1842 women and children worked underground in coal mines but, subsequently, heavy labour in the coal-mining, iron and steel industries was to become a male preserve. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the majority of the Scottish population lived in rural areas and women's labour was as essential to agriculture as it was to fishing.<sup>27</sup> Women's role in agricultural labour was subject to much regional variation though, by the end of the nineteenth century, there was a generally debated problem of shortage of female labour in agriculture.<sup>28</sup> In the later nineteenth century, new forms of employment, including domestic service and shopwork, attracted women away from the land.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, domestic service was an important form of employment for women throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth.

Typically, women were paid less than men and this provided an incentive for employers to use women's labour to undercut men's wages, a source of contention among the working class. Demands for equal pay were articulated in the nineteenth century but were not widely supported by women workers whose circumstances might lead them to privilege family or community solidarity over gender equality or who may themselves have supported the idea of the 'family wage', a wage for the male breadwinner sufficient to support himself, his wife and family.<sup>30</sup> Certainly, this became an aspiration for certain sections of the working class, and a reality for some, if always a minority. It is likely, however, that many married women undertook paid work. Official census data tended to underrepresent married women's paid work:<sup>31</sup> evidence concerning the sweated trades and homeworking has indicated that much of this type of work was undertaken by married women.<sup>32</sup>

The extent to which middle-class women were involved in earning a living or otherwise gaining an independent income through inheritance, investment, or renting out property, for example, has been little investigated apart from women's entry into professions. In Victorian Glasgow, for example, a considerable proportion of women, however, were heads of households earning an income by a variety of means.<sup>33</sup> Work on eighteenth-century Edinburgh has indicated the role of women in business and commerce,<sup>34</sup> and it is likely that there were continuities from this earlier period though there has been little research on women in business in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Stana Nenadic's study of small family firms and of garment trades demonstrated that, in the later nineteenth century, not only were women active within these business sectors but many had lifelong careers in business.<sup>35</sup> In 1891, women made up 10 per cent of all commercial employers in Edinburgh and 20 per cent in Glasgow.<sup>36</sup> Typically, women's businesses were in the food and accommodation trades, dress-making and millinery but women were also active in other sectors: for example, in Edinburgh, running lodging houses, stationers, booksellers, and private schools.

The growth of professional opportunities for middle-class women is a better-known story, especially in teaching.<sup>37</sup> For most of the nineteenth century, men comprised the majority of Scottish teachers but, throughout this period, there were also women teachers. The formation of teacher-training institutions in mid-century and regulation of elementary school education by the state from 1872 closed off opportunities for women without formal qualifications but greatly enhanced opportunities for women in teaching generally. This included opportunities for working-class girls through the pupil-teacher system, particularly in Catholic schools which were less well funded than board schools, while the foundation of the first Catholic teacher-training institute in Scotland in 1894, at Dowanhill in Glasgow, led to a better-qualified workforce and greater opportunities for women to enter a respected profession.<sup>38</sup>

Another important area in which women earned a living was that of medicine and health care: as midwives, nurses, doctors and health visitors. Women's traditional role as midwives was both displaced and modified by the encroachment of male doctors who had, by the mid-nineteenth century, consolidated their professional dominance within medical practice.<sup>39</sup> Nursing emerged as the first female profession,<sup>40</sup> while women campaigned to be admitted to medical schools. Edinburgh University was a particular focus of lobbying: Sophia Jex-Blake and her colleagues' campaigns from 1869 onwards are well known, and women's fight for access to medical training has been well documented.<sup>41</sup> Health visiting and school medical inspections also developed around this time. Women's philanthropic efforts, whether concerned with women's health, women's poverty, or moral risks to girls and young women, paved the way for other areas of professional expertise. The deaconesses of the Church of Scotland were trained nurses



or social workers, a significant part of the 'new professionalism of middle-class women'.<sup>42</sup>

### **Women, discipline and the law**

In earlier centuries the Church's influence was pervasive; the structure of Presbyterian institutions facilitated the surveillance and control of behaviour, particularly sexual behaviour. This was especially punitive in its attitudes towards women, as historians of witchcraft in Scotland have shown, and resulted in a criminalisation of women on a large scale for the first time.<sup>43</sup> Although the witchcraft statute was repealed in 1736, popular belief in witchcraft persisted far beyond this, and there were occasional prosecutions for the crime of pretended witchcraft until well into the twentieth century. While the criminalisation of women as witches largely entrapped older women, younger women were criminalised through prosecution for infanticide. The Church's attempts to control fornication led to a focus on illegitimacy and its censure by the kirk sessions, hence, in turn, a motivation for concealment of pregnancy and infanticide.<sup>44</sup> Child murder could incur a capital penalty until the change of statute in 1809 though, by the late eighteenth century, more lenient attitudes were being exhibited by the courts. After 1809, concealment of pregnancy and the death of the child incurred a maximum penalty of two years' imprisonment. Women accused of concealment and/or infanticide were usually unmarried and often domestic servants. Acts of infanticide could be extremely violent and, as Kilday has suggested, could constitute a type of temporary insanity.<sup>45</sup> Abrams's study of infanticide in Shetland has also focused on the distressed psychological condition of such women.<sup>46</sup>

Nineteenth-century urbanisation brought with it new patterns of crime, significantly gendered, as earlier and later, both in that there were some crimes specific to women and some to men, while crimes committed by either sex exhibited a gender imbalance in which men were far more likely to commit offences. Within cities the female crimes which engendered most debate were those associated with prostitution, about the extent and character of which there was a series of moral panics.<sup>47</sup> Despite Mahood's pioneering work, women's interaction with the law in nineteenth-century Scotland has remained relatively neglected. Ongoing research, however, is now addressing themes such as infanticide, prosecutions of women in local police courts, gender and murder, and prostitution in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>48</sup> Work on the latter theme indicates the continuing attempts of police forces to restrain and control prostitution and the ways in which women exploited the changing nature of urban life to practise their trade.<sup>49</sup>

Urbanisation also facilitated opportunities for theft and robbery; women were both perpetrators of such crimes and accomplices of men.<sup>50</sup> The increased mobility fostered by industrialisation and urbanisation provoked concerns about

vagrancy and about distribution of responsibility for the poor. Civic and political leaders responded by developing systems of policing, eventually put in place across Scotland.<sup>51</sup> They also legislated to regulate criminal behaviour, while new forms of penal institution were developed, as elsewhere in Britain.<sup>52</sup> Another emerging urban concern was juvenile delinquency, addressed by reformatories and industrial schools both for boys and for girls, the latter being established under the Industrial Schools Act 1854.<sup>53</sup> Further Acts on industrial schools and truancy extended the range of interventions designed to reform or protect working-class children. Conceptions of appropriate gender behaviours informed these interventions, managing girls' sexuality more closely than that of boys, although institutions also provided a place of safety for some girls at risk of abuse at home.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, penalties could be extremely harsh, even for minor crimes. In this period, one method of punishment applied throughout Britain was transportation.<sup>54</sup> The majority of women convicts were sentenced for theft, usually as persistent offenders. After serving out their sentences, some were able to overcome past misfortunes and find a family life and means of earning a living within the law.<sup>55</sup> Reform of the law and of the penal system ended transportation and reduced the severity of penalties overall. The Prison Acts of 1835 and 1839 created a new structure for the administration of prisons; new prisons were built, including a General Prison in Perth, housing women as well as men; all prisoners sentenced to nine months or more were taken there. Throughout the nineteenth century, women represented a substantial proportion of the Scottish prison population though the vast majority had short sentences for petty crimes.<sup>56</sup> Typical crimes were petty theft, prostitution-related offences, and offences against public order, such as drunkenness, obscene language, breach of the peace and causing a nuisance. A fundamental factor resulting in women's imprisonment was their poverty.

### Religious life

By the late eighteenth century kirk sessions no longer had the capacity to regulate moral behaviour throughout urban society. Many philanthropic organisations emerging at this time, however, were imbued with much the same belief in the necessity of policing morals and rescuing sinners.<sup>57</sup> The religious beliefs underpinning such philanthropic activity are well illustrated in Magdalene Asylum reports; descriptions of their institutional regimes also illustrate the importance attached to religion as a means of rescue and reform. For all their benevolent aims, these involved strict control and surveillance, and it is plausible to argue that the legacy of the kirk sessions was manifest in such institutional regulations.

Evangelical fervour made its mark in Scotland in the nineteenth century,

a period riven with Presbyterian dissension, most notably the Disruption of 1843, over the right of congregations to call their own ministers, and larger questions of religious freedom from state interference. Around the same time, following Roman Catholic emancipation in 1829, there was an expansion of religious communities engaged in social mission and, in 1878, the Scottish Catholic hierarchy was restored. An increasingly complex religious landscape included a growing Catholic Church, three main Presbyterian denominations, many dissenting churches, the Scottish Episcopal Church, and various revivalist groupings and sects. Protestant sectarianism and Orangeism were also distinctive features of lowland urban communities. Jewish congregations were founded in Edinburgh and Glasgow in the early decades of the nineteenth century; as a result of immigration from Eastern Europe, the Jewish population in Scotland had grown to around eight thousand by 1905.

Callum Brown has noted that the sense of 'Christian belonging' in Scotland has been particularly important for women, the majority of church attenders throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>58</sup> Despite this, much of the history of the nineteenth-century kirk has been gender blind, often focusing on Presbyterian factionalism. The history of religion in Scotland in this period has been dominated by Presbyterianism, the religion embraced by the majority; this volume reflects this tendency. In this period, however, the Roman Catholic Church was to experience a growing membership, largely through immigration from Ireland.<sup>59</sup> By the later nineteenth century, Catholic institutions for women, or involving women, became more common, in particular in the developing Catholic schools.<sup>60</sup> By the end of the century, other faiths, such as Jewish communities, were finding a place in Scotland while a small minority of Scots turned towards Eastern spiritual influences, represented by theosophy and the Baha'i movement. There was also a persistence of folk beliefs, especially perhaps in the Highlands and Islands, such as healing, customs surrounding childbirth, marriage and so on. Such religious affiliations and beliefs merit more research, as do the nature of individuals' private religious and devotional lives which have been overshadowed by institutional histories.

Religious conviction was for some the basis for their choices in life, such as becoming a nun, a missionary, a deaconess, or other form of dedication to a religious life.<sup>61</sup> Women's engagement in the institutional life of the churches was also significant, as members of congregations, Sunday school teachers, fundraisers for foreign and home missions, or as volunteers in outreach and philanthropic work. Their awareness of their role led them to contest the gendered power hierarchies of Church structures, seeking more formal recognition as, for example, the Church of Scotland's creation of deaconesses and the Woman's Guild indicates.<sup>62</sup> Within the Catholic Church sisters and nuns regularly asserted their authority in the realm of education when confronted by male clergy.<sup>63</sup>

### Politics and the public sphere

The idea that, in the nineteenth century, women were excluded from public life has been consistently challenged over several decades by work encompassing women and the Enlightenment, women workers and the labour movement, the women's suffrage movement, and the often parallel public lives of middle-class women and men in the Victorian period.<sup>64</sup> Feminist scholarship has led to reconsideration of what might be defined as 'political', extending this concept beyond the sphere of institutional and party politics, to forms of protest, and activities within the public sphere, such as membership of voluntary societies.<sup>65</sup> While using this broader concept of the political, it is worth noting that women were not wholly absent from political parties and movements even in earlier periods than the nineteenth century. For example, aristocratic women often had explicit political affiliations, and exercised their power of patronage in securing support for those they favoured. Many women were among the supporters of the Jacobite rebellions, and among those, with other members of their families, who suffered as a result. Women also participated in popular protests, as Kenneth Logue, an early adopter of a gender perspective, has shown.<sup>66</sup>

In the Enlightenment period, while there seem to have been no bluestocking circles or women's salons in Scotland, women participated in literary circles and social gatherings where events and ideas were debated. The anti-slavery movement, in which women's involvement became increasingly visible over time, was a feature of Scottish civic life from the late eighteenth century until the late 1860s, focusing firstly on abolition of the slave trade, then on the abolition of slavery in British possessions, and subsequently on the abolition of slavery in the United States.<sup>67</sup> As elsewhere, the anti-slavery movement prepared the ground for the development of the women's movement in Scotland. The temperance movement of the later nineteenth century also attracted much support from women.<sup>68</sup> The women's suffrage campaign, as such, emerged in the late 1860s at the time of the Reform Acts which extended the franchise further but which, despite John Stuart Mill's attempts, did not include women. By the end of the nineteenth century the campaign for women's suffrage had become a mass movement, predominantly middle class but with some working-class support. Earlier movements, such as Owenite socialism and Chartism, attracted working-class women but, generally, it was difficult for them to create durable organisations until the late nineteenth century. They did, however, take part in strikes and protests and joined trade unions, with women's union membership growing rapidly in the late nineteenth century when determined efforts were made across Britain to organise women workers.<sup>69</sup> By the late nineteenth century, too, women were increasingly joining political parties across the political spectrum.

### **Emigration and empire**

Migration from the country to the towns was one aspect of the mobility of Scots in the nineteenth century; there was also migration south of the border and, most notably, emigration to the United States and across the British Empire. Scottish emigration stands out as particularly high in proportion to its population, greater than for England or Wales, though smaller than for Ireland.<sup>70</sup> Thus, emigration must be counted as one of the major dimensions of nineteenth-century experience. Within this volume, emigration is considered in relation to the British Empire, and thus does not illustrate the American experience.<sup>71</sup> In the earlier part of the century, at least, women were often 'reluctant leavers', emigrating as part of family groups whether as mothers, wives, daughters or sisters,<sup>72</sup> but, by the late nineteenth century, many more unaccompanied women were emigrating to British colonies. This in part reflected the gender imbalance in the population, where there was a 'surplus' of women relative to men, and therefore emigration offered opportunities for employment, marriage, or both. McCarthy has commented that this topic merits more research which might shed light on the extent to which marriage or work was more salient as an explanatory factor in Scottish women's migration.<sup>73</sup>

India, the Caribbean, and dependent colonies in Africa were also destinations for Scots migrants. Among these, many more were likely to have been 'sojourners' rather than settlers, aiming to make a name or fortune abroad and then to return home to Scotland or elsewhere in Britain.<sup>74</sup> As yet there has been little investigation of the role of Scots women in such migrant communities, and the growing literature on Scotland and the British Empire has so far tended to focus on more typically male experiences and career patterns. Yet Scots men making their careers in Empire were often accompanied by wives and daughters, some of whom documented their experiences in letters and journals or published writings about these. A number of women also published accounts of their travels in the Empire (and elsewhere) and their observations on the peoples and cultures they encountered. These included women missionaries, journalists and those who made a name as 'travellers', as such, with accounts of this kind becoming more common in the later nineteenth century as technological changes in transport made long journeys both cheaper and easier.

As yet the burgeoning literature on gender and Empire has made little use of Scots experience or case studies. The sources illustrated in this volume indicate, however, that major themes which have dominated this literature are also relevant to an analysis of Scottish participation in Empire: how colonial rule structured gender relations for colonised peoples; the role of Western women within colonial societies in supporting the Imperial regime or as cultural imperialists; the interconnections between home and Empire.<sup>75</sup> As a group of Imperial 'actors', women missionaries have been a focus of interest for feminist historians;

some Scottish women have been included in this work.<sup>76</sup> It is undoubtedly the case that foreign missions captured the imagination of Scottish middle-class women, and to some extent also of working-class women as the examples of Euphemia Sutherland and Mary Slessor show.<sup>77</sup> Integral to the foreign mission movement was a discourse of women's higher status and equality at home compared to their degradation and subjection to men among colonised peoples. This facilitated the emergence of a racialised world-view which underpinned the rising imperialist enthusiasm of the late nineteenth century. Women in Scotland, as elsewhere in Britain, were among those who shared this enthusiasm, whether as supporters of women's emigration, or as members of the Primrose League or the Victoria League.<sup>78</sup>

### Education, arts, literature

This volume has no dedicated chapter on education, as such, but the theme of education surfaces in many places. It has a wider significance for the study of women and gender in Scotland than women's role in teaching referred to above, and is an area in which an important body of work has developed in Scotland. Early studies by Fewell and Paterson and Helen Corr have been developed greatly in the work of Jane McDermid and Lindy Moore, while leading commentators on Scottish education, such as Robert Anderson and Lindsay Paterson, have also addressed the gender dimension of the Scottish educational landscape.<sup>79</sup> This is not intended to imply that there is no further room for research, and indeed, Moore usefully points out where more work is needed while McDermid's comparative study also throws up further possibilities.<sup>80</sup>

Education is, of course, central to the construction of the current volume: the levels of education which girls and women attained were a key factor in their capacity to produce texts of whatever kind though their social and cultural milieux were also crucial in facilitating self-expression through writing. Class remains the most important determinant of the probability of women writing any form of text but the characteristics of their economic, domestic and cultural lives were also significant in shaping desire and opportunity. Indeed, writing itself was to become a means of earning a living for greater numbers of women as the century advanced. In the earlier part of the century, to earn money as a writer was not seen as entirely respectable for a woman but deemed permissible in certain circumstances: for example, where a widowed woman had little other recourse in order to support her family. Alternatively, women might write anonymously, as still happened in the later nineteenth century: writers such as Isabella Fyvie Mayo‡ and Annie S. Swann‡ published novels under male pseudonyms as well as works under their own names. Earlier in the nineteenth century, it was the convention that articles in periodicals, such as *Blackwood's Magazine* and the *Edinburgh Review*, be published anonymously, whether by

male or female authors, and we owe a great debt to the scholarship of indexers of such publications which has enabled us to identify articles by women such as Christian Johnstone.‡<sup>81</sup> There is undoubtedly a lot more writing by women than we know of, some of which it may be possible to identify through further research but of much of which we will regrettably remain ignorant.

As with education, there is no dedicated chapter on women writers or artists. The work of women writers, however, tends to be more accessible than that of other women; they have often been the subject of memoirs, autobiographies, biographies, and critical literary appreciation and histories. Extracts from several well-known women writers are included in this volume but it is their role as social commentators that has determined this selection, and we have not attempted to encompass debates about their literary careers or status or how their work may be read from a gendered or feminist standpoint. With regard to women artists, Janice Helland and Sián Reynolds have already indicated women's involvement in this sphere, and that for some it was a means of earning a living.<sup>82</sup> It seems, however, that women artists writing about their work or art were few and far between. Furthermore, the work of painters, sculptors, jewellers and other craftswomen is best represented visually and understood through analytic tools that reveal artistic qualities and symbolism within the context of artistic production of the time.

### **Locating and interpreting sources**

This volume covers the 'long' nineteenth century from the late eighteenth century to World War I. The focus on this period is partly a reflection of our interests and expertise and partly a reflection of a period in which Scottish women's history has grown substantially over recent decades. Nonetheless, the work of historians of earlier and later periods suggests that there is plenty of scope for further documentary histories, and we hope that, in future, such collections will emerge. The long nineteenth century was a period in which Scottish society, the Scottish economy, the ways in which people lived and the built environment they inhabited underwent significant transformations. In the process, how women lived was also significantly changed, whether by rapid industrialisation and urbanisation, by the emergence of the professional middle classes, by large-scale migration, and by difficult social conditions. For a documentary source book, the period poses certain challenges, not only its length but also the changing nature of print publications and the press over the century. It has been our aim to provide a selection of source extracts that vary in chronology and therefore give some sense of changes over time. For many topics, however, the availability of sources is much better at the end of the nineteenth century than at the beginning. By the late nineteenth century there had been a massive expansion of newspaper, periodical and book publishing, corresponding with the rise in literacy, and many more women were writing for a public readership.

The thematic scope of the book similarly reflects our research interests though we also moved into areas of research that were new to us; and the ideas of others in *Women's History Scotland* helped decide its focus. We have aimed to cover areas of importance to the lives of many women, and to draw attention to some which have previously received little attention. Given the limits of a single volume, it is impossible to be comprehensive in coverage; certain aspects of women's lives and experiences have been given only a brief mention, such as their literary, cultural and artistic lives. Nor have we given much coverage to well-documented episodes of nineteenth-century Scotland, such as women's campaigns for entry into higher education and medicine. Rather, we have tried to avoid over-reliance on well-known historical figures because it is relatively easy for readers to find out about their lives. Where it has been hard to identify writing by women about particular issues, or where contributions to debates were crucial, we have quoted extracts from leading figures, such as feminist activists. It has been our aim, however, to illustrate as extensive a range of women's writings as possible, by women from diverse backgrounds, and to move beyond the articulate middle-class women who have already come to the attention of historians.

Our primary aim has been to give voice to women themselves, across the period, across the geography of Scotland, across class and social background, and across different types of sources. This is distinct from providing a range of sources about women: there are many other types of sources which women did not themselves produce but which provide rich insights into women's lives: for example, census data, statistical accounts, government reports, medical archives, court records, wills and testaments, newspaper advertising and articles, handbills, broadsides, ballads, poetry, and visual imagery of many kinds. We do not claim that women's voices are the only voices that offer deep insights into their lives but they add different dimensions and understandings, and are certainly vital as historical evidence. We would suggest, however, that women's voices, as represented in this volume, have not yet been fully incorporated into the writing of Scottish history. To focus on women's voices emphasises their agency, their reactions to events, and how they sought to shape their lives, from the domestic and private to the public and political. Furthermore, it illustrates their frequent interest in other women and how they lived.

The idea of 'women's voices' is, of course, not unproblematic. Indeed, we have not succeeded in making this a collection uniquely of women's voices: for certain themes we thought important to illustrate, we have been able to identify only male commentators while some texts, which purport to have women authors, may have been authored by men. The book contains extracts from many kinds of source material: letters, private papers, journals and diaries, poems, journal and newspaper articles, official records, court records, parliamentary papers, broadsides and ballads, autobiographies, travel accounts, annual reports of organisations, pamphlets and other ephemera. Most such sources were intended for



public consumption though identifying what kind of public and how extensive is not necessarily easy, whether in terms of print runs or circulation figures or numbers of readers, nor is it possible often to say much about how publications were received. Some sources were probably completely private in character: personal letters intended for only one recipient, private notes or jottings concerned with household management, or private journals. But, even in the case of letters and journals, it can be hard to judge how wide a circulation was intended. Letters written by emigrants to family and friends at home were likely to have been circulated among a wider circle than their immediate recipients while, within organisational settings such as women's foreign mission societies, numerous copies of letters from women missionaries were often made and circulated to groups of supporters across Scotland. Similarly, diaries and journals may have been written purely as a private record, or have served as a place for meditation and reflection, or expression of spiritual and devotional life. Others were clearly written for a readership of one kind or another, whether as a family history to pass on to children or for publication in the press.

Where possible we have tried to find biographical information about authors of sources, and the *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* has been an invaluable resource. But it has not always been possible to track down information about individuals. Sometimes texts are anonymous, and we have had to speculate about the sex of authors; sometimes texts are pseudonymous, and similarly the sex of the author is a matter for speculation. Furthermore, the widespread practice of anonymous publishing in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century has no doubt served to obscure women writers. While indexes to nineteenth-century periodicals have assisted in identifying articles written by women, there are probably many more articles by women that remain unidentified. By the late nineteenth century, women journalists were named as authors: for example, Marie Imandt and Bessie Maxwell who wrote for D. C. Thomson publications. It appears that D. C. Thomson were early employers of women journalists, and were well aware of their popularity with women readers. Women's contributions to nineteenth-century journalism is thus an area that merits more research.

Most of the texts quoted in this volume represent 'women's voices' either as directly authored texts or in the form of testimonies by women within official reports, such as parliamentary commissions, legal records such as precognitions, witness depositions, or reported speech in newspapers, extracts from letters or minutes quoted in organisational reports written by male authors, and so on. Each of these forms of text is governed by its own codes and conventions, whether the formal legal discourse of the courts, or the selection of quotations for presentational purposes for charitable organisations, or the aim of writing good journalistic copy, all factors that need to be taken into account in offering interpretations. Furthermore, most of the extracts we have quoted are in standard English. There are some divergences from this, such as the misspellings, or

contractions, occurring in letters. More importantly, there are some examples of texts in Scots, and some in Gaelic, if regrettably few in number. This results partly from the fact that few literary and cultural sources have been included in this volume but also, with reference to Gaelic sources, from our own linguistic limitations. It is undoubtedly the case that scrutiny of local newspapers would bring to light many more examples of Scots dialect being spoken and written by women, as examples quoted from the *People's Journal* show.<sup>83</sup> But such speech was also sometimes rendered into standard English for the purposes of publication.

The nature of particular topics and women's class status influenced the likelihood of their writing about them. Social class has proved to be the great dividing line here, and it is often difficult to find the voices of working-class women unmediated by others. It is thus particularly working-class experiences that have been filtered through official investigations, criminal proceedings, reports by concerned observers, or writings by middle-class or male sympathisers or allies. Lower levels of literacy will have been one factor contributing to this but hierarchies of status and power were also at work in subduing women's voices. Testimonies of immigrant groups may also be hard to locate, though the voices of Irish women may be discovered in the archives of religious communities which ran parish schools for girls. Women of Scotland's immigrant Jewish community, already sizeable by the later decades of the nineteenth century, seem to have left little record of their own; first-generation migrants were Yiddish-speaking and, though many learned to speak English, very few could read or write in English.<sup>84</sup>

We have also attempted to bring to the attention of readers source material that is perhaps unfamiliar or not easily located. It has become clear in the process of preparing this book, however, that source material is increasingly becoming available in digitised form, and thus decisions based on ease of availability in libraries and archives are becoming less relevant. We have, however, been guided by the criterion that source material should be available to researchers in the United Kingdom, and in Scotland in particular. This has meant either documentary sources within Scottish archives or material available online; we have indicated in the text where sources are available online though we recognise this is not all public access but may require access through institutions that pay subscriptions to publishers. In the longer term, however, it is likely that more source material of this kind will be available in a digitised form for an increasingly wide public. Material from archives situated outside the United Kingdom has not been included but we recognise that there are many sources held in countries to which Scots emigrated, including the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, and that there will also be sources in southern Asia and Africa where formerly the British Empire held sway. We have aimed to include material that illustrates experience in different parts of Scotland, and this has included archives outwith the central belt. Inevitably, perhaps, the libraries and archives

in Edinburgh and Glasgow were the most used in our research, given our own locations and the location of the National Library and National Archives. There is much to be discovered, however, within local libraries, archives and museums, as well as in privately held papers, and we regard further exploration of these as of great importance.

The process of searching for primary source material has been both challenging and rewarding. The research necessary to familiarise ourselves with the range of sources, and to make selections, has been carried out in our 'spare' time without any funding support. This has imposed limitations on which archives we were able to visit, as well as resulting in a lengthy period of gestation for the collection. The body of historical scholarship on women in Scotland that has emerged since the 1980s has been invaluable in directing our attention to many types of sources that are included here. The rich sources already drawn on in such studies deserve fuller exploitation while there are many more seams yet to be mined. As noted, the *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* has been a much-used handbook in identifying women whose works have provided material for this collection. This project has been a process of continuous discovery and we have often found more source material than we anticipated. Many sources have been encountered by serendipity, turning up gems on one theme when looking for something else, and this has generated some lively correspondence between editors suggesting new sources to include. For some topics we have discovered reams of women's writing yet to be given consideration by historians. Yet, in other areas, the direct testimony of women appears practically non-existent: perhaps, despite our efforts to think of likely locations or forms of expression, we have not yet found the key to this, or perhaps such perspectives really have been lost to history.

The process has also revealed some significant gaps in the literature: some of these have had some coverage but deserve more, while others really stand out as needing investigation. In addressing these, it can be useful to look at what may have been written about other parts of Britain or other countries, as the case may be. While, on the one hand, the Scottish polity in the nineteenth century had distinctive features such as its legal system, religious institutions, and education system, the general trends at work in reconfiguring women's lives were observable elsewhere, whether industrialisation, urbanisation, advances in access to education, changing patterns of consumption, and dominant discourses of gender roles and femininity. The way scholars of English and Irish society, for example, have analysed aspects of women's experience, their thematic frameworks, and their use of sources can all provide models to adapt and also the stimulus to investigate the extent to which there were divergences in Scotland. But, perhaps above all, it is further exploration of evidence at a local level that will reveal most about the lives of women in Scotland in this period: in local archives, local organisations and societies, and local newspapers and publications.<sup>85</sup>

### Structure of the book

The introductory sections above have aimed to provide the historiographical context in which the selections of sources should be understood and to comment generally on the challenges and rewards of searching for women's writings in the archives. The remainder of this introductory chapter consists of brief outlines of each thematic chapter, discussing key themes that extracts address, as well as discussing the types and availability of sources relevant to that theme. As others have found, making selections for a collection of this nature is a challenge: many sources shed light on more than one of our thematic topics and could be placed just as well in one chapter as another. We have had to make decisions based on the overall balance between chapters but have indicated where appropriate that overlapping or related material is contained in another chapter. The order we have chosen for the chapters suggests a movement outwards from the embodied individual through family and work to public actions and their interface with the state and/or institutional life, and finally to the wider public world of politics, the British Empire and movement across international boundaries, but there are in reality no rigid divisions between the thematic areas which have many interconnections.

#### *Chapter 2: Bodies, Sexuality and Health*

The focus of this chapter is on sources that tell us about women's everyday experiences as embodied individuals, about the relationship made between the physical appearance and behaviour of women and their social destinies, and about how the notion that women were prisoners of their reproductive functions affected female opportunities. Across these three themes, sources consist of private papers, letters, diaries, pamphlets, broadsides, periodical and newspaper articles, health records, an advertisement and an example of photography, as well as extracts from published books. These include accounts of women coping with physical and mental illness, advice given to women on issues such as menstruation, childbirth and the menopause, suggestions on sexual relations within marriage as well as warnings about sexual liaisons outside of marriage, discussion of the benefits or otherwise for women of physical and sporting activities, and some aspects of women's lives, such as contraception and abortion, that were deemed especially contentious. Finding women's testimonies and writings in this area has proved demanding, however; some male-authored sources are included where these illuminate typical gendered discourses on the experience of women. Moreover, some sources, which illustrate the rejection of accepted norms of sexual behaviour and which tend to be sensationalist, require careful interpretation.

Debates around appearance and fashion, and physical activities, illustrate dominant discourses of appropriate female behaviour according to social status

and class, but also how these were subverted. The dangerous and threatening nature of women's sexuality is a theme also apparent in some sources. Ideas of what was appropriate sexual behaviour for women served to define boundaries between mental health and illness. Similarly, there were debates about whether, or what kinds of, physical exercise were appropriate for women. This was to become a particularly live issue in the late nineteenth century. There was an ongoing debate about whether women should ride bicycles,<sup>86</sup> while women's golfing also came under scrutiny.<sup>87</sup> There was also a Scottish women's football team in the 1880s.<sup>88</sup>

From the sources quoted, we also gain insight into the treatments that were commonly used for ailments, whether specifically female or otherwise. Folk remedies probably continued to be in widespread use and, while evidence is hard to find, there were, no doubt, common practices that were thought to prevent conception or to procure abortion. Certainly, the sale of such products was widely advertised, albeit in euphemistic language, and their efficacy may be doubted as they did not necessarily have a sound scientific basis. While issues around the body, sexuality, physical and mental health are interrelated, and may fruitfully be examined via medical records and writings of medical practitioners, such accounts are likely to reveal more about ill health and alleged malfunctioning of sexuality than about women's everyday lives. This chapter has extended its reach beyond medical discourse, identifying new perspectives in an area as yet little researched. To investigate issues affecting women's consciousness of their own bodies, sexuality and their well-being, and their continuing role in caring for this in respect of the home, a wide net has been cast; sources included intimate both change and continuity in common views of women's bodies, and suggest that this is a rich seam for further research.

### *Chapter 3: Hearth and Home*

This chapter focuses on women's experience within a variety of household roles and living conditions, examining their responsibilities in the home and advice on how these should be approached, the reality of housing conditions in which they lived, and housework and domestic consumption. The sources consist of letters and personal papers on domestic themes or household management and employment of servants, advice on household management, recipes, cleaning tips and so on, published in handbooks or newspapers, descriptions of how people lived in official documents or reports, court records, and poetry. The sources in this chapter include some authored by men: for example, statutory documents, such as poor relief records. Though these were usually written by male officials and produced with the aim of recording facts, the subjective, gendered views of writers undoubtedly emerged. As first-hand accounts, they often take us behind closed doors and provide intimate glimpses, albeit from particular points of view, of otherwise hidden features in everyday home life for many Scots. Some sources

that were created by women within the privacy of homes have survived, generally buried within family papers; unsurprisingly, the provenance of these tends to lie with women of powerful families whose household records have been deemed valuable to archives. Written sources created by working-class women are much rarer but they can be found, for example, in submissions to the popular press.

Fruitful genres for women's writing in this area are popular literature and manuals of household advice. Such texts had been in existence throughout the eighteenth century and even before but, though prescriptive literature does raise questions about the possible gulf that existed between ideology and practice, during the nineteenth century the gendered discourse of woman as homemaker became so pervasive that it hardly required didactic propaganda. Though, historically, instruction books on domesticity tended to include explicit ideological advice alongside household hints, in the nineteenth century they gradually changed to become more practical in orientation.<sup>89</sup> Such magazines were aimed at a female readership; it has been claimed that they rarely originated in 'provincial centres'.<sup>90</sup> Some periodicals, however, were certainly Scottish in their orientation and particularly attractive to a Scottish female readership, if part of a larger British one. The most enduring of such titles is the *People's Friend*, extracts from which are included.

The maintenance of the home was a task assigned primarily to women, varying in degree of difficulty according to economic circumstances. Housework could be hard and unrelenting for working-class women, whether making ends meet for their own families or in domestic service to the middle and upper classes. The household-management role of women responsible for a retinue of servants could also be demanding though such women would also have had control of their time and leisure activities, unlike those who worked under their command. Advice on how to run a home burgeoned with the expansion of print publications and newspapers while the evolving system of education, which came under state control in 1872, came to place greater emphasis on the acquisition of domestic skills for working-class girls.

The chapter also includes source material on servants. The domestic environment was a key site where class relationships between women were negotiated.<sup>91</sup> Discussions on servants were a perennial feature of the periodical and newspaper press: mistresses had difficulty finding servants or complained about their faults; servants voiced grievances over working conditions and mistresses' behaviour. Domestic service remained a major employment sector for Scottish women throughout the century. Among all formally employed women, the 1901 census gives the figure of 24.3 per cent as being employed specifically as domestic help.<sup>92</sup>

Though in this period there were only two major reforms to the law on marriage – on married women's property and on divorce – the ideology of companionate marriage masked a reality that might encompass dissatisfaction and discontent, an unsatisfactory sexual life, domestic violence and abuse. By

their nature these experiences are difficult to research but a combination of court records, newspaper coverage of divorce cases, and advice given to women unhappy in their marriages is likely to prove revealing. Happy marriages did, no doubt, also exist though it is harder to find plausible representations of these: perhaps, as Tolstoy wrote, in the opening sentence of *Anna Karenina*, this is because happy families are all alike but unhappy families are each unhappy in their own way.

The sources quoted in this chapter are testament both to the pervasiveness of the discourse of Victorian domestic ideology, with its clear definition of gender roles and feminine duties and virtues in home-making, and to the diverse circumstances in which women actually lived which were often in stark contrast to such idealisations. This serves to confirm the disjuncture that often existed between ideal and reality, and noted by feminist historians. Given the dominance and prevalence of such discourses of female domesticity, however, it can be hard to gauge the extent to which ideal and reality differed: further studies reconstructing the everyday lives of women would perhaps conclusively scotch the myth.

#### *Chapter 4: Work and Working Conditions*

This chapter focuses on women's waged work and business activity, their working conditions and reactions to these. The sources consist of: women workers' testimonies contained in official reports or reported in newspapers; women writing about the working lives of other women, whether in an official role such as factory inspector or as social observers; ephemeral literature on women workers' protests; popular satirical material; journal articles; reports of organisations; trade union publications; advertisements; and legal records. This is one thematic area in which there have been challenges in identifying sources written by women on certain topics. Class status is crucial here, with working-class women tending to be represented as witnesses to official enquiries, or in trade union literature which was sometimes authored by men. Furthermore, within the field of business operations, it is hard to find women writing about their experience as entrepreneurs or as partners in family firms but there is a range of sources that can be used to investigate this experience.<sup>93</sup>

This chapter illustrates the experience of working women across a range of sectors: in mining prior to 1842; textiles; agriculture; fishing; domestic service; middle-class professions; business; and commerce. Women and children were prohibited from working underground after the Act of 1842, and thereafter were excluded from heavier industries. Textiles, significant to the first phase of industrialisation in Scotland, remained an important source of employment for women in several parts of Scotland.<sup>94</sup> As Scotland's economy expanded so did demand for domestic servants, and this was to become increasingly important as a source of employment for working-class women. In rural and coastal areas,

women continued to work in agriculture and fishing, as well as in domestic industries that contributed to the household economy. Urban patterns of employment varied across the major cities and included, as well as industrial employment, women's work in business, as entrepreneurs, running shops, boarding houses, and so on, as well as work in the 'sweated trades'.<sup>95</sup>

As far as middle-class women are concerned, it is likely that many more were economically active than has often been allowed, whether as governesses or teachers, earning a living from writing, arts and crafts, running businesses, or taking in lodgers. Certain business and retail sectors in the nineteenth century included significant numbers of women, in particular the clothing trades. Women's entry into the professions is a much better known story and, by the end of the nineteenth century, women had a presence within teaching, medicine and allied professions, and the emerging social work profession, though in some of these areas numbers would have been small. Demographic pressures were among the factors pushing women into employment but the demand for access to the professions was also integral to the campaign for women's political and social rights, as illustrated in Chapter 7. Middle-class women were vocal in demanding such rights and in urging other women to take up professional employment. As opportunities expanded, a place was also provided for middle-class women to take on the role of inspectors or commentators on working conditions more generally, as the examples of Mary Paterson's factory inspections and Margaret Irwin's<sup>‡</sup> reports show. Irwin was a key figure here: a prolific producer of reports on the conditions of working women in several sectors; a leading light of the Scottish Council for Women's Trades: and one of the founders of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, and its first secretary.<sup>96</sup>

Trade unionism was, of course, a part of women's experience in the nineteenth century, and there is evidence of women beginning to organise from the 1830s. Gender was, however, a major fault line within the workforce, with employment typically being segregated into women's and men's jobs, and men resisting any encroachment by women into their areas of employment; this was often a tactic of employers to reduce their labour costs. Given women's lower wages, it was harder for them to find the means to organise unions on the friendly society model that prevailed in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century. Protests about wages and conditions or employers' behaviour were often more spontaneous and rumbustious among women workers than among skilled and organised men. By the end of the nineteenth century, expansion of certain types of employment was also accompanied by expansion of the numbers of women in trade unions, particularly following the creation of general, as distinct from craft, unions. Throughout this period, women's union organisation was often separate from men's, and indeed, bodies such as the National Federation of Women Workers played a key role in bringing women into trade unions in the late nineteenth century.



*Chapter 5: Crime and Punishment, Immorality and Reform*

The focus of this chapter is on four main areas: crime and punishment; women in prison; debates on female immorality; and institutionalisation and reform. It illustrates what were seen as typically 'female' crimes, such as infanticide, how women were penalised for their crimes and changing penal regimes, the idea of female immorality, and how philanthropists and the state sought to regulate and control the behaviour of women. The sources consist of court records, newspaper articles and letters to the press, broadsides and ballads, official reports, reports of philanthropic institutions, prison reports, and commentary by social observers. For this theme, it has proved difficult to come by testimonies of women unmediated by others. While women's voices may be heard in court records, such as precognitions or witness statements, they are presented by others and bound by the formal conventions of the law and systems of administration of justice. From a different perspective, accounts of women's crimes or women criminals were presented in newspaper articles and popular broadsides, similarly bound by their own conventions, such as the desire to titillate with sensational or dramatic accounts of women as murderers, their executions, and so on.

Women seldom committed serious crimes such as murder – then as now. Where women were convicted of murder, this appeared to attract much public attention and sensationalist accounts were circulated in popular broadsides. Mary Timney, an account of whose execution is quoted in this chapter, was in 1862 the last woman to be publicly executed in Scotland (the last public hangings of men in Scotland occurred in 1868). Earlier in the century, transportation had sometimes been the penalty for murder but, generally in the case of women, it was for persistent theft. Prison reform changed the nature of confinement, with separation of women from men, and separation of individual prisoners from one another. Labour regimes for women prisoners involved productive, rather than purely punitive, labour but it could be hard, involving long hours and constant surveillance. With the exception of suffragettes, imprisoned for their militant actions, women's testimonies of imprisonment may be impossible to find or may not exist. It has not been easy either to locate testimonies of women as prison visitors or advocates of reform though some sources commenting on women undertaking these roles are quoted.

There is some evidence of the legacy of earlier times in the treatment of women's crimes: for example, the persistence of the influence of kirk sessions in some areas, especially small communities, and the persistence of belief in witchcraft and occasional prosecution of women for 'pretended' witchcraft. Infanticide and crimes associated with prostitution (which was not in itself illegal) remained the main specifically female crimes. While attitudes towards women who committed infanticide became more sympathetic and legal penalties less heavy, the stigma of illegitimacy remained strong within certain social groups and communities, and levels of illegitimacy were regarded by some as a measure

of women's morality, though not of men's. Concerns about prostitution were a recurrent theme in public debates in the course of the nineteenth century, with various commentators attempting to quantify it, explain the factors giving rise to increased prostitution, and putting forward proposals for its regulation. These debates included consideration of the economic conditions that led to the rise of prostitution in the nineteenth century; it is apparent that prostitution was often resorted to as a temporary expedient by women in low-waged and insecure employment.

The situation of girls and young women who had infringed the dominant sexual morality of the Church and middle classes became the focus for philanthropic activity from the late eighteenth century onwards, as the establishment of the Edinburgh Magdalene Asylum in 1797 indicates. Institutions of this kind were to become common in nineteenth-century Scotland and persisted throughout the course of the century. A further mode of philanthropic intervention was the development of reformatories designed to deal with juvenile delinquency: these became common after the mid-nineteenth century and included provision for girls as well as boys. Problems of public drunkenness had become a matter of much debate by the late nineteenth century, resulting both in legislation inflicting harsher penalties and the establishment of homes for inebriates, including those for women. Thus, regimes of confinement, which aimed to reform the behaviour of certain categories of women and girls, became more extensive over time.

#### *Chapter 6: Religion*

Women's religious life, widely defined, is the focus of this chapter, including religious experiences and devotional life, the place of religion in daily life, women's ministry and mission as expressed in charity, philanthropy, and support for foreign missions, and women's attitudes to church governance. The sources consist of letters, diaries, meditations, memoirs, reminiscences, blessings, hymns and poetry, pamphlets, church periodicals, and newspaper articles. They focus largely on the experience of Presbyterian women but also include sources on Catholic women and other religious faiths and beliefs.

In nineteenth-century Scotland, religion occupied an important place in the lives of many women, particularly those in the upper and middle classes. Regular church attendance was central to the achievement of respectability while many aspects of church activities had an important social function. For some, religious observance was a matter of duty, related to the display of social status, and may not have been accompanied by any deep religious feeling or commitment. For others, however, religious belief underpinned their sense of self and shaped their involvement in charitable, philanthropic and even political causes. Within this chapter, the contribution of religious belief and discipline to the regulation of women's behaviour is less emphasised than in Chapter 5, which indicates how middle-class women believed it was their Christian duty to intervene in and

to oversee the lives of working-class women and girls deemed to have strayed from the straight and narrow. Nonetheless, a morality of self-sacrifice and sexual purity is often apparent within both individual and collective expressions of women's religiosity, whatever the context in which it was articulated. This can be seen both as a system of internalised values governing individual behaviour and as a means of policing the behaviour of others.

This is an area in which there is a great volume of relevant source material, given the high levels of church membership throughout the nineteenth century and the pervasiveness of religious discourses both in private and in public writings. Religious periodical literature provides an extensive record of women's interests and activities related to church membership. As with other forms of literature, it may be hard to identify women's authorship of articles in the earlier decades of the century, and it is notable that causes which were run and supported almost entirely by women may have had male office bearers on their committees or leading ministers as their spokespersons. By the later nineteenth century, however, such periodicals came to be edited by women, to have many articles attributed to women, and to contain letters by women missionaries, and so on. They thus provide a commentary on the emergence of women into more public arenas, a parallel process taking place both in religious and in secular life. As well as the more reflective and spiritual dimension of women's religious life represented by the sources quoted in this chapter, female challenges to male authority are also illustrated, from women's preaching to assertion of a more formally recognised role as deaconesses and the strengthening of women's organisations within church structures. By 1914, women were able to celebrate the first ordination, by a Pentecostalist church, of a woman in Scotland.

#### *Chapter 7: Protest and Politics*

This chapter focuses on protests and campaigns in which women participated, the claims of right they put forward and the arguments they advanced for these, and their activity within political and public life. The sources consist of official records, newspaper reports, women's writings published in journals and pamphlets, poetry, autobiographical writings, organisational reports, and political party papers. Most sources in this chapter were authored by women; inevitably this privileges the voices of middle-class women though working-class women were clearly participants in protests, and in social and political movements, from the popular protests of the late eighteenth century to Chartism, trade unionism, left-wing political organisations, and the emerging co-operative women's guilds of the late nineteenth century. The sources quoted in this chapter illustrate the range of women's public and political activities, broadly defined, and the diversity of their beliefs. They also illustrate the kinds of activities out of which feminist discourses emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and indicate links over time and to other forms of action and discourse.

For the earlier part of the nineteenth century it has been harder to find women writing about politics or about their involvement in associational life than has been the case later in the century. Women are relatively invisible in associational life in the early decades of the 1800s though they were clearly involved in a range of philanthropic societies within the public sphere. Indeed, as sources such as the Magdalene Asylum reports (see Chapter 5) indicate, women were involved in hands-on management of such institutions and their inmates. Political opinions were perhaps more likely to be expressed in private papers or letters, as Jane Rendall's work has shown.<sup>97</sup> The anti-slavery movement, arising in the late eighteenth century, over time attracted many female supporters with female associations first being formed in Scotland around 1830. In this, Scots women were very much like their English sisters, likewise active in anti-slavery campaigns and missionary societies. The anti-slavery movement was closely interconnected with the women's suffrage movement and wider women's movement of the later nineteenth century, as illustrated by various sources in this chapter. Another dimension of women's involvement in public life was their membership of organisations such as the British Women's Temperance Association (Scottish Christian Union). The temperance movement was not only a popular movement, with both middle- and working-class supporters, but it was also closely linked in Scotland to the women's suffrage movement and the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation.<sup>98</sup>

The emergence of the women's suffrage and wider women's movement in Scotland generated a far broader range of source material. This subject has tended to dominate interest in women's political lives, fuelled perhaps by the desire to establish the precursors of late twentieth-century feminism, and to look for exemplars of women's political agency. This has not only left working-class women's actions in the background but has also neglected women's engagement with party politics and the political debates of their times other than those concerning women's rights. As the sources quoted in this chapter indicate, by the late nineteenth century, women were joining political parties or affiliated organisations across the political spectrum. This was facilitated by changes in party organisation and structures that were responding to the extension of the franchise to some sections of working-class men and also to the women's suffrage movement, even if not all parties were yet committed to women's enfranchisement. After the 1872 Education Act, women could stand for school boards; while they remained a small proportion of the total membership of boards across Scotland, some individual women were prominent board members as well as well-known public figures.<sup>99</sup> Also by the late nineteenth century, while still remaining without the parliamentary franchise, women had the vote at municipal elections and could stand for election to parish councils, as indicated by sources illustrating the careers of women such as Lavinia Malcolm‡ and Agnes Husband.‡

*Chapter 8: Empire Experiences and Perspectives*

The final chapter focuses on several aspects of the experience of Scots women in the British Empire: Scots women as emigrants; accounts of colonial life; women's accounts of travelling in various parts of the empire; and varying perspectives on empire and imperial administration. The sources consist of personal letters, papers and journals, memoirs and autobiographical writings, reports of organisations, travel writing published in the form of books, pamphlets, and newspaper articles, and works commenting on various aspects of colonial societies. Emigration apart, it is only relatively recently that historians of Scotland have turned their attention to Scotland's participation in the British Empire, the experience of Scots abroad and the impact of empire at home.<sup>100</sup> Insofar as this work has been gendered, it has tended to concentrate more on male careers and masculinity,<sup>101</sup> and it thus offers much scope for research on women's history.

Historians of emigration have noted the greater difficulty in identifying women's testimony about their experiences or their role in decision-making concerning emigration,<sup>102</sup> and this is borne out, for example, by the small number of letters or other texts by women emigrants in comparison to the substantial volume of material by men, whether letters, papers, pamphlets, or handbooks. The extracts from emigrants' letters and journals quoted in this chapter highlight a number of aspects of the emigrant experience. Emigrants' journeys could be long and hazardous, and even though technological change had significantly reduced journey times by the later nineteenth century, voyages to Australia, for example, could still take weeks and entail risks such as illness and death to which young children were particularly vulnerable. Women emigrants were among the pioneers who built the new colonial societies, with a number of the sources quoted providing accounts of how they did so, the kind of houses they lived in, and how their families earned their livelihoods. This included commenting on agricultural work as well as domestic life, the cost of living and the costs of livestock, the differences in climate and farming practices, and so on. Women's role in contributing to the economic management of the household is clearly in evidence here, and this extended to requesting materials from Scotland if they were not easily or cheaply available in the new homelands. Promotion of women's emigration, in which some Scottish organisations or Scottish branches of British organisations participated, had two primary aims: on the one hand, the placing of poor girls and young women in domestic service; and on the other, the maintenance of good British stock in settler colonies, this being aimed at middle-class women. Most women's migration, however, was like that of men, voluntary and supported by individuals themselves or by family networks.

It is perhaps surprising that, in the texts quoted in Chapter 8, women settlers in Canada, Australia and New Zealand made little reference to the indigenous peoples they encountered, often only passing references if at all. Where they do occur, they tend to reflect both racial stereotyping and a certain amount of

anxiety and fear. In contrast, commentary about the nature of other peoples was prominent in the accounts of women travellers, women missionaries and women resident in the Caribbean, India and Africa. Several of the texts quoted in this chapter articulate racialised discourses that implied the superiority of the Imperial power and its 'civilising' mission, though there is a spectrum of views, from a liberal and benevolent Christian standpoint to a more explicit racism. As has been argued elsewhere, the continuous circulation of such tropes as the 'degradation' of women in India, or the 'primitive' and 'savage' nature of African societies, in particular through missionary literature of various kinds which became more voluminous and popular in the course of the nineteenth century, contributed to the development of the 'scientific racism' that was central to the age of high Imperialism.<sup>103</sup> It is notable, however, that supporters of foreign missions from the early decades of the nineteenth century placed great emphasis on the benefits of female education, insisting that this was essential to improving women's status. The anti-slavery movement, too, was the site of benevolent but racialised discourses. Writings about the position of enslaved women also spoke of their 'degradation', and women activists denounced plantation slavery for denying family life to women. Nonetheless, it tended to be only in the context of anti-slavery writings or writings about women in India that critiques of Imperial governance were voiced.

The accounts of travels quoted in this chapter were published in a variety of forms, and intended for different readerships with different aims. The women whose writings are quoted were mostly resident in colonial territories for part of their lives, sometimes accompanying their husbands, or working there, as in the case of missionary Isabella Plumb, while one of the journals quoted was written by a woman accompanying her sea captain husband on a voyage. The women journalists' 'Round the World Tour' funded by D. C. Thomson of Dundee appears to have been unique as a Scottish journalistic enterprise, and is of particular interest, not just in its depictions of the peoples and societies encountered but in its stress on connections between Dundee, Scotland and Empire, and its offering of practical advice to would-be emigrants.<sup>104</sup> Indeed, what these sources testify to, as do emigrants' letters and journals, missionary letters and literature, is the degree of mobility which characterised the lives of many women in the nineteenth century, their maintenance of connections with the homeland, and their place in networks stretching across and beyond the Empire.

### Notes

1. For example, Glasgow Women's Studies Group, *Uncharted Lives: Extracts from Scottish Women's Experiences, 1850–1982* (Glasgow: Pressgang, 1983); Siân Reynolds, *Britannica's Typesetters: Women Compositors in Edwardian Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989); Eleanor Gordon and Esther

- Breitenbach (eds), *The World is Ill-Divided: Women's Work in Scotland in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990); Linda Mahood, *The Magdalenes: Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1990); Eleanor Gordon, *Women and the Labour Movement in Scotland, 1850–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Esther Breitenbach and Eleanor Gordon (eds), *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society 1800–1945* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992).
2. See Cattriona Macdonald, 'Gender and Nationhood in Modern Scottish Historiography', in T. M. Devine and Jenny Wormald (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 602–19.
  3. Women's History Scotland was founded as the Scottish Women's History Network in 1995 and became Women's History Scotland in 2004. WHS is a membership organisation which, among other things, promotes research into all areas of women's history. See [www.womenshistoryscotland.org/](http://www.womenshistoryscotland.org/)
  4. Lynn Abrams, Eleanor Gordon, Deborah Simonton and Eileen Janes Yeo (eds), *Gender in Scottish History since 1700* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006); Elizabeth Ewan, Sue Innes, Siân Reynolds and Rose Pipes (eds), *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).
  5. See, for example, discussion by Lynn Abrams, 'Introduction: Gendering the Agenda', in Abrams et al., *Gender in Scottish History*, pp. 1–16.
  6. We have included three sources that lie outside our period of 1780–1914: one from the 1760s, one from the 1770s, and one from 1915–16.
  7. See, for example, Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen M. Meikle (eds), *Women in Scotland: c.1100–c.1750* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999) for the earlier period. There are numerous articles and books that cover some parts of the twentieth century but, as yet, no general overview of Scottish women's history in the twentieth century.
  8. Eileen Janes Yeo, 'Medicine, Science and the Body', in Abrams et al., *Gender and Scottish History*, pp. 140–69.
  9. Debbie Kemmer, 'Occupational Expansion, Fertility Decline and Recruitment to the Professions in Scotland 1850–1914' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1989).
  10. Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Murder and Morality in Victorian Britain: the story of Madeleine Smith* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).
  11. Michael Anderson and D. J. Morse, 'The People', in W. Hamish Fraser and R. J. Morris (eds), *People and Society in Scotland*, Vol. 2, pp. 8–45.
  12. Kemmer, 'Occupational Expansion'.
  13. Rosalind Mitchison and Leah Leneman, *Sexuality and Social Control: Scotland, 1660–1780* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 9.
  14. Mahood, *The Magdalenes*.
  15. Eleanor Gordon, 'The Family', in Abrams et al., *Gender in Scottish History*, pp. 235–67.
  16. See, for example, Michael Anderson, 'Population and Family Life', in A. Dickson and J. H. Treble (eds), *People and Society in Scotland*, Vol. 3 (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992), pp. 12–47.

17. Gordon, 'The Family'.
18. Lynn Abrams, "There was nobody like my Daddy": fathers, the family and the marginalisation of men in modern Scotland', in *Scottish Historical Review*, 78: 2 (1999), pp. 219–42.
19. Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1995); Annmarie Hughes, 'The "Non-Criminal" Class: Wife-beating in Scotland (c.1800–1949)', *Crime, Histoire & Societies/Crime, History & Societies*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (2010), pp. 31–54.
20. Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2003).
21. See, for example, Gordon and Nair's depiction of the frequent changes of residence and mix of rented and owned accommodation in use by the Smith family, in *Murder and Morality*.
22. See W. Hamish Fraser, 'Necessities in the Nineteenth Century', in Trevor Griffiths and Graeme Morton (eds), *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1800 to 1900* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 60–88.
23. Judy Giles, *The Parlour and the Suburb: Domestic Identities, Class, Femininity and Modernity* (Oxford: Berg, 2004).
24. Lynn Abrams, *The Making of Modern Woman: Europe 1789–1918* (London: Longman, 2002), pp. 128–37; Deborah Simonton, *A History of European Women's Work: 1700 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1998).
25. See, for example, Ann Oakley, *Housewife* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1974) and *The Sociology of Housework* (London: Robertson, 1974).
26. Christopher Whatley, *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
27. Deborah Simonton, 'Work, Trade and Commerce', in Abrams et al., *Gender in Scottish History*, pp. 199–234. See also, for an example of a community dependent on fishing, Lynn Abrams, *Myth and Materiality in a Woman's World: Shetland 1800–2000* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).
28. T. M. Devine, 'Women workers, 1850–1914', in T. M. Devine (ed.), *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland 1770–1914* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984), pp. 98–123.
29. Lynn Jamieson, 'Rural and Urban Women in Domestic Service', in Gordon and Breitenbach, *The World is Ill-Divided*, pp. 136–57.
30. See, for example, Gordon, *Women and the Labour Movement*; Reynolds, *Britannica's Typesetters*.
31. Gordon, *Women and the Labour Movement*.
32. Alice Albert, 'Fit Work for Women: Sweated Home-workers in Glasgow, c. 1875–1914', in Gordon and Breitenbach, *The World is Ill-Divided*, pp. 158–77.
33. Gordon and Nair, *Public Lives*.
34. Elizabeth Sanderson, *Women and Work in Eighteenth Century Edinburgh* (London: Macmillan Press, 1996).
35. Stana Nenadic, 'The Small Family Firm in Victorian Britain', in *Business History*, Vol. 35, Issue 4 (1993), pp. 86–114; and 'The Social Shaping of Business Behaviour



- in the Nineteenth-Century Women's Garment Trades', in *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (spring, 1998), pp. 625–45.
36. Nenadic, 'Social Shaping of Business Behaviour'.
  37. Lindy Moore, 'Education and Learning', in Abrams et al., *Gender in Scottish History*, pp. 111–39; Jane McDermid, *The Schooling of Girls in Britain and Ireland, 1800–1900* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012).
  38. McDermid, *Schooling of Girls*; S. Karly Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church: Catholicism, Gender and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-century Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).
  39. Yeo, 'Medicine, Science and the Body'; Lindsay Reid, *Midwifery in Scotland: A History* (Erskine: Scottish History Press, 2011).
  40. Olive Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1980).
  41. See Yeo, 'Medicine, Science and the Body', and the citations on this topic listed by Yeo on p. 164, fn. 35.
  42. Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland*, p. 88.
  43. Christina Larner, *Enemies of God: The Witch-hunt in Scotland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981); Julian Goodare (ed.), *The Scottish Witch-hunt in Context* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).
  44. See Mitchison and Leneman, *Sexuality and Social Control*; Anne-Marie Kilday, 'Maternal Monsters: Murdering Mothers in South-West Scotland, 1715–1815', in Yvonne Brown and Rona Ferguson (eds), *Twisted Sisters: Women, Crime and Deviance in Scotland since 1400* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002), pp. 156–79.
  45. Kilday, 'Maternal Monsters'.
  46. Lynn Abrams, 'From Demon to Victim: The Infanticidal Mother in Shetland, 1699–1899', in Brown and Ferguson, *Twisted Sisters*, pp. 180–203.
  47. Mahood, *The Magdalenes*.
  48. We are grateful to Louise Jackson for drawing our attention to this research. See also the Institute of Historical Research 'Theses online' at [www.history.ac.uk/history-online/theses/thesis/in-progress](http://www.history.ac.uk/history-online/theses/thesis/in-progress)
  49. Louise Settle, 'The Geography of Prostitution in Edinburgh, 1900–1939', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* (forthcoming, 2013); doctoral research on 'Controlling the Social Evil: Prostitution in Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1892–1939'.
  50. Deborah Symonds, *Notorious Murders, Black Lanterns, and Moveable Goods: Transformation of Edinburgh's Underworld in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Akron, Ohio: University of Akron Press, 2006).
  51. Kit Carson and Hilary Idzikowska, 'The Social Production of Scottish Policing 1795–1900', in Douglas Hay and Francis Snyder (eds), *Policing and Prosecution in Britain 1750–1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 267–97.
  52. Russell P. Dobash and Pat McLaughlin, 'The Punishment of Women in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: Prisons and Inebriate Institutions', in Breitenbach and Gordon, *Out of Bounds*, pp. 65–94.
  53. Linda Mahood, *Policing Gender, Class and Family in Britain, 1850–1940* (London: Routledge, 1995).

54. Ian Donnachie, 'Scottish Criminals and Transportation to Australia, 1786–1852', in *Scottish Economic and Social History*, Vol. 4 (1984), pp. 21–38.
55. In her study, *Abandoned Women: Scottish Convicts Exiled Beyond the Seas* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2012), Lucy Frost tracked the lives of Scottish women convicts shipped on the *Atwick* in 1837. Using archives both in Scotland and in Tasmania, she has been able to construct narratives of the lives of convict women, and to investigate what happened after they had served their sentences.
56. Dobash and McLaughlin, 'The Punishment of Women'.
57. Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland*.
58. Callum G. Brown, 'Religion', in Abrams et al., *Gender in Scottish History*, pp. 84–110.
59. S. Karly Kehoe, 'Unionism, Nationalism and the Scottish Catholic Periphery', *Britain and the World*, 4:1 (2011), pp. 65–83.
60. See Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church*; Jane McDermid, *The Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Victorian Scotland: Gender, Education and Identity* (London: Routledge, 2005).
61. Lesley Orr Macdonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission: Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2000); Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church*.
62. Orr Macdonald, *Unique and Glorious Mission*.
63. S. Karly Kehoe, 'Irish Migrants and Recruitment of Catholic Sisters to Glasgow, 1847–1878', in Frank Ferguson and James McConnell (eds), *Ireland and Scotland in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2009), pp. 35–47.
64. Gordon, *Women and the Labour Movement*; Gordon and Nair, *Public Lives*; Reynolds, *Britannica's Typesetters*; Jane Rendall, "'Women that would plague me with rational conversation": aspiring women and Scottish Whigs, c.1790–1830', in S Knott and B Taylor (eds), *Feminism and the Enlightenment* (London: Palgrave, 2005), pp. 326–47; Elspeth King, *Scottish Women's Suffrage Movement* (Glasgow: People's Palace Museum, 1978; Elspeth King, 'The Scottish Women's Suffrage Movement', in Breitenbach and Gordon, *Out of Bounds*, pp. 121–50; Leah Leneman, *A Guid Cause: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1995).
65. Sue Innes and Jane Rendall, 'Women, Gender and Politics', in Abrams et al., *Gender in Scottish History*, pp. 43–83.
66. Kenneth J. Logue, *Popular Disturbances in Scotland, 1780–1815* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979).
67. C. Duncan Rice, *The Scots Abolitionists* (Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1981); Iain Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756–1838* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006); Clare Midgley, *Women Against Slavery: the British Campaign, 1780–1870* (London: Routledge, 1992).
68. Megan Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere: Middle-class Women in Civic Life in Scotland, c.1870–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); Mahood, *The Magdalenes*; Kenneth Boyd, *Scottish Church Attitudes to Sex, Marriage and the Family* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1980).
69. Gordon, *Women and the Labour Movement*.
70. For patterns of emigration see, for example, T. M. Devine (ed.), *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar* (Edinburgh:

- John Donald, 1992); T. M. Devine, *To the Ends of the Earth: Scotland's Global Diaspora, 1750–2010* (London: Allen Lane, 2011); Marjory Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus* (London: Profile Books, 2003); Angela McCarthy, 'The Scottish Diaspora since 1815', in Devine and Wormald (eds), *Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History*, pp. 510–32.
71. For sources on emigrants to the United States, see Allan MacInnes, Marjory Harper and Linda Fryer, *Scotland and the Americas, c.1650–c.1939: A Documentary Source Book* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 2002).
  72. Rosalind McClean, 'Reluctant Leavers? Scottish women and emigration in the mid nineteenth century', in Tom Brooking and Jennie Coleman (eds), *The Heather and the Fern: Scottish Migration and New Zealand Settlement* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press 2003), pp. 103–16.
  73. McCarthy, 'The Scottish Diaspora since 1815'.
  74. For a discussion of 'sojourners' see, for example, Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles*.
  75. See, for example, Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865–1915* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Clare Midgley (ed.), *Gender and Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), and *Feminism and Empire: Women Activists in Imperial Britain, 1790–1865* (London: Routledge, 2007); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830–1867* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002); Phillipa Levine (ed.), *Gender and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose (eds), *At Home with the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
  76. Cheryl McEwan, "'The Mother of all the Peoples': geographical knowledge and the empowering of Mary Slessor", in Morag Bell, Robin Butlin, and Michael Heffernan (eds), *Geography and Imperialism: 1820–1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 125–50; Natasha Erlank, "'Civilising the African': the Scottish mission to the Xhosa, 1821–1864", in Brian Stanley (ed.), *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (London: Curzon, 2001); Rhonda Anne Semple, *Missionary Women: Gender, Professionalism and the Victorian Idea of Christian Mission* (Woodbridge and Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2003); Deborah Gaitskell, 'Re-thinking Gender Roles: the Field Experience of Missionaries in South Africa', in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880–1914* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2003), pp. 131–57.
  77. See Orr Macdonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission*, and Esther Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society: the Impact of Foreign Missions at Home c.1780–c.1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).
  78. Catriona Burness, 'The Long Slow March: Scottish Women MPs, 1918–45', in Breitenbach and Gordon, *Out of Bounds*, pp. 151–73; Eliza Riedi, 'Women, Gender and the Promotion of Empire: the Victoria League, 1901–1914', in *The Historical Journal*, 45 (3) (200), pp. 569–99; Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society*.
  79. Judith Fewell and Fiona Paterson, *Girls in their Prime: Scottish Education Revisited* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1990); Helen Corr, 'The schoolgirls' curriculum and the ideology of the home, 1870–1914', in Glasgow Women's Studies

- Group, *Uncharted Lives* (Glasgow: Pressgang, 1983); R. D. Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People: 1750–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Lindsay Paterson, *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003).
80. Moore, 'Education and Learning'; McDermid, *The Schooling of Girls*.
  81. For example, Walter E. Houghton (ed.), *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824–1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, and London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966); David Finkelstein, *An Index to Blackwood's Magazine, 1901–1980* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1995).
  82. Janice Helland, *Professional Women Painters in Nineteenth Century Scotland* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); Siân Reynolds, 'Gender, the Arts and Culture', in Abrams et al., *Gender in Scottish History*, pp. 170–98.
  83. See also William Donaldson, *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland: Language, Fiction and the Press* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986) for evidence of writing in the vernacular.
  84. Linda Fleming, 'Jewish women in Glasgow c.1880–1950: gender, ethnicity and the immigrant experience' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2005).
  85. Local histories, such as Elspeth King, *The Hidden History of Glasgow's Women: The Thenew Factor* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1993); Norman Watson, *Daughters of Dundee* (Dundee: Linda McGill, 1997); Lillian King, *Famous Women of Fife* (Windfall Books, 1999); Mary Henderson, *Dundee Women's Trail* (Dundee, 2008), see also the Dundee Women's Trail website at [www.dundeewomenstrail.org.uk/](http://www.dundeewomenstrail.org.uk/); Susan Bennett, Mary Byatt, Jenny Main, Anne Oliver and Janet Trythall, *Women of Moray* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2012), see also the Women of Moray website at [www.womenofmoray.org.uk/](http://www.womenofmoray.org.uk/), indicate the possibilities here, while the availability of nineteenth-century newspapers in a digitised form provides enormous scope for researchers. The recently launched NLS website of Post Office Directories is also a valuable resource for identifying local organisations, businesses, and so on.
  86. The Primrose League had cycle corps in which women participated. See Primrose League Scottish Branch Manual (no date but probably 1890s): NLS: Acc. 10424/1.
  87. 'The Spread of Golf', *Scots Observer*, 24 November 1888; 'Golf for Women', *Scots Observer*, 19 January 1889.
  88. See [www.swns.com/the-tarty-army-never-before-seen-pictures-of-scottish-suffragettes-football-team-081656.html](http://www.swns.com/the-tarty-army-never-before-seen-pictures-of-scottish-suffragettes-football-team-081656.html)
  89. Margaret Ponsonby, 'Ideals, Reality and Meaning: Homemaking in England in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Design History* 16: 3 (2003), pp. 201–3.
  90. Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of her Own, Domesticity and Female Desire in the Woman's Magazine 1800–1914* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 7.
  91. Giles, *The Parlour and the Suburb*, p. 65; Jan Merchant, "'An Insurrection of Maids": domestic servants and the agitation of 1872', in Louise Miskell, Christopher A. Whatley and Bob Harris, *Victorian Dundee: Image and Realities* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), pp. 104–21.
  92. See Jamieson, 'Rural and Urban Women in Domestic Service'.
  93. See Nenadic, 'Social Shaping of Business Behaviour'.

94. Gordon, *Women and the Labour Movement*; W. W. Knox, *Hanging by a Thread: the Scottish Cotton Industry, c.1850–1914* (Preston: Carnegie, 1994).
95. Gordon, *Women and the Labour Movement*; Alice Albert, 'Fit Work for Women'; Nenadic, 'Social Shaping of Business Behaviour', 'The Small Family Firm'.
96. See Gordon, *Women and the Labour Movement*.
97. Jane Rendall, "Women that would plague me".
98. Smitley, *Feminine Public Sphere*.
99. Moore, 'Education and Learning'; Jane McDermid, 'School Board Women and active citizenship in Scotland, 1873–1919', in *History of Education*, 38 (3) (2009), pp. 333–47; 'Blurring the Boundaries: School Board Women in Scotland, 1873–1919', in *Women's History Review*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (July, 2010), pp. 357–73; 'Place the Book in their Hands: Grace Paterson's Contribution to the Health and Welfare Policies of the School Board of Glasgow, 1885–1906', in *History of Education*, Vol. 36, No. 6 (November, 2007), pp. 697–713.
100. See, for example, Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, and Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001); T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire* (London: Allen Lane, 2003); Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society*; T. M. Devine and John MacKenzie (eds), *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
101. See, for example, Andrew Mackillop, 'Locality, Nation and Empire: Scots and the Empire in Asia, c.1695–c.1813', in Devine and MacKenzie, *Scotland and the British Empire*; Edward Spiers, *The Scottish Soldier and Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).
102. McClean, 'Reluctant Leavers'; McCarthy, 'Scottish Diaspora since 1815'.
103. Esther Breitenbach, 'Religious Literature and Discourses of Empire: The Scottish Presbyterian Foreign Mission Movement', in Hilary Carey (ed.), *Empires of Religion* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 84–113; Breitenbach, *Empire and Scottish Society*.
104. See Susan Keracher, *Dundee's Two Intrepid Ladies: A Tour Round the World by D. C. Thomson's Female Journalists in 1894* (Dundee: Abertay Historical Society, 2012).