



University
of Glasgow

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>

Theses Digitisation:

<https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/research/enlighten/theses/digitisation/>

This is a digitised version of the original print thesis.

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study,
without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first
obtaining permission in writing from the author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any
format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author,
title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Enlighten: Theses

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>
research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk

WOMEN OF THE SCOTTISH ENLIGHTENMENT : THEIR IMPORTANCE
IN THE HISTORY OF SCOTTISH EDUCATION

BY

ROSALIND RUSSELL
M.A., Dip.Ed., M.Ed.

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.
The University of Glasgow

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

February, 1988

Copyright © Rosalind Russell 1988

ProQuest Number: 10997952

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10997952

Published by ProQuest LLC (2018). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank Dr. David Hamilton of the Department of Education, Glasgow University, for his skilful and conscientious supervision. Also my husband, John, for his persevering encouragement and secretarial skills; and my two sons, Alexander and David, born during the course of this work, who ensured an early start to each day. I am grateful too, for the help of librarians all over Scotland, with particular thanks to those at St. Andrews, Edinburgh and Glasgow University Libraries; the National Library and Scottish Register House in Edinburgh; the Mitchell Library in Glasgow; and the Templeton Library, Helensburgh.

C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page</u>
Preface	vii
Chapter One	1
The Social Spectrum : Scotswomen and Their Activities 1750-1830	
Chapter Two	81
Separate Spheres : Scottish Enlightenment Philosophy and Women's Education	
Chapter Three	143
Wives and Mothers : The Education of Girls in Scotland 1750-1830	
Chapter Four	219
Conservatism and Radicalism : Scotswomen's Views on Girls' Education and Their Social Role	
Chapter Five	272
Reasons for the Historical Obscurity of Scotswomen and Suggestions for their Rescue	
Appendix A	309
Statistical Comparison Between English and Scottish Women Writers for the Period 1750-1830	
Appendix B	318
Biographies	
Bibliography	352

WOMEN OF THE SCOTTISH ENLIGHTENMENT : THEIR IMPORTANCE IN THE HISTORY OF SCOTTISH EDUCATION

Summary

Historians have already demonstrated that the European Enlightenment energised debate on the social and political role of women. They have also shown that women themselves took an active part in widening their own intellectual horizons. This study shows that similar debate and female intellectual activity existed during the Scottish Enlightenment. Indeed, the period between 1750 and 1830 can be regarded as a watershed in Scottish women's history. There is evidence that during this time Scottish women began to question the existing role-model of wife and mother and, in the process, began to seek new opportunities elsewhere in civil society.

This thesis, then, examines the role of Scottish women in public life between 1750 and 1830. In particular it focuses upon their relationship to the ideological changes of the Enlightenment. Did more enlightened attitudes towards women in Scottish society encourage women to break with past custom? Or was it on their own initiative that Scotswomen developed new interests and patterns of behaviour?

To answer these questions a variety of sources were consulted. Information about Scottish women in mainstream accounts of Scottish history is sparse and so the main evidence in this thesis is drawn from letters; diaries; family papers; books written by women; biographies; newspapers and periodicals; and writings by men on the social role and education of women.

The evidence discussed in Chapter One shows that Scotswomen during this period played a vital role in Scottish public life, as well as in the domestic sphere. It also suggests that the achievements of such women were gained as a result of their own efforts.

Chapter Two indicates that the attitudes of Scottish men between 1750 and 1830 towards the social role and education of women remained, for the most part, unchanged from those held by earlier generations. With certain notable exceptions, for example Sir Walter Scott and the philosopher, Dugald Stewart, many of the Scottish Enlightenment literati advocated domestic training for women in conformity with women's role as wives and mothers.

It is not surprising, therefore, as Chapter Three demonstrates, that educational provision for most Scottish

girls remained unchanged. Girls were still unable to attend grammar schools and universities. Nevertheless, a number of Scottish women, for example Elizabeth Hamilton, Mary Somerville, Joanna Baillie and Frances Wright, read widely, often in secret, and taught themselves the elements of knowledge generally restricted to men.

Such dedication to the process of self-education included some women writing about education and the social role of women. Their ideas are discussed in Chapter Four. While many Scottish women conformed to the role prescribed for them by men, some, for instance Frances Wright, broke with convention and preached that women should play an equal part with men in the running of society.

The actions of Scotswomen between 1750 and 1830 not only had immediate impact on contemporary history, their ideas and writings also encapsulated the spirit of Enlightenment philosophy, particularly in its application to education. The overall aim of this thesis is, therefore, to convince its readers that women of the Scottish Enlightenment deserve a more important position in the history of Scottish education and in women's history generally.

Preface

Despite evidence that reveals their activity in public life, women of the Scottish Enlightenment appear to have been neglected by historians. For instance, Millar's *A Literary History of Scotland* (1903) includes one page on women poets and fifty-eight on men poets; the indices to Mackie's *A History of Scotland* (1964) and Lenman's *Integration, Enlightenment and Industrialisation* (1981) contain fifty-six women and 640 men; and four women and 288 men respectively.¹ Even in works on women's history, Scotswomen are underrepresented, despite a growing literature about English, French and American women of the last two centuries.² For example, Spender's *Women of Ideas* (1982) includes six Scotswomen and 481 of other nationalities and Rendall's *The Origins of Modern Feminism* (1985) mentions seven Scotswomen and 206 from other countries.³

That Scotswomen between 1750 and 1830 merit greater historical recognition is shown by the sources examined in this thesis. The eighteenth century was indeed an age of enlightenment affecting women as well as men and lasting into the early nineteenth century - hence the choice of 1830 as the cut-off point. Like other European women,

Scottish women of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries sought self-enlightenment through education and began to press for a social role on a more equal basis with men. Were they able to do this because of a more tolerant climate of opinion towards women in Scotland? Or were their achievements mainly due to their own efforts?

To address these issues the following work is divided into five chapters. Chapter One demonstrates the activities of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Scotswomen in, among other things, economic life, politics, social reform, religion, science and the arts. Such women were not isolated 'eccentrics'.⁴ Rather, they constituted a social group linked in a variety of ways - by friendship, shared interests and frequent correspondence. How did such a group emerge? And what were the conditions in the surrounding culture that stimulated its appearance? Chapter Two discusses Scottish Enlightenment philosophy and its effects on theories about the social role and education of women.

The appearance of knowledgeable women in Scottish society might be seen to be linked to an improved education for girls. Chapter Three examines the education of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Scottish women and concludes that, if Scottish girls wanted more out of education than preparation for marriage and children, they

had to rely on their own efforts. Scottish educational provision of this period, though allowing girls a rudimentary education in parish schools, did not extend to granting girls access to grammar schools and universities. As a consequence some Scotswomen developed their own education through, for instance, self-directed reading.

That such an intelligent group of women should generate their own educational theories, particularly on the education of girls, is hardly surprising, considering the importance to them of their own education. While the male philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment endorsed new theories of knowledge, such men were, on the whole, content to preserve the educational institutions in which they themselves had found a niche. Women, on the other hand, because of their 'outsider' status, were able to criticise traditional educational institutions without fear of alienating patronage or jeopardising their chances of a teaching appointment in a school or university. Scotswomen took Enlightenment ideas from their reading of philosophers like Locke, Rousseau and Kames and used them to produce theories of education critical of existing Scottish educational practice. Most important, as Chapter Four demonstrates, Scotswomen who wrote on education advocated that not only boys but also girls should be educated to have minds of their own. And, while some hesitated to see

women's roles as anything but that of wife and mother, others asserted that women should be social and political individuals in their own right.

The final chapter, Chapter Five, is divided into two sections. The first reflects upon the relative obscurity of Scotswomen in historical writings. It looks at the attitudes of Scottish male critics towards eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century women writers and examines their effect on literary women. The second section indicates reasons for the continuing subordination of Scotswomen in much Scottish historical research today and suggests ways by which they might be given greater prominence in Scottish historiography.

NOTES

1. Millar, J.H. *A Literary History of Scotland*, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903. Mackie, J.D. *A History of Scotland*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964. Lenman, Bruce. *Integration, Enlightenment and Industrialisation*, London: Edward Arnold, 1981.
2. Two major exceptions exist. Marshall, Rosalind K. *Virgins and Viragos: A History of Women in Scotland from 1080-1980*, London: Collins, 1973, contains chapters on Scottish women between 1707 and 1830; and Young, James D. *Women's Popular Struggles*, Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1985, contains many references to Scottish women.
3. Spender, Dale. *Women of Ideas and What Men Have Done to Them*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983. Rendall, Jane. *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States 1780-1860*, London: Macmillan, 1985.
4. Graham, Harry. *A Group of Scottish Women*, London: Methuen, 1908, labels women who were unconventional as 'eccentric'. See also Hugh MacDiarmid's comments on Scottish women at the beginning of Chapter Five (below).

Chapter One

THE SOCIAL SPECTRUM : SCOTSWOMEN AND THEIR ACTIVITIES 1750-1830

The period 1750-1830 was a time of vigorous economic and cultural activity in Scotland - both for women and men. Both sexes were involved in wage-labour and women ran their own businesses. Women, too, were influenced by the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment and made contributions to all spheres of cultural and social life.

Occupations

As indicated by Rosalind Marshall in *Virgins and Viragos: a History of Women in Scotland from 1080-1980* (1983), Scotswomen's chief paid employment between 1750 and 1830 was as servants in other people's houses but, from the beginning of the eighteenth century, women were also employed as wage-labourers in agriculture, fishing, mining, weaving and commerce.¹ Women workers on the land brought in an essential income for both their families and their landlords. Indeed the term 'Bondager' described a female worker (wife or daughter) provided by a cottager for his

landlord. The provision of female labour was often written into the tenancy agreement.² A description by the scientist Mary Somerville (1780-1872) of Newhaven fishwives at the turn of the century, suggests that they too were an essential part of the Scottish fishing industry:-

The women helped to land and prepare the fish when the boats came in, carried it to town for sale in the early morning, kept the purse, managed the house, brought up the children, and provided food and clothing for all. Many were rich, lived well, and sometimes had dances.³

In contrast, the life of a coalminer's wife was one of unrelenting toil. Miners were bound by law to their masters as serfs and, if the lot of the male miner was hard, that of his wife was worse, since she had to perform domestic labour after her shift. Though women were not sent underground in mines in the West of Scotland after 1800, in the East they were, carrying the coal that their husbands and sons dug out of the pit. Conditions did not improve either in 1799 when an Act of Parliament freed new mining recruits from committing themselves and their families for life to working for one mine owner.⁴ At the beginning of the nineteenth century women in the Forth Valley and Midlothian still, it is reported, carried 170 pound loads of coal up the pit stairs for shifts of eight hours or more. Robert Bald in *A General View of the Coal Trade of Scotland* (1812) recorded that he saw them: 'weeping most

bitterly, from the excessive severity of their labour; but the instant they have laid down their burden on the hill, they resume their cheerfulness, and return down the hill singing'.⁵

An earlier eyewitness, the English traveller, Thomas Pennant, sympathised with the hard lot of Scottish working women. In Peterhead he saw fisherwomen carrying twice as much fish as men could manage; and at the Caithness lime quarries he claimed the women were used as 'the only animals of burden'.⁶ He considered that in the Highlands women were more hardworking than men:-

The men [he wrote in 1776] are thin, but strong; idle and lazy, except employed in the chace [sic], or anything that looks like amusement; are content with their hard fare and will not exert themselves farther than to get what they deem necessaries. The women are more industrious, spin their own husbands' cloaths [sic] and get money by knitting stockings, the great trade of this country.⁷

When the practice of sheep farming spread in the 1770s, men's work became concentrated on sheep and their womenfolk had to take over the cultivation of crops in addition to their other tasks, so that they had more work to do than in the earlier part of the eighteenth century.⁸

The Scottish linen industry, at its most successful in the eighteenth century, depended on female labour; and some women, like a 'Mrs. Millar', who supposedly introduced into Scotland the hand-twist drill, the basis of the thread industry, were responsible for technical innovations.⁹ Spinning was a common occupation for women of all social classes, not only for the wives of weavers. And at most bleachfields the majority of the workers were female, many of them migrants from Ireland or the North of Scotland.¹⁰ It is likely that the very large numbers of women employed in the linen industry were attracted by wages higher than those that could be earned in agriculture or housework and that their earnings boosted family income.¹¹

A number of Scottish women were self-employed, either setting up their own businesses or carrying on their husbands' after they had been widowed. The middle-class Edinburgh lady, forced by penury to make her own living by taking in boarders, as many did in such circumstances, might blushingly advertise in 1762:-

Mrs. Hamilton has taken a House for Boarders in Good's Land, College Wynd...where gentlemen may depend on genteel lodgings and suitable entertainment - As she is a stranger and hapless gentlewoman, thought this the most proper way to acquaint her good friends.¹²

But other women less highly placed in society felt no inhibition in advertising in the same pages. Ever since the sixteenth century there had been businesswomen in Scottish towns, helping with their husbands' occupations and continuing them when they were widowed. For instance, in the mid-eighteenth century a Glasgow merchant, Robert MacNair, carried out an equal partnership with his wife, Jean Holmes, with her name over the door, and in the same period a widow, Mrs. Mary Brown, was Glasgow's chief cotton broker.¹³ Eighteenth-century Scottish newspapers regularly carried advertisements placed by women. For instance, the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* featured the following: Mrs. Drummond, widow of Patrick Drummond, merchant and seedsman in Edinburgh, proclaimed that she would carry on trading '...as she understands the business and has practiced [sic] it during her husband's life';¹⁴ Mrs. Archibald Eagle was in greater difficulties, however, because her husband, another Edinburgh seedsman, had died with clients owing him money. Unable to pursue the debts herself, because women had no legal rights in property dealings, she was forced to threaten prosecution through her son's trustees.¹⁵ Women like Mrs. Dickson of Dalkieth,¹⁶ Mrs. Traill of Dundee,¹⁷ and Mrs Dunbar of Libberton's Wynd, Edinburgh,¹⁸ ran taverns; 'Widow Chapman' had a printing business in Parliament Close;¹⁹ Miss Christie Learmouth advertised her services as a milliner;²⁰ Mrs. Robert Yair operated a

circulating library;²¹ and the stalwart Mrs. John Scott intended to run her husband's plumbing business.²²

Aristocratic ladies too played a major part in running their families' estates, since their husbands were often away on business in Edinburgh and London. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, three-fifths of Hebridean lairds were absentee landlords.²³ Lady Margaret, Countess of Dumfries, knew everything that happened on her husband's estates from how tenants spent their evenings (she was annoyed that they would not make blankets and knit socks in their free time) to the finer details of new machinery introduced on their farms. From a letter she wrote to Henry Home, Lord Kames, in 1779, it is plain that she carried out many duties of estate management. In it she asked for a grant from the Board of Trustees for Manufacture, of which Kames was a member:-

...In 1774 I saved two acres and obtained from the Board of Trustees a Premium of £9 3s. which I distributed amongst about 30 people in proportion to the number of days they worked at it; at the same time letting them know that crop had produced near £20 per acre exclusive of the Premium and the effect of this has been every one of them now has a ridge of Lint after their Pottatoes [sic]...and they supply themselves with Linen which formerly was purchased from Irish Pedlars at neighbouring Fairs.²⁴

Jane, Duchess of Gordon (1749-1812), took over the running of the Gordon fortunes after her marriage to the easygoing Duke in 1767 and, according to the writer of the introduction to the Duchess's autobiography, described only as J.W.G., 'unscrupulously and systematically pursued a career which had one sole object in view - family aggrandisement'.²⁵ And like many other women whose husbands were exiled after the '45, Isabella Lumisden, later Lady Strange (1719-1806), was left in Scotland with sole responsibility for the family finances. Her brother, Andrew Lumisden, wrote a glowing report of her skills to her husband, Robert Strange:-

She gives us an account of the present state of the stocks. No stock-jobber could have done it more distinctly than she does. She talks of per cents., annuities, brokerage, etc., as learnedly as any of the sons of Jonathan.²⁶

Women at a lower social level also looked after farms while their husbands were engaged in other occupations. After the writer, Anne Grant (1775-1838), known as Mrs. Grant of Laggan, married the Rev. James Grant in 1779, they moved to Laggan, Invernesshire, where Mr. Grant had been appointed minister. They had to grow their own food since the nearest town, Fort Augustus, was twenty miles distant, and it was Anne who superintended their farm. She remarked that this was not unusual, since the men in the

neighbourhood would not have anything to do with 'rural pursuits', and so it was the women who looked after the cattle, herding them from glen to glen in search of pasture:-

...the housewife, who furnishes and divides these matters, has enough to do, when her shepherd is in one glen, and her dairymaid in another with her milch cattle, who are marched off to the glen as a discipline, to inure them early to hardness and simplicity of life. Meanwhile, his reverence, with my kitchen damsel and the ploughmen, constitute another family at home, from which all the rest are flying detachments, occasionally sent out and recalled, and regularly furnished with provision and forage.²⁷

Another businesswoman, Tobias Smollett's sister, '...that saving, money-making widow',²⁸ inherited the family fortune when he died in 1771 and increased it by buying bleachfields at the village of Renton in Dunbartonshire. She refused to give Smollett's widow a penny and the latter became dependent on the charity of friends for support.

Women were allowed to work, it seems, so long as their actions were to the benefit of men and their obedience was assured by their financial dependence. If there were any signs of competition with men, or rebellion against them, male repression of women was quick and effective. The Scottish historian, Rosalind Marshall, suggests in *Virgins*

and Viragos (1983) that, though the evidence is insufficient to draw any hard and fast conclusions, there were indications well before the beginning of the eighteenth century that Scottish men were concerned about the growth in women's freedom in action and accordingly tried to nip it in the bud.²⁹ Such efforts continued through the eighteenth century and were bolstered by the effects of increasing industrialisation and land enclosure.

Research by the historians, Alice Clark and Bridget Hill, has indicated that in England with the centralisation of trade and manufacture, the home and the workplace became separated, thus removing occupations that had been traditionally female (such as brewing) from the home to the workplace. Professions that had been the monopoly of women (even midwifery) were taken up by men.³⁰ Notions of gentility and greater emphasis on the domestic role of women, particularly among well-off tradesmen and farmers, stopped their wives from taking an active part in their businesses, as before, in order to devote themselves to the parlour and social accomplishments. Writing about England, Bridget Hill maintains in her introduction to *Eighteenth-Century Women: An Anthology* (1984) that during the eighteenth century 'employment opportunities for all women actually narrowed, the possibilities of working partnership with husbands declined and the confidence that wives of

labourers enjoyed from their ability to contribute to the family income was eroded'.³¹

Nevertheless, in Scotland, perhaps because it was a much poorer country than England and money to be a lady of leisure was not so available, many women still contributed to the family income. The rate of industrialisation was slower than in England and its effects on women's economic activity took longer to appear. The labour of Scotswomen was often of vital importance to their families' finances and to the development of the Scottish economy.³²

Politics

Revolution, Utopianism and Radicalism are not ideas typically associated with the Scottish Enlightenment. As David Craig, a literary historian, has claimed in *Scottish Literature and the Scottish People, 1680-1830* (1961), 'the leaders of thought had little sympathy with the popular stirrings'.³³ Despite the Enlightenment emphasis on the importance of reason, the politics of the Scottish philosophers were conservative. In their eyes the continuation of the traditional structure of society was reasonable, and anything that constituted a threat to it was irrational and should be suppressed. The philosophers

of the Scottish Enlightenment did not advocate radical change, where social and political structures were involved, and were particularly silent whenever property rights were concerned. The historian, Charles Camic, in *Experience and Enlightenment: Socialisation for Cultural Change in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (1983), maintains that, although they encouraged the moral education of the poor classes, Scottish Enlightenment philosophers distrusted the ability of the poor to play a greater part in government. According to him the Scottish Enlightenment 'declared the autonomy of the human condition, but proposed little fundamental change for a world discovering even more subtle and intractable forms of human bondage'.³⁴

The ideas of the French Revolution found favour only at a popular level, the 'leaders of thought' generally proposing nothing more radical than parliamentary reform. For example, Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746), who condemned slavery because it robbed a man of his 'natural rights', thought it justified for a man 'in the lower orders' to lose his right to work as a punishment for laziness and indebtedness.³⁵ And David Hume (1711-1776), possibly the most famous of eighteenth-century Scottish philosophers, believed that individuals were 'born to obedience'.³⁶ He wrote in 1739 that, though it was sometimes justifiable for men to rebel against authoritarian dictatorship:-

... 'tis certain, that in the ordinary course of human affairs nothing can be more pernicious and criminal; and that beside the convulsions, such a practice tends directly to the subversion of all government and the causing of a universal anarchy and confusion among mankind.³⁷

John Millar (1735-1801), Professor of Law at Glasgow (an appointment he received through the patronage of the guardians of the Duke of Hamilton) was the target of much hostility from other academics when he joined the Society of the Friends of the People, the Scottish branch of which first met on July 26, 1792.³⁸ But even he opposed universal suffrage on the grounds that it would encourage corruption.³⁹ Archibald Fletcher and Henry Erskine, 'the acknowledged leaders of Scottish Whigs',⁴⁰ refused to join the Friends of the People because they thought them too extreme. William Robertson (1721-1793) too displayed considerable prejudice against Jews.⁴¹

The Edinburgh Whigs of the early nineteenth century founded many of their ideas on Scottish Enlightenment philosophy and represented the most progressive ideas of the Scottish intelligentsia. Yet, while they were in favour of improving the rights of the common people, they wanted to achieve this through parliamentary reform and were opposed to strikes and demonstrations by working people and

to anything that might lead to revolution. The editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, Francis Jeffrey (1773-1850), illustrated this position: 'Let the true friends of liberty and the constitution join with the people, assist them to ask with dignity and with order all that ought to be granted, and endeavour to withhold them from asking for more!'⁴²

University patronage was controlled by the government, landed gentry and (sometimes) by the Town Councils. It is hardly surprising that men stopped short of condemning the system that gave them patronage and support for the university posts by which most of them made a living.⁴³ The authorities, for their part, made it clear that radicalism was not an ingredient for academic success and fathers forbade their student sons from attending lectures of perceived liberals like John Millar and Dugald Stewart (1753-1828), Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University.⁴⁴ Whig lawyers were particularly at risk in sacrificing their careers for their opinions. Eliza Fletcher (1770-1858) the wife of Archibald Fletcher, an Edinburgh lawyer, described in her autobiography how she and her husband were forced to suffer for their adherence to Whig principles at the turn of the century: 'There being no juries in civil cases, it was supposed that the judges would not decide in favour of any litigant who employed

Whig lawyers...We were often at that time reduced to our last guinea'.⁴⁵

Even without such penalties, most of these men were committed to a gradual and rational social improvement, rather than to sudden and fundamental innovation. They shared these beliefs with land improvers like Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696-1782), and with the Moderates of the Church of Scotland. Any secret leanings towards the ideas of the French Revolution were soon eradicated after its violence shocked most Scottish people. Consequently, the modern interpretation of the Scottish Enlightenment is that, although theoretically it raised new questions about the position of man in society, it made little contribution to affecting social change - unlike French Enlightenment philosophy.⁴⁶ However, if eighteenth-century Scottish women are included with Scottish men in a study of eighteenth-century thought, it soon becomes clear that eighteenth-century Scotland was not such a bastion of conservative beliefs about society after all. A few women, outsiders to the political, educational, religious and economic structures that were monopolised by men, proposed changes in such institutions.

For instance, some Scottish women urged that, as well as fairer representation for women within English and

Scottish institutions, there should be fundamental social change across the board. For example, the writer Elizabeth Hamilton (1756-1816) believed that society would be better off without an aristocracy and wrote scathingly:-

People in high life have this peculiar disadvantage attending them, that all who mix with them aim at conforming to their manners and prejudices, so that their vanity is fed from all quarters. Is it then extraordinary that strength of mind and vigour of intellect should be so seldom met with in elevated situations?⁴⁷

Mary Somerville was an ardent liberal, despite her father's staunch Tory support, and even as a girl supported the abolition of slavery so strongly that she refused to eat or drink anything with sugar in it. Her support of liberalism continued into adulthood. She opposed press gangs and the severity of punishments meted out by criminal law and she was horrified by government repression at the end of the eighteenth century. She hoped that the people would revolt against tyranny:-

Every liberal opinion was crushed, men were entrapped into the army by promises which were never kept, and pressgangs tore merchant seamen from their families and forced them to serve in the navy, where they were miserably provided for. The severity of discipline in both services amounted to torture. Such was the treatment of the brave men on whom the safety of the nation depended!⁴⁸

In a time when not even every man, let alone any woman, could vote, women could only make their political opinions heard outside the Scottish and English Parliaments through indirect influence on male members of the political elite.⁴⁹ Scotswomen were among a group of women who had influence at the English court and on the system of political patronage. For example, Lady Anne Barnard (1750-1825) secured her husband's appointment as Secretary to the Governor at the Cape of Good Hope, at a salary of £2,000 a year, from her friend, Henry Dundas, Lord Advocate of Scotland. Indeed the correspondence of Henry Dundas contains many letters from Scotswomen soliciting appointments and patronage for the male members of their families.⁵⁰

Scottish hostesses played an important part in the political arena. Jane, Duchess of Gordon, conducted a Tory salon in Pall Mall, London, from 1787-1801. She was the confidante of William Pitt and, as mentioned earlier, an excellent businesswoman, acquiring political influence and promoting the career of her husband, Alexander, fourth Duke of Gordon. Her daughters married successful and powerful men largely due to her ambitious strategies.

In Edinburgh, Alison Cockburn (1713-1794), a fervent Whig, held a salon frequented by Adam Ferguson (1725-1816),

Professor of Philosophy at Edinburgh University, David Hume, and the judge, James Burnett, Lord Monboddo (1714-1799). And later in the century, the allegedly 'bad tempered',⁵¹ Lady Jane Davy (1780-1855) also held evenings at her home in Edinburgh, at which politics were an important topic of discussion.

Some women tried to affect politics by more than conversation. In 1789 Lady Glasgow outlined her 'Suggestions for Various Aspects of Social Reform Including Schools' in a letter to Henry Dundas, hoping to be rewarded with a British peerage for her son.⁵² Eglantine, Lady Wallace (?-1803), the sister of Jane, Duchess of Gordon, was arrested in Paris in 1789, suspected as an English agent, and in 1798 published her 'Address to the People on Peace & Reform.'⁵³

In times of conflict, Scottish women frequently took the lead, for instance during the Jacobite Risings of 1715 and 1745. Euphemia Lockhart, daughter of the ninth Earl of Eglinton and wife of the Jacobite, 'Union' Lockhart, dressed as a man and visited Edinburgh taverns and coffee-houses, obtaining information to be used for the Stuart cause.⁵⁴ After Culloden, it was chiefly due to the initiative of Flora Macdonald (1722-1790), assisted by Lady Margaret Macdonald of Skye, that Prince Charles escaped.⁵⁵

Isabella Lumisden, daughter of William Lumisden, who had been 'out' in '15, refused to marry her brother's friend, the engraver, Robert Strange, until he agreed to fight for Prince Charles, and it was on her insistence that their eldest son, James, became the godson of the old Chevalier. As a result, the men of the family were exiled after the '45 and their property was confiscated. During this separation Isabella lived in an Edinburgh garret and supported herself and her children by spinning.⁵⁶

Exile was a common fate for many Scotsmen and Scotswomen who supported the Prince. Lady James Steuart, formerly Lady Frances Wemyss, 'the flower of the Wemyss family',⁵⁷ also had to live abroad, following her husband's involvement in the '45. However, a few Scottish Jacobite women were unable to escape from Scotland, and were brought to trial and imprisoned for their part in the Rebellion. Some, like Lady Clanranald, went mad in captivity. Others, though not prosecuted, were suspected Jacobite activists. The local records of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire list in this category Lady MacKinnon (who was also the Dowager Duchess of Gordon and the Countess of Errol) Mrs. Anne Leith and Margaret Turner.⁵⁸

The defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden may have brought an end to their political ambitions but they still

found fervent support among Scotswomen during the next fifty years. Miss 'Nicky' Murray (?-1777), the daughter of Lord Stormont and fashionable Directress of the Assemblies in Edinburgh, remained an ardent Jacobite to the end of her days. Other Scotswomen celebrated the cause in ballads and poems.

Later in the eighteenth century, when the Highland Clearances began,⁵⁹ women, as well as men, attacked the law agents who came to turn them off their holdings.⁶⁰ In 1821, for instance, when Sheriff Officers tried to clear the settlements of Gruids, Easter-Ross, on behalf of Lord Stafford, husband of the Countess of Sutherland, they were 'literally stripped of their clothes, deprived of their papers and switched off the bounds of the property'.⁶¹ Soon after, three tenants, including Anne Macdonald, were sent to Dornoch jail for six months; and in Wick, two women and three men received the same sentence for 'Deforcing, Obstructing and Assaulting Alexander Farquhar, Messenger at Arms, who had proceeded to eject them.'⁶²

Many of the clan chiefs ignored feudal responsibility for their clansmen and sold off clan lands to landowners who used them to graze sheep. Women also carried out evictions, for example, Marjorie Macdonnell, wife of Duncan Macdonnell of Glengarry, personally ordered the eviction

of their tenants. However, on the reverse side of the coin, Mary Chisholm, the daughter of Alexander, twenty-third chief of the Chisholm Clan of Strathglass, dissuaded her father when he was tempted to lease his land for sheep enclosure. After his death, in 1793, she and her mother protected from eviction the people in the townships they had inherited.⁶³

At a higher social level, one of the most famous figures in the story of the Clearances was Elizabeth Gordon, Countess of Sutherland (1765-1839). She inherited the Sutherland lands and the title in her own right but when she married George Granville Leveson-Gower, the second Marquess of Stafford, in 1785, he became the owner of her properties and initiated the Clearances in Sutherland. Some historical accounts have let the Countess off lightly from responsibility for the suffering which ensued among their tenants, making Stafford liable for all, if any, blame. However, she showed dictatorial tendencies when she raised a regiment from the people to serve in the Napoleonic Wars. Instead of asking for volunteers or, like Jane, Duchess of Gordon, raising an army in 1793 by offering a kiss to every man who enlisted, she conscripted five hundred young men. Since she too involved herself in the schemes for land improvement, showing considerable contempt for everything

Scottish, it is difficult to exonerate her from the actions carried out in her husband's name.⁶⁴

Much of the evidence given to Enquiries on the Clearances was supplied by women, and the land agents' violence was recorded by the poet, Mary Macdonald of the Songs.⁶⁵

By the early nineteenth century, Scottish women were playing an active part in politics. At a radical meeting in Ayr in 1820, the year of the Scottish Insurrection, a young woman, helped by two others and holding a pole on which perched 'a cap of liberty', led a group from Kilmarnock. 'The republican attitude, especially of the "Ayrshire lasses" was very prominent',⁶⁶ wrote James Howie in *An historical account of the town of Ayr for the last fifty years* (1861). Women were to the fore in many types of unrest, and it has been estimated that in the patronage riots of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, 46.4 per cent of rioters were women and in the food riots of the same period the proportion of women was 28 per cent.⁶⁷

These are women involved in direct political action. For political theory we must look to Frances Wright (1795-1852), possibly the most outstanding example ever of a

Scotswoman who advocated social change.⁶⁸ By the time she was eighteen Frances had declared herself an atheist and political radical. She set down views sympathetic to materialism in her first book, *A Few Days in Athens*, not published until 1822 and dedicated to the Utilitarian, Jeremy Bentham.⁶⁹ (Reception of the book was cool; the *London Literary Gazette* commenting that it 'would only recommend to this writer to lay down his [sic] pen and take up the needle and especially never to attempt classical or ancient subjects.'⁷⁰). Frances' radicalism was fanned, she reported in an autobiographical article published in 1849, by the sight of destitute Highlanders, thrown off their crofts by the Clearances, who had flooded into Glasgow to seek work or emigrant ships bound for America. The sight of such a ship, packed with destitute Highlanders, acted as a catalyst for all the thoughts she had acquired by reading. In later life, she wrote of this moment that she 'pronounced to herself a solemn oath, to wear ever in her heart the cause of the poor and helpless; and to aid in all she could in redressing the grievous wrongs which seemed to prevail in society'.⁷¹

Frances was already deeply interested in America and she and her sister, Camilla, were encouraged to go and see what it was like by Professor Mylne's sister-in-law, Mrs. Robina Craig Millar.⁷² In 1818 they set off together for an

eighteen-month tour, at the end of which, Frances concluded that American women enjoyed greater liberty than in England or Scotland and, altogether, American society was much more democratic. When they went home in 1820, Frances wrote a laudatory account of America, *Views of Society & Manners in America*, which, when published in 1821, aroused great hostility from conservative English critics because of its championship of the American revolutionaries.⁷³ However, it was a great success with English and Scottish radicals. It also initiated her friendship with the French revolutionary, General Lafayette, and brought her acquaintance with English liberals such as the philosopher, James Mill; the founder of the Hampden Clubs, John Cartwright; and the M.P., Joseph Hume.

In 1824 Frances and Camilla returned to America with General Lafayette, and Frances, already interested in the abolition of slavery, decided to contribute to the emancipation of slaves in a more practical way than by merely buying their freedom. In 1826 she founded a community at Nashoba, fourteen miles from Memphis, Tennessee. Like Robert Owen, whose commune at New Harmony was only a few days' ride away, Frances wished to establish a co-operative village for the moral regeneration of its inhabitants, but her main aim was to train freed slaves so that they could be successfully resettled outside

America.⁷⁴ The colony was also to be open to whites so long as they accepted the principle of community of property and labour. Robert Owen and his son, Robert Dale Owen, became two of the trustees of Nashoba. With Robert Dale Owen, Frances Wright edited the *New Harmony Gazette* and, when the New Harmony experiment ended, Robert Dale Owen went to live at Nashoba. However, bad organisation and management, combined with growing scandalous tales of the sexual lives of the community's inhabitants, led to the decision in 1828 that the experiment should cease.⁷⁵

Frances returned to New York, where she continued lecturing on women's rights, birth control, free education, the equalisation of wealth, the abolition of slavery, and the futility of belief in God. These talks were published as a *Course of Popular Lectures* in 1829.⁷⁶ She and Robert Dale Owen also founded a newspaper, *The Free Enquirer*, and helped to establish a branch of the new Workingmen's Party. She is also believed to be the first woman to make a speech from a public platform in America.⁷⁷

Not only is Frances Wright outstanding in Scottish and American history, she is also important because she demonstrates an interpretation and application of Scottish Enlightenment ideas outside mainstream Scottish culture. She was a stepping stone between the enlightened idealism

of the eighteenth century and the practical socialism of the nineteenth.

Social Reform

Other Scottish women from comfortable financial backgrounds did not seek to change the social structure but rather to shore it up by philanthropic work with the poor. With a few exceptions. for example, Elizabeth Hamilton and Eliza Fletcher,⁷⁸ their aim was unsympathetic to the people they tried to help, for they believed that destitution was caused by lethargy and depravity. Not many agreed with Robert Owen, who believed that environment influenced personality. Instead, they believed in instilling the virtues of thrift, industry and obedience in the Scottish poor, so that the Kirk would no longer be responsible for their maintenance.

At the turn of the century, ever-increasing pressure on poor relief was causing its breakdown and beggars frequented the streets of Edinburgh and Glasgow. By 1812 the problem was so severe in Edinburgh that the city formed a 'Society for the Suppression of Public Begging', to stop public mendacity and prevent people from giving to beggars. The founders of this Society also helped to establish

'Houses of Industry and Refuge', of which many women were patronesses.

One motive behind such concern was political. The late 1700s and early 1800s were a time of simmering revolt within the Scottish working people. Famine, high unemployment and the Clearances had combined to fan the fires of radicalism. Many members of the upper classes were sure that revolution was about to break out and, rather than ascribe this to desperation about economic conditions, they preferred to believe that it had been engendered by irreligion and disrespect for social superiors.

Another motive was to rid the streets of the distressing sights of poverty, about which there had been complaints since the 1780s and 1790s. Moral feeling was offended at such importunity and worthy townspeople sought means of avoiding unpleasant reminders of the fecklessness of the poor. As early as 1762, the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* carried a notice of collection to be made at the Canongate Church for the charity workhouse in the Canongate. Contributions were solicited from local inhabitants on the grounds that since the institution of the workhouse:-

...they are not only free of the expense and nuisance of street and door beggars, but also have the pleasure of seeing great numbers of aged and infirm persons, comfortably supported, as also of infants and orphans taken from idleness and vice and trained up in virtue and industry...⁷⁹

The answer to both problems was to institutionalise the worst cases of poverty and depravity and to inculcate godly virtues in the rest of the working people, not only by improving their church attendance, but also by persuading them to send their children to school. The monitorial system, put into practice by Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell, appeared the ideal medium for teaching large numbers of children at the same time. By delegating teaching and disciplinary duties to monitors, one master could oversee over one hundred children simultaneously. The system also conditioned the children with a reflexive obedience to others by the use of drills for all classroom activities including classroom learning.

Many gentlewomen helped to establish institutions, in which their sinful sisters might be redeemed into respectfully serving their masters, both secular and heavenly. The writer, Elizabeth Hamilton (1756-1816), for example, was one of several women who assisted in the running of the Edinburgh House of Industry, for which she wrote *Exercises in Religious Knowledge*.⁸⁰ The inmates,

according to the 1808 Report,⁹¹ were mostly women and girls reduced to prostitution, begging and dependence on parish support. They spent six hours a day on lace-working, three on needlework and only one on reading and spelling. If they did well, they graduated to the School of Servants, where they learned housework. The Managers emphasised, however, that religious and moral instruction was as important as vocational training.

Eliza Fletcher established a Female Benefit Society in Edinburgh and Lady Carnegie of Dalry House was the main patron of the House of Refuge, founded in 1823 by Eliza and some friends to teach criminal boys the craft of shoemaking and to be useful members of society.⁹² Earlier, in 1799, a Female Society had been instituted by a number of Glasgow ladies, for helping 'poor and indigent Women', mostly widows and orphans. In *Annals of Glasgow* (1816) James Cleland describes how:-

The ladies in the management, visit all the enrolled poor once every four weeks, by which they have an opportunity of observing the varying state of the families, and strongly urging upon their pensioners the necessity and benefit of cleanliness, industry and economy, and of recommending the perusal of the Sacred Scriptures, attendance on divine worship on the Sabbath days, a proper regard for the education of their children, and particularly the advantages to be derived from the Sabbath Evening Schools.⁹³

Cleland also relates that the Magdalene Asylum, supported by voluntary contributions, was opened at the beginning of the nineteenth century near the Glasgow Lunatic Asylum. Its aim was to restore to virtue thirty-four 'penitents', who spent most of their time in laundry work, cut off from the temptations of the outside world by a high wall:-

After having used the hot or cold bath, at admission, they receive a uniform dress, and are then employed in making Clothes for the Institution, Sewing, Tambouring, Knitting, etc...Some of them as cannot read, have a portion of every day assigned for their instruction...when they can read they receive a Bible.⁸⁴

In 1805 another female institution was opened in Glasgow, the Lock Hospital, supported by voluntary contribution, but there was even more demand for such places and in 1811 the Aged Women's Society was established with a Mrs. Routeledge as its governess (supervisor), which provided old women with work, clothes and money. Mrs. Routeledge was also the Treasurer and Secretary of the Charity Sewing School, set up in 1812, to teach girls to sew, knit and spin for two hours, three nights of the week, at a cost to the pupils of one penny a week. It was superintended by a Committee of Ladies.⁸⁵

Such 'good works' were not restricted to the morally unfit. In the second half of the eighteenth century, there was also a growing concern among Scottish people for the treatment of the physically and mentally disabled. The education of physically handicapped children had been of some interest to the Scottish Enlightenment philosophers, Dugald Stewart, for example, setting down his thoughts in his 'Some Account of a boy born blind and deaf collected from authentic sources of information'.⁸⁶ In 1810 the Society for the Instruction of Deaf and Dumb Children was instituted in Edinburgh, with the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry as President. Many Edinburgh women helped support its school, which taught its pupils reading, writing, arithmetic and recitation.⁸⁷

One of the most active women in Scottish social work was the Montrose woman, Susan Carnegie (1744-1821), a friend of James Beattie, the philosopher. At the age of twenty-five she married a wealthy Jacobite merchant, George Carnegie,⁸⁸ who divided his time between Gothenburg in Sweden and the North-East of Scotland. Lunatic asylums had been founded in the 1730s, at Edinburgh and Aberdeen, but in Montrose the mentally sick were kept in the ordinary prison. Susan resolved that Montrose should have its own asylum:-

...to rid the town of Montrose of a nuisance - that of mad people being kept in prison in the middle of the street - and the hope that, by providing a quiet and convenient Asylum for them, some of these unfortunate persons might be restored to society.⁸⁹

The Montrose Asylum opened in 1781, thanks to her efforts, and it was maintained by the Kirk Session and Town Council. By 1790 it housed sixty-nine people from as distant places as Perth, Aberdeen and Edinburgh. It was 'the first purpose-built mental hospital in Scotland'.⁹⁰ Its annual running costs were paid by a collection at the spring communion in Montrose Parish Church. Susan next established a Female Friendly Society in 1808 and later, in 1814, she founded one of the first Savings Banks in Britain for the people of Montrose and controlled all of its financial business.⁹¹

Religion

Women have always been important in the history of the Scottish Church, despite its male ministry. In the second half of the eighteenth century, resentment of poor people against their masters posed a threat to traditional institutions, including the Church. Evangelists, like Thomas Chalmers, tried to bring together rich and poor by stressing individual responsibility for Christian values.

The poor were to learn to help themselves and the rich were to be reminded of their duties to the lower orders.⁹² In response, many women of means joined the Evangelical Movement that later, in 1843, resulted in the Disruption within the Scottish Presbyterian Church.

The religious writer, Lady Janet Colquhoun (1781-1846), daughter of the agriculturist, Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, was a committed Evangelist. She married Sir James Colquhoun of Rossdhu in 1799. He was at first opposed to evangelical religion, but she gradually won him round and influenced his decisions in appointing ministers to the eight parishes of which he was patron. Later he became an elder in the Church of Scotland and was renowned for his piety. Lady Janet was a leading light in the Luss and Arrochar Bible Society and distributed religious tracts amongst the workpeople on the Rossdhu Estate. Attached to the girls' school that she opened at Rossdhu,⁹³ was a Sabbath School in which she herself taught, attempting to instil in her pupils a lifelong abhorrence of alcohol.⁹⁴ Thomas Chalmers came to preach at Rossdhu, and Lady Janet was a fervent supporter of his doctrines. Indeed, of the well-off members of Glasgow society who came to hear him preach at his church in Glasgow's Tron, many would have been women.⁹⁵

Neither were the upper reaches of the aristocracy unaffected. Towards the end of her life, the songwriter, Baroness Carolina Nairne (1766-1845), was converted to Evangelism. Henry Graham writes cuttingly:-

In later years the wave of evangelicism went over her head, as it did over that of Susan Ferrier, who, it must with sadness be confessed, like Hannah More, degenerated as a writer as she became regenerated as a Christian.⁹⁶

Willielma, Viscountess Glenorchy (1741-1786) flirted briefly with Methodism but thereafter was a firm adherent of the established Church of Scotland. After a brief entrée into the world of London fashion, following her marriage in 1761 to William, Lord Glenorchy, heir to the Earl of Breadalbane, she renounced such frivolity and dedicated herself with single-minded purpose to religion. In Edinburgh she went to regular religious meetings conducted by Rev. Mr. Walker, senior minister of the High Church of Edinburgh, and also attended by other notable women, such as the Marchioness of Lothian, the Countess of Leven, the Countess of Northesk, Lady Banff, Lady Maxwell (Lady Glenorchy's mother) and Lady Ross Baillie.

Lady Glenorchy kept a religious diary in which she recorded her daily religious struggles.⁹⁷ But her main tangible contribution to the Scottish Church was, with the

consent of her husband, her purchase and foundation of chapels. Lady Glenorchy's marriage was an unhappy one, and there were no children. Nevertheless, Lord Glenorchy, who died in 1771, when his widow was only thirty years old, left her with an annuity of £1,000 and an instruction that all of his property was to be sold:-

...for encouraging the preaching of the Gospel, and promoting the Knowledge of the Protestant religion, erecting schools and civilising the inhabitants of Breadalbane, Glenorchy and Nether Lorn, and other parts of the Highlands of Scotland, in such a way and manner as she (Lady Glenorchy) shall judge proper and expedient.⁹⁹

His wishes were carried out to the letter by Lady Glenorchy, who is reported to have been an astute financial manager.⁹⁹ She worked with the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, paying for two missionaries to be sent to the Highlands and, in addition to founding schools and churches there, she opened Lady Glenorchy's Chapel in Edinburgh in 1774, which had a school attached. When she died, aged forty-three, she left the sum of £5,000 to the Society, to be used for the maintenance of schools in Sutherland and Breadalbane, and charged her mother and executor, Lady Maxwell, with supporting other chapels and institutions that she had founded. Such gifts by wealthy women strengthened the Scottish Church.

Attached to no religious movement but her own, Elspeth Buchan (1738-1796) is the most outstanding example of how an eighteenth-century Scottish woman could inspire men with new religious ideas and make them her disciples.¹⁰⁰ Usually referred to as the 'eccentric', 'fanatic' or 'zealot',¹⁰¹ Elspeth deserves more than to be shrugged off as a religious maniac. Many of her contemporaries, men and women, English and Scottish, thought her ideas sufficient reason to abandon their homes and families and to move to a remote and uncomfortable commune in the wilds of Dumfriesshire.

Elspeth's religious beliefs were millennial, predicting the closeness of the Day of Judgement, and were based on literal interpretation of the Scriptures. She claimed to have visions and to be the woman described in the Book of Revelations: 'There appeared a wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars'.¹⁰² In Glasgow she visited local ministers, trying to convert them to her beliefs, and eventually she met the Rev. Hugh White, minister of the Relief Church at Irvine, Ayrshire, who was preaching in the city. They corresponded and he and his congregation invited her to Irvine. Leaving her family in Glasgow, she went to live in the White household, with the conviction that he was her spiritual 'man-child', who was

to become the ruler of all nations. At first the congregation members of the Relief Church listened when she spoke to them and she gathered a number of proselytes. But soon most of Irvine was united in outrage against her doctrines. White was accused of heresy and dismissed from the Ministry by the Glasgow Presbytery and he and Elspeth were chased out of Irvine. Forty-six townspeople went with them. An attack on the Buchanites reports what happened:-

A cursed woman, Jesebel,
by Satan introduced;
Who by her corrupt doctrines,
hath some people seduced.
This wicked one from Glasgow came,
in April eighty-three
She lodg'd her span among thy sand
and now her fry we see.
Mr. White beginning of her strength,
in order first appear'd;
Mistress Hunter second did come forth,
Mistress Gibson third I hear.¹⁰³

The anonymous author goes on to name others: Peter Hunter, John Gibson, Thomas Neil, James Garven, his wife and maid, James Stewart and his wife, Mistress Muir and Mistress White, Agnes Willie, William Lindsay and his wife, John Henderson, Mary Francis, Kate Gardner and Elizabeth Dunlop. A number of women appear to have been ready to walk out on their families to follow Elspeth, but several men, even of a social standing to employ a maid, were also among the band of disciples.

The Buchanites set up house in a farmhouse at New Cample in Nithsdale, thirteen miles from Dumfries. All property was held in common; children were considered to belong to everyone; and all wore bright green clothes. Rumour alleged that marriage was outlawed but there is no evidence that this was more than malicious gossip. Large crowds gathered to listen to Elspeth's forecasts of Judgement Day and she made a number of new converts, some even from England. However, public opinion in the surrounding area was hostile and after a long fast by the Buchanites, a rumour began that those at 'Buchan Ha' practised infanticide. Local constables made a search, found nothing suspicious and the purpose of the fast was put into practice - levitation into Heaven. Spectators and disciples assembled on Templand Hill one midnight. The Buchanites had cut their hair, so that only a tuft was left on top of their heads. By these 'topknots' they expected to be pulled upwards. Unfortunately, when they mounted the platform from which they were to ascend, it collapsed and they were thrown to the ground. After this débâcle the Buchanites dwindled in numbers and influence.

On Christmas Eve, 1784, about one hundred local men attacked 'Buchan Ha'. When the ringleaders were caught and put on trial, none of the Buchanites would press charges. The same magistrates ordered the Buchanites out of the

district three years later, afraid they would become a burden on the parish. They resettled in a remote and barren place, appropriately called Auchengibbert, between Dumfries and Castle Douglas in Kirkcudbright, but soon afterwards Elspeth died. On her deathbed she promised to return within ten years and her followers hid her body to prevent burial. There was disagreement about this, as a result of which Hugh White and about thirty others sailed for America. The rest moved to Larghill, near Rockelford, taking Elspeth's body with them. Fifty years later, Elspeth had still failed to resurrect and in 1845 Andrew Innes, the last of the Buchanites, realising that he was about to die, revealed the presence of Elspeth's body behind his chimney-stack. They were buried together and with them was interred Elspeth's reputation as a visionary.

Elspeth proves that eighteenth-century Scottish women were sufficiently powerful, not only to initiate new ideas, but also to be Messianic leaders. It is also important to note her adherence to communist living, which was similar to that of Frances Wright. Such experimentation with life-style was not, it seems, a feature of male idealism in eighteenth-century Scotland.

Science

In an age when scientists are trying to encourage more women to join their ranks,¹⁰⁴ it is remarkable that the scientific work of the Scotswoman, Mary Somerville, has been forgotten. She became a mathematician and astronomer of international standing and, with the English astronomer, Caroline Herschel, was the first woman elected to the Royal Astronomical Society in 1835. Her book, *Physical Geography* (1848),¹⁰⁵ went into seven editions and won a gold medal from the Royal Geographical Society; a college at Oxford University was named after her and an obituary in the *Morning Post* named her 'the queen of science'.¹⁰⁶ William Thackeray referred to her in *Vanity Fair*,¹⁰⁷ and as late as 1924 she was named as an important influence on the scientific interest of the heroine of Winifred Holtby's, *The Crowded Street*.¹⁰⁸ More recently, she has been described as 'a mathematician and astronomer of international standing'.¹⁰⁹

Mary was self-educated and pursued her scientific research in moments snatched from domestic duties. It was only when her youngest child had attained the age of nine, that she embarked on finding an audience for her scientific work. In 1826, her paper, *The Magnetic Properties of the*

Violet Rays of the Solar Spectrum, was presented to the Royal Society.¹¹⁰

The following year, Lord Henry Brougham asked Mary, on behalf of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, to write two treatises : one on an astronomical work by the Frenchman, Laplace, ***Mécanique Céleste***, and another on Newton's ***Principia***. The first, under the title, ***The Celestial Mechanism of the Heavens***, was published in 1831.¹¹¹ It was more than a translation of the original work, for Mary added her own valuable commentary on it, and in 1832 it was adopted by George Peacock and William Whewell for their advanced students at Cambridge University. In recognition of her achievement, she was awarded a civil pension and the eminent astronomer, Sir John Herschel, told her, 'Go on thus, and you will leave a memorial of no common kind to posterity'.¹¹²

Despite the difficulties in her research caused by her sex (she was, for example, refused admission to a Jesuit observatory in Italy to view a new comet (the only observatory with the necessary facilities for viewing it),¹¹³ Mary took his words to heart and in 1834 she published her best known work, ***On the Connection of the Physical Sciences***,¹¹⁴ described as 'one of the outstanding

scientific works of the century'.¹¹⁵ For this pioneering work she was awarded a royal pension.

Over the next forty years the book was issued in ten editions and translated into French, German and Italian.¹¹⁶ Her aim in writing it was 'to make the laws by which the material world is governed, more familiar to my countrywomen'.¹¹⁷ It appears from William Thackeray's reference to her in *Vanity Fair* that she achieved her aim for, according to him, her books found a wide readership among ladies who were 'very blue and well-informed'.¹¹⁸

In old age, Mary continued to write and *Physical Geography* was published in London in 1848. This was a descriptive work but also contained criticism of slavery and social inequality. She was eighty-nine, when her last work, *On Molecular and Microscopic Science*, an account of the latest developments in Chemistry and Physics, appeared.¹¹⁹ In the same year, 1869, she was awarded the Victoria Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society.

Not only was Mary Somerville's research important in the history of science, she also encouraged other women to follow in her footsteps. For example, Ada Lovelace (1815-1852), Byron's daughter, mathematician, inventor and computer pioneer, only started studying mathematics at Mary

Somerville's suggestion. And, as will be demonstrated later, Mary was one of the first women to promote scientific education for girls.¹²⁰

Although Mary Somerville was the star of Scottish science in the eighteenth century, another Scotswoman merits brief mention at this point: Agnes Hall (1777-1846), who helped the cause of science, not by her own research, but by journalism. The wife of Robert Hall, M.D., she wrote many literary and scientific articles for Gregory's, Nicholson's and Rees's *Cyclopaedias*; Aikin's *Old Monthly*; and Knight's *Printing Machine*. During the latter part of her life, Agnes also wrote for the *Westminster Review* and *Fraser's Magazine*. Scientific articles were a feature of the Victorian period and she may be regarded as a pioneer in this field of journalism.

The Arts

The eighteenth century was a time when literary and artistic men found patronage within the Scottish aristocracy - particularly from women. Aspiring musicians and poets dedicated their works to such influential women as the Duchess of Atholl, Lady Carnegie, Lady Eleanor Campbell of Islay, Lady Catherine Charteris, Lady

Cunningham, Lady Katherine Douglas. Lady Mary Hay, Lady Montgomerie and Lady Seaforth.¹²¹

One of the most influential benefactresses was Jane Maxwell, Duchess of Gordon (1749-1812), already mentioned as a political hostess. Anne Grant of Laggan wrote of her:-

Her Grace's present ruling passion is literature. To be the arbitress of literary taste and the patroness of genius - a distinction for which her want of early culture and the flutter of life devoted to very different pursuits, has rather disqualified her. Yet she has strong flashes of intellect, immediately lost in the formless confusion of a mind ever hurried on by contending passions and contradictory objects, of which one can never be obtained without relinquishing the others.¹²²

Confused she might have been but she was of great help to the careers of men like the poet, Robert Burns, and the philosopher, James Beattie. It was she who introduced Burns to Edinburgh society and he made several visits to Gordon Castle. Beattie also visited her there. They corresponded frequently and she encouraged the Senate of Marischal College, Aberdeen, to appoint Beattie's son, James Hay, to assist and succeed his father as Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic. A friend of the writers, Joanna Baillie and Elizabeth Hamilton, the Duchess of Gordon tried, unsuccessfully, to reconcile Joanna with Francis

Jeffrey, after his scathing review of the former's, *Plays on the Passions*.

The painter, William Dyce, enjoyed the patronage of Lady Mary Belhaven and the Marchioness of Tweeddale was the patroness of the painter, John Brown.¹²³ Such wealthy and aristocratic women usually concentrated their patronage on men. They did little for the women artists, who worked in Scotland during this period.

Several Scotswomen in the eighteenth century were skilful practitioners in painting and music.¹²⁴ For instance, Catherine Read (?-1777), the daughter of a Scottish laird, was regarded as almost on the same level as male portraitists of her time and was referred to as the 'English Rosalba'.¹²⁵ Her father, a Jacobite, had been forced into exile in Paris after the '45. This was fortunate for his daughter's career, as she was able to study painting in the studio of Quentin de la Tour. Later, in 1751, she went to Rome to study oil painting with Louis Blanchet. The study of classical art in Europe was considered for part of the eighteenth century a necessary qualification for a professional painter and a continental tour was part of the training of a budding artist. Women, like Catherine, showed great initiative in arranging their art training on the Continent in a period when women were

not supposed to travel unescorted by a male relative. In a letter to her brother, the Abbé Grant described Catherine's progress, highlighting the difficulties women artists encountered:-

At the rate she goes on, I am truly hopeful she'll equal if not excel the most celebrated of her profession in Great Britain...were it not for the restrictions her sex obliges her to be under, I dare safely say she would shine wonderfully in history painting too, but as it is impossible for her to attend public academies or even design or draw from nature, she is determined to confine herself to portraits.¹²⁶

It was not until 1893 that women were admitted to life drawing classes in Britain, and so women artists were at an obvious disadvantage when it came to learning how to draw and paint. Most of them did not progress past the copying stage.¹²⁷

Back in England, Catherine became a celebrated portrait painter, competing on an equal basis with Allan Ramsay, Francis Cotes and Joshua Reynolds. The claim has been made recently that at the end of the 1760s she was 'the best known portraitist in England'.¹²⁸ Her niece, Helena, 'Nelly' Beatson, daughter of the Fife agriculturist, Robert Beatson, learned drawing from her and in 1775 they both went to India, where Helena met and

married Sir Charles Oakley, Governor of Madras. Catherine died there in 1777 - the same year as her niece's marriage.

Sketching and painting water colours were occupations as popular with Scottish women as with English. Other Scotswomen, besides Catherine Read, became popular artists. Margaret Gillies (1803-1887), the second daughter of William Gillies, a merchant, was a well-known miniature and water colour painter. She has been described as 'the best woman portraitist of her time'.¹²⁹ After her mother's death, she and her sister, Mary, were looked after in Edinburgh by Lord Adam Gillies, Court of Session Judge, and she made the acquaintance of Sir Walter Scott and Francis Jeffrey. When she was twenty, Margaret resolved to earn an independent living from her painting and joined her father in London, where she took lessons in miniature painting from Frederick Cruickshank. Four years later she was commissioned to paint a miniature of William Wordsworth and later she painted a miniature of Charles Dickens. Margaret went to Paris, where she studied in the studios of Hendrik and Ary Scheffer, and afterwards introduced water colours into her repertoire. For many years she exhibited portraits at the Royal Academy and when she was fifty-one, she was elected an associate member of the Society of Painters in Watercolours. In all, she exhibited some three hundred and eighty-four works.¹³⁰

Jane Waldie (1793-1826), the sister of the novelist, Charlotte Ann Waldie (1788-1859), like Mary Somerville, took lessons from the Edinburgh painter, Alexander Nasmyth. She painted many landscapes and by the time she was in her twenties, had exhibited one of her works, *The Temple at Paestum*, at Somerset House.

The six Nasmyth sisters were at an advantage when it came to learning the profession of painting, since their father, Alexander, instructed them. Once he had taught them the basic skills, they assisted him by giving lessons to other young ladies in his Academy of Painting in Edinburgh and by filling in the backgrounds of his paintings. Alexander referred to his eldest daughter, Jane (1788-1867), as 'painting' all of his later works, to which he added the final details.¹³¹ Her style was similar to her father's and many of her paintings may have been attributed incorrectly to him.¹³²

Jane's five sisters: Barbara (1790-1870); Margaret (1791-1869); Elizabeth, later Mrs. Terry and then Mrs. Richardson (1793-?); Anne, later Mrs. Bennet (1798-?); and Charlotte (1804-1884); painted many pictures in oils and water colour, and exhibited widely during the course of their long lives.¹³³ Like her sisters, Jane became a

successful painter in her own right, despite having to look after the rest of the family, and she was the most prolific exhibitor of the Nasmyth sisters.¹³⁴

For some women, however, exhibition of their work brought as many problems as did publication of their writings. For, example, Anne Forbes (1745-1834), granddaughter of the Scottish portrait painter, William Aikman, went to Rome to study painting and afterwards she, her mother and sister set up house in London with the intention of launching her painting career. At first, success appeared within her grasp and she received a number of commissions. However, after painting the Duke of Queensberry, who referred to her 'genius',¹³⁵ she was dropped by 'society' when, according to Rosalind Marshall, it was discovered that she intended to work as a professional artist.¹³⁶ But her fall from favour may also be due to the fact that she did not employ a drapery painter and could not, therefore, keep up with the commissions that she was given. Whatever the truth of the matter, she was recognized by an Edinburgh traveller, Janet Schaw, as having 'a pencil of Sensibility'.¹³⁷

It seems that most Scottish women artists preferred to keep their light under a bushel for fear of the loss of reputation associated with public renown. For instance,

Mary Bruce Strange (1749-1784), the daughter of Sir Robert and Lady Isabella Strange, competed for the prize in drawing offered by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts in London in 1764-1765 but afterwards regretted the public exhibition of her works and restricted them to private viewing only.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, as previous examples show, there were Scottish women sufficiently dedicated to their art to risk scandal by seeking tuition from male artists on the Continent and to exhibit the results of their trials.

Scottish women, who made their names as musical performers, were of a lower social status than those who did so as painters. To display one's works in public was bad enough but to put one's person on show was to be considered no better than an actress. Therefore, only women, who had little social standing to lose, made their careers out of performing music.

Gaelic folksongs include many by women and, according to one writer on Scottish music, 'have been transmitted almost exclusively in a female environment'.¹³⁹ Their central motifs include love, jealousy, loyalty, betrayal and death and they often refer to agricultural work since many were sung as work-songs. Women like Mary Macpherson of Skye (Mairi Mhor nan Oran), the most popular poet of the

Clearances, were important composers of Gaelic poetry. Anna Gordon, Mrs. Brown of Falkland, was unusual as a ballad singer, because she came from a higher social class than most folksingers. Daughter of the Professor of Humanity at King's College, Aberdeen, and the wife of a Church of Scotland minister, she preserved many classic ballads.¹⁴⁰

Among the aristocracy there was a resurgence of interest in traditional music in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century. Jane, Duchess of Gordon, enthusiastically sponsored Scottish music, being one of the first to patronise the fiddler, Neil Gow, and she reinstated Scottish dancing in ballrooms. This inaugurated a new interest in Scottish music that was continued into the next century by other ladies like the Hume sisters, daughters of Baron Hume, and Carolina, Baroness Nairne. In 1821 the music dealer, Mr. Purdie of Edinburgh, proposed to publish a series of national tunes with appropriate words. A ladies' committee was formed which wrote and revised songs for him.¹⁴¹ Some of their efforts were expended on bowdlerising old Scottish songs, which contained 'offensive' words and expressions. For example, the authoress, Lady Henry Wardlaw of Pitreavie, Fife, censored the ballad *Gilderoy*.¹⁴²

Many Scottish ballads were written by aristocratic ladies - usually under a heavy veil of anonymity because of the previously noted risk of attracting unwanted public attention. That they wrote in Scottish dialect is a possible indication that Anglicisation had not completely swamped the speech of the Scottish upper classes.¹⁴³ It is also possible proof of a strong feeling of nostalgia for the old ways of Scottish life before the Union of the Parliaments in 1707. As David Craig has indicated: 'As we became absorbed into Britain, we naturally came to feel that if our culture had an essence, it lay in now bygone idiom and habits. Such an attitude is everywhere at this period'.¹⁴⁴ Other literary historians, however, for example, J.C. Squire writing in the early 1920s, believe that the songs written by eighteenth-century Scottish women are superior to those written by Englishwomen of the same period.¹⁴⁵

The aristocratic balladeers, celebrated a rural life as they thought it must have been in the past. Some depicted a pastoral ideal that certainly never existed in Scotland, but others recorded customs that otherwise would have been lost.¹⁴⁶ It has been suggested that in Scotland there was a greater proximity between the rich and their servants than in England. Therefore, Scottish dialect came easily to the lady poets and they were well acquainted with

the poverty of country life as well as its ceremonies.¹⁴⁷ Alison Cockburn, a close friend of the Lindsay family at Balcarres, is believed to have written the first set of words to *Flowers of the Forest*. The original words to the tune, a lament over those killed at Flodden, had been lost, but instead of composing lines to fit the original meaning of the music, Alison wrote an elegy on the bankruptcy of seven Border lairds, beginning with the lines:-

I've seen the smiling.
Of Fortune's beguiling.¹⁴⁸

The original purpose of the music was recaptured by Lady Jean Elliot (1727-1805), sister of Sir Gilbert Elliot, also a songwriter. She wrote a second set of lyrics that are best known today:-

I've heard the lilting at our yowe's milking,
Lasses a' lilting before the break o' day.
But now they are moaning in ilka green loaning,
The Flowers o' the Forest are a' wede awa!¹⁴⁹

They were copied out by members of her family, distributed amongst friends anonymously and soon were sung frequently at concerts. A third version was composed by Anne Home (1742-1821), later Mrs. John Hunter,¹⁵⁰ about whom a contemporary reviewer wrote:-

In the ballad style, her felicity in clothing a simple and natural thought in the most touching and appropriate language, is such as our English writers have very seldom attained.¹⁵¹

Lady Anne Barnard, the eldest daughter of James Lindsay, the fifth Earl of Balcarres, composed the ballad, *Auld Robin Gray*, in 1771, after the name of the Lindsays' shepherd at Balcarres. when she was twenty-one. It too was set to an old tune, with the words, 'The bridegroom greets when the sun goes down', which Anne considered indecorous.¹⁵² When her ladylike replacement was published anonymously in 1771, it became an instant success and was even mimed by dancing dogs in the streets.¹⁵³ Anne only admitted that she had written the ballad two years before her death.

Carolina, Baroness Nairne, who has been described as 'after Burns, by far Scotland's most enduring popular song writer',¹⁵⁴ composed Jacobite songs that are now part of Scottish history. The words to *Charlie is My Darling*, *The Hundred Pipers*, and *Will ye no' come back again?*, were all written by her, as were *The Land of the Leal*, *Laird o' Cockpen*, and *Callar Herrin*.¹⁵⁵ Lady Jane Scott, nee Alicia Ann Spottiswoode (1810-1900), wrote the words and music to many of Scotland's best known songs, including *Annie Laurie*; a Mrs. Tough wrote the tune to Ann Keith's, *Oscar's Ghost*; and Grace Corbet wrote new music for a traditional

ballad, *The Silver Crown*.¹⁵⁶ Many of these women, like Alison Cockburn, wrote songs throughout their lives but, if asked to explain their writing, they would shrug it off as a trivial amusement. A serious application to any branch of the performing arts was incompatible with their social status.

Most music performed in Edinburgh was either English or European in origin. Many musical performers were foreigners, some of them political refugees, and they supplemented their incomes by teaching music as an accomplishment. Such precarious existences are illustrated by the lives of the pianist, Sophia Dussek (1775-1830), and the singer, Mrs. Woods, née Mary Ann Paton (1802-1864). Sophia's father was an itinerant Italian musician by the name of Domenico Corri. She was born in Edinburgh and, when she married the pianist, Dussek, she took lessons from him. She became an accomplished pianist and harpist, touring England, Ireland and Scotland. Dussek deserted her in 1800 and she stopped giving public performances. Instead, she made her living from teaching and, after a second marriage to the viola player, John Alvis Moralt, she opened an academy in London for teaching the piano. She wrote a large quantity of music and her daughter, Olivia Buckley (1799-1847), became a skilled musician too.

The singer, Mary Ann Paton, also came from a musical family. She was the eldest daughter of George Paton, an Edinburgh writing master, who played the violin in his spare time, and her grandmother, Ann Nicoll, was a renowned violinist. However, she concentrated on developing her voice and by the age of eight was giving public performances. Her sisters, Isabella and Eliza, were also singers. The family moved to London in 1811, and there Mary Ann took lessons from Samuel Webbe on the harp and piano. For a while she was ill, but in 1820 she started to perform again and appeared at Bath and Huntingdon. In 1822 she joined the Haymarket Company in London and sang leading roles in such operas as *The Marriage of Figaro*, *The Barber of Seville*, and *The Beggar's Opera*.

One of the advantages of being a female stage performer has always been that, however much one's reputation might be questioned, there is often the possibility of upward social mobility by marriage. So it was with Mary Ann, who married Lord William Pitt Lennox two years later. Disillusion soon set in and she realised that the glamour of the stage meant more to her than reputation and wealth. Accordingly, in 1831 she divorced Lord Lennox in the Scottish Courts and immediately married a tenor singer, Joseph Woods. Mary Ann is believed to have been one of the greatest opera singers of her time. Reviews of

her performances praised her range and interpretation, and her biographer claims that no other singer of the time had greater talent.¹⁵⁷

Literature

Eighteenth-century Scottish women writers can be divided into two groups: those who wrote for amusement and those who wrote to survive. Included in the first group are several aristocratic women, who wrote novels of the 'highlife' genre, based on their own experiences of the elegant circles in which they moved.

Caroline Lucy, Lady Scott (1784-1857), published her first three novels about the beau monde anonymously.¹⁵⁸ Her relative, Charlotte Bury (1775-1861), daughter of the fifth Duke of Argyle, was lady-in-waiting to Queen Caroline for nine years and, as well as many novels, wrote an exposé of court life.¹⁵⁹ The book has been described as 'intimate and unflattering',¹⁶⁰ and so anonymous publication is understandable for other reasons than just maidenly fear of becoming a public figure. An angle on French court life was provided in the novels of Lady Mary Hamilton (1739-1816), daughter of the fifth Earl of Leven & Melville, who settled

in France with her second husband just before the Revolution.¹⁶¹

Such novels showed their readers how to behave, if they wished an entrée into fashionable life, and they were read much in the same way that Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* had been read in Renaissance Italy: that is, as patterns of manners. They also gave Scottish girls the opportunity to share vicariously the balls, dinners, plays, clothes and scandals of London life and provided models of fashionable women to imitate. However, some of these stories were more than accounts of blueblood life, for they tried to expose the follies of fashionable preoccupations.

Susan Ferrier (1782-1854), the youngest of ten children of James Ferrier, Writer to the Signet and Law Agent of John Campbell, the fifth Duke of Argyll, wrote three anonymous novels: *Marriage*, 1818; *The Inheritance*, 1824; and *Destiny*, 1831.¹⁶² In all three novels the heroine underwent an educative process through travel (described in more detail in Chapter Four) and learned to balance the worldliness of London life with piety and tradition in Scotland. Susan's portrayal of life in London and in the provinces was not a simple question of black and white. Although the heroine was reconciled to marriage and domesticity in Scotland by the end of the story, Susan did

not restrain herself in her criticism of the absurdity and insularity of some Scottish ideas. The novels are humorous and contain caricatures of certain social types. In *Marriage*, for example, the character of Lady McLaughlan was a mockery of bluestockings and in *The Inheritance* Lady Pratt poked fun at provincial busybodies. Many of the characters in her books were based on real people and Susan was quickly identified.¹⁶³ She disliked the ensuing publicity so much that she did not write anything else and, after 1831, devoted herself to religion and philanthropy.

According to their own accounts, the motive of this group of women in writing was for amusement. But it would appear, particularly from their letters, that writing to them was almost as necessary as breathing - a sublimation of frustrated talent.

The second group of women are those whose writings were published for financial gain and includes both 'gentlewomen' and women from the lowest sectors of Scottish society. The main motivation in writing for publication, was the financial straits in which many women were left, when their male providers died. Indeed, many Scottish women, like Elizabeth Hamilton and Anne Grant, were forced to earn their living by the pen to support themselves and their families, because all other professions were barred

to them. To take jobs open to women of the lower orders was both to lose caste and not sufficiently remunerative to support a socially acceptable standard of living. Genteel poverty was perhaps the most unfortunate situation in which a Scottish woman of this period could find herself. If she wanted to maintain her social status, she could not become a domestic servant or shopkeeper and, apart from opening a girls' school, which necessitated some capital, the only means of making money was writing. The snag was that, even though writing was practised in private, publication by women was considered incompatible with respectability.

In terms of popular success and financial reward the most outstanding eighteenth-century Scottish woman writer was the poet and dramatist, Joanna Baillie.¹⁶⁴ Between 1793 and 1836, she published twenty-seven dramas, seven metrical legends, many short poems and a treatise on Jesus Christ.¹⁶⁵ At the height of her fame, she was hailed as a second Shakespeare; Lord Byron described her as 'our only dramatist since Otway and Southerne';¹⁶⁶ Sir Walter Scott called her 'immortal',¹⁶⁷ and one modern literary critic, Margaret Carhart, has called her 'Scotland's greatest playwright'.¹⁶⁸ The critical literature about her in the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries is extensive, yet in the last fifty years there have been only occasional references to her life and writings.

In 1790 Joanna published a small volume of poetry, *Fugitive Verses*,¹⁶⁹ and started to write plays seriously. She was interested in philosophy and theology and most of her dramas centered on the influence of psychology on the character's lives. Her *Plays on the Passions* (1798-1812),¹⁷⁰ caused a 'literary furore',¹⁷¹ when they were first published anonymously, and attributed by some to Sir Walter Scott.¹⁷² The growth of each passion was traced in both a comedy and tragedy, each passion having two separate plays allotted to it. Her aim was to point a moral lesson. By 1802, Joanna had overcome her timidity and the second volume of *Plays on the Passions* carried her name on the title page. In the role of playwright Joanna attended the production of *De Montfort* at Drury Lane, in which John Kemble and his sister, Mrs. Siddons, appeared. As a result, Joanna and Sir Walter Scott began corresponding with each other and became close friends, when they met in Edinburgh in 1808. The introduction of the Third Canto to Scott's *Harmion* refers to her as 'the bold enchantress' and compares her to Shakespeare! Other *Plays on the Passions* were staged successfully: *Constantine and Valeria*, at London, Liverpool, Edinburgh and Dublin; *The Separation*, at Covent Garden; *Henriquez*, at Drury Lane; and a new play, *The Family Legend*, at Edinburgh with a Prologue by Scott.¹⁷³

Joanna has been called 'a great literary reformer',¹⁷⁴ and was a forerunner of William Wordsworth in her treatment of nature. It seems that the only fierce criticism of her work came from Francis Jeffrey. In July 1803, he wrote a long article in the *Edinburgh Review* on *Plays on the Passions*.¹⁷⁵ In it he condemned Joanna's attempt to describe a person's character through a passion alone and rejected her aim to uplift her audience morally. In his view, the only function of plays should be to entertain. He softened his attack by mentioning Joanna's 'pleasing and powerful genius' and referred to her talents as 'superior to those of any of her contemporaries among the English writers of tragedy'. However, the damage had been done. Joanna was resentful and refused to meet Jeffrey until 1820 when, despite further criticism by him, they became reconciled and he became a frequent visitor at her home.

Joanna wrote other plays besides *Plays on the Passions* and *The Family Legend*: for example, *Rayner*, *The Country Inn*, and *Constantine Paleologus*, published together as *Miscellaneous Plays* in 1804, but they were regarded as unsuitable for theatrical production. She therefore concentrated on poetry and in 1821 appeared her *Metrical Legends of Exalted Character*, which took as their subjects Wallace the Scottish Chief, Columbus, and the Scottish

heroine, Lady Grisell Baillie. *The Martyr*, a tragedy on religion, was published in 1826 and was immediately translated into Singhalese! The grateful Joanna wrote another tragedy, *The Bride* (1828), a story about Ceylon and dedicated to its people.¹⁷⁶

Elizabeth Hamilton, a close friend of Joanna Baillie, started to publish her writings only after the death of her brother in 1792,¹⁷⁷ and thereafter she kept herself and her sister on the proceeds of her writings, which ranged from educational treatises to novels and poetry. Her work is described in Chapter Four.

Anne Grant supported herself and eight children on the profits from her poems and essays, following the death of her husband in 1801.¹⁷⁸ Her first volume of poetry, *The Highlanders and Other Poems*, was published by subscription in 1803, and three years later, *Letters from the Mountains*, consisting of her letters to friends between 1773 and 1804, appeared in two volumes. Anne was one of the first authors to write about Scottish scenery and her books won her instant popularity due to the new interest of Scottish people in their country's traditions. She followed up *Letters* with a description of her early life in America, *Memoirs of an American Lady* (1808), and with *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland* (1811).¹⁷⁹

Sir Walter Scott was among those who petitioned for a pension on Anne's behalf and he attached his opinion of her works to the application:-

We have no hesitation in attesting our belief that Mrs. Grant's writings have produced a strong and salutary effect upon her countrymen, who not only found recorded in them much of national history and antiquities, which would otherwise have been forgotten, but found them combined with the soundest and best lessons of virtue and morality.¹⁸⁰

Another historical writer was Charlotte Ann Waldie, later Mrs. Eaton, the daughter of George Waldie of Hendersyde Park, Roxburghshire, and sister of the painter, Jane Waldie. Both of them visited Brussels in 1815 and Charlotte wrote an account of the Battle of Waterloo (1817).¹⁸¹

Concern for reputation was not a feature of the personalities of writers like Susannah Hawkins (1787-1868), Isobel Pagan (1741-1821), Jean Glover (1758-1801) and Jean Adam (1710-1768), who were unashamedly pleased to be able to augment the money they made from other sources by the sale of their poems and songs. About 1771 Robert Burns heard Jean Adam's song, *There's nae luck about the house*, sung in the streets. He called it 'one of the most beautiful in Scots or any other language'.¹⁸² Jean had died three years before in a Glasgow poorhouse. But her poems

were published and, though she earned little money from them, her poems remained popular during the rest of the eighteenth century.¹⁸³ Burns preserved the work of another Ayrshire poet, Jean Glover, by writing down the words of the ballad, *Over the muir among the Heather*, as she sang them. The daughter of a Kilmarnock weaver, she followed her player husband from fair to fair, where she would perform her songs. She soon earned the reputation of 'the brawest woman that had ever been seen to step in leathern shoon'.¹⁸⁴ Jean enjoyed her tinker's life and wandered all over Scotland, England and Ireland, sleeping rough. Burns also knew Isobel Pagan, the keeper of a shebeen near Muirkirk. To her ballad, *Ca the yowes to the knowes*, he added some verses (Henry Graham points to the irony of this song, written by a drunken cripple, being sung by the most elegant of high-born Scottish ladies).¹⁸⁵

Susannah Hawkins, the daughter of an Ecclefechan blacksmith, started out life as a herd and domestic servant, and only took to writing poetry in her middle age. The proprietor of *Dunfries Courier* published her poems free of charge, and she wandered round the Borders and into England selling them.¹⁸⁶

Women's Motivation

The achievements of the above women might suggest that their way in life was made easier by a new spirit of Enlightenment that challenged traditional Scottish mores. Did the Scottish Enlightenment, with its emphasis on education, enable women to broaden their interests, activities and learning? Did Scottish men relax their expectations that all women should devote themselves to marriage and motherhood and encourage women to develop themselves as intellectual beings? Did a climate of opinion exist in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Scotland that made it easier than in previous centuries for women described in this Chapter to interest themselves in activities outside the home? And was there any indication that men of the Scottish Enlightenment considered women to be their social equals? These questions are addressed in the next Chapter which considers whether Scottish Enlightenment philosophy included women as well as men and discusses the opinions of representative Scottish male writers on the social role and education of women.

N O T E S

1. Marshall, Rosalind K. *Virgins and Viragos: A History of Women in Scotland from 1080-1980*, London: Collins, 1983, pp.148-149.
2. Murray, Eunice G. *Scottish Homespun*, London and Glasgow: Blackie, 1947.
3. Somerville, Martha. *Personal Recollections of Mary Somerville with Selections from her Correspondence. By her Daughter, Martha Somerville*, London: John Murray, 1873, p.14.
4. Smout, T.C. *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830*, Glasgow: Collins, 1969; London: Fontana, 1972, pp.403-412.
5. Bald, Robert. *A General View of the Coal Trade of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1812, quoted by Craig, David. *Scottish Literature and the Scottish People, 1680-1830*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1961, p.97.
6. Pennant, Thomas. *A Tour in Scotland; MDCCLXIX*, 3rd. edition. Warrington: W.Eyres, 1774. Facsimile reprint, Perth, Scotland: Melven Press, 1979, p.183.
7. *ibid.* p.117.
8. Marshall, *op cit.* p.233.
9. Durie, Alastair, J. *The Scottish Linen Industry in the Eighteenth Century*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979, p.77.
10. MacDonald, D.F. *Scotland's Shifting Population, 1770-1850*, Glasgow, 1937, p.65; see also Sinclair, J. Appendix to the *General Report of the Agricultural State and Political Circumstances of Scotland*, London, 1814, p.284, which estimates that four times as many women as men were employed in the bleaching industry.
11. Smout, T.C. 'Where had the Scottish economy got to by the third quarter of the eighteenth century?', in Hont, Istvan and Ignatieff, Michael. *Wealth & Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment*, Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press,

1983, p.64.

12. *Edinburgh Evening Courant*. September 20, 1762.
13. Murray, Eunice. *A Gallery of Scottish Women*, London & Glasgow: Gowans & Gray, 1935, pp.26-28.
14. *Edinburgh Evening Courant*. April 22, 1758.
15. *ibid.* April 22 & 29, 1758.
16. *ibid.* October 14, 1758.
17. *ibid.* March 3, 1762.
18. *ibid.* August 25, 1762.
19. *ibid.* December 5, 1758.
20. *ibid.* December 8, 1762.
21. *Caledonian Mercury*. June 20, 1758.
22. *ibid.* May 30, 1758.
23. Prebble, John. *The Highland Clearances*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982, p.16.
24. Dumfries, Lady Margaret, Countess of. Letter dated June 28, 1779 to Henry Home, Lord Kames, included in 'Letters to Lord Kaimes [sic] at Blair Drummond', Scottish Records Office, Abercairny Collection [GD24][1/589].
25. Gordon, Jane, Duchess of. *An Autobiographical Chapter in the Life of Jane, Duchess of Gordon*, Glasgow, 1864, p.vi.
26. Dennistoun, James. *Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange and of Andrew Lumisden*, 2 vols., London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1855, vol. i, p.200.
27. Quoted by Elwood, A.K. *Memoirs of the Literary Ladies of England from the Commencement of the Last Century*, 2 vols., London: Henry Colburn, 1843, vol.1, p.90.
28. Graham, Henry Grey. *Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century*, London: Adam & Charles Black, 1901, p.317.
29. Marshall, *op cit.* p.163.

30. Clark, Alice. *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*, 1919. Republished London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982. Hill, Bridget. *Eighteenth Century Women: An Anthology*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1984.
31. Hill, *op cit.* p.246.
32. See Marshall, *op. cit.*
33. Craig, *op cit.* p.111.
34. Camic, Charles. *Experience and Enlightenment: Socialisation for Cultural Change in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, Chicago University Press, 1983, p.83.
35. Rendall, Jane. *The Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment*, London: Macmillan, 1978, p.27.
36. Hume, David. 'Of Morals', in *A Treatise of Human Nature*, London: John Noon, 1739. Edition used here, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969, Book Three, p.600.
37. *ibid.* pp.604-605.
38. Meikle, Henry W. *Scotland & the French Revolution*, Glasgow: Maclehose, 1912, p.86.
39. Stephen. Leslie (Ed.) *The Dictionary of National Biography*, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1885.
40. Meikle, *op cit.* p.104.
41. Camic, *op cit.* p.66.
42. Quoted by Meikle, *op cit.* p.18.
43. 'As a class they strove to cultivate "politeness", "elegance", depreciation of the "low", to a peculiarly intensive degree for they themselves were anxious to get clear of the backward life which pressed them so close.' Craig, *op cit.* p.40.
44. Meikle, *op cit.* p.156.
45. Fletcher, Eliza. *Autobiography of Mrs. Fletcher*, Edinburgh: Constable, 1875, p.66.

46. See Rice, Duncan. 'Archibald Dalziel, the Scottish Intelligentsia and the Problem of Slavery', *Scottish Historical Review*, 62, 1983, p.121; and Teichgraeber, Richard F. 'Politics and Morals in the Scottish Enlightenment', Ph.D., Brandeis Law, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1978, p.7.
47. Quoted by Elwood, *op cit.* p.117.
48. Somerville, Martha, *op cit.* p.67.
49. The redoubtable Catherine Hyde, Duchess of Queensbury (c.1703-1777), led a group of women to storm the House of Lords in 1739, demanding that the peers should reverse their decision to close the gallery to women, but such open political demonstration, without the support of men, was unusual.
50. Correspondence of Henry Dundas. Scottish Records Office, Leven & Melville GD51. See, for example, 9(10); 9(21); 9(74); 9(75); 9(78-1/2); 9(80); etc.
51. *Dictionary of National Biography*, *op cit.* Entry on Lady Jane Davy.
52. Glasgow, Lady. 'Suggestions (by Lady Glasgow) for Various Aspects of Social Reform Including Schools', 1789, Scottish Records Office, Melville Castle [GD51].
53. Wallace, Lady Eglantine. 'Address to the People on Peace & Reform', 1798.
54. Graham, Harry, *op cit.* p.317; Wilson, Daniel. *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, 2 vols., Edinburgh: Paton, 1848, p.169.
55. Lady Macdonald was one of the seven daughters of Susannah, Countess of Eglinton, and of the ninth Earl, who collectively were known as 'the Montgomerie girls', the most celebrated belles of Edinburgh. The Countess was also a Jacobite and, as a patroness of the arts, gave Whig poets the cold shoulder.
56. Smith, J.T. *Nollekens and his Times*, referred to by Graham, Henry Grey, *op cit.* p.24.

57. Ferguson, Alexander. *Henry Erskine & his Kinfolk*, Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1884.
58. Tayler, Alastair & Henrietta. *Jacobites of Aberdeenshire & Banffshire in the Forty-Five*, Aberdeen, 1928. Quoted by Van Den Steinen, *op cit.* p.244.
59. There were two periods of major Clearances: 1782-1820 and 1840-1854. The year 1792 is ominously described in the records as 'The Year of the Sheep', and was marked by rioting in Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth and Edinburgh. For a full account of the Highland Clearances, see Prebble, *op cit.*
60. Hunter, J. *The Making of the Crofting Community*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1976, p.8. Prebble, *op cit.* p.45.
61. *Inverness Courier*. Quoted by Prebble, *op cit.* p.128.
62. *ibid.*
63. *ibid.* pp.130-131.
64. The Countess wrote: 'We have been much occupied in plans for improvement. This country is an object of curiosity at present; from being quite a wild corner inhabited by an infinite multitude roaming at large in the old way, despising all barriers and regulations, and firmly believing in witchcraft'. Quoted by Prebble, *op cit.* p.62. The guidebook to Dunrobin, printed in 1982, treats the Clearances with some embarrassment, claiming a similarity between them and the actions of today's town councils, 'who uproot people from their old, shabby but neighbourly streets and place them in ultra-modern, clinically clean but often completely inhuman high-rise flats, usually against their will'.
65. Prebble, *op cit.* p.303.
66. Howie, James. *An historical account of the town of Ayr for the last fifty years*, Kilmarnock, 1861. Quoted by Berresford Ellis, P. & Mac A'Ghobhainn, Seumas. *The Scottish Insurrection of 1820*, London: Victor Gollanz, 1970.

67. Logue, Kenneth. *Popular Disturbances in Scotland*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979, p.199.
68. In Scottish and English histories of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century thought, the name of Frances Wright hardly ever appears. And, although she does feature in American histories, she is often accused of masculinisation by male writers and presented more for her eccentricity than for her ideas. For examples of this treatment see Brooks, Van Wyck. *Fenollosa & his Circle, with other essays in biography*, New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1962, pp.105-106; Waterman, William Randall. *Frances Wright*, New York: Columbia University Studies in History, Economics & Public Law, 1924, pp.29, 150 and 162.
69. Wright, Frances. *A Few Days in Athens: being a translation of a Greek manuscript discovered in Herculaneum*, London, 1822.
70. *London Literary Gazette*. 1822, p.259.
71. 'Biography, Notes & Political Letters of Frances Wright D'Arusmont', from the Dundee *Northern Star*, Boston, 1849, in Lane, Margaret. *Frances Wright & the Great Experiment*, Totowa, N.J., Manchester University Press: Rowman & Littlefield, 1972, p.7.
72. See Appendix B for biographical details.
73. See Wright, Frances. *Views of Society & Manners in America; in a series of letters from that country to a friend in England, during the years 1818, 1819 & 1820. By an Englishwoman*, London & New York, 1821; Perkins, A.J.G., & Wolfson, Theresa. *Frances Wright, Free Enquirer: A Study of Temperament*, New York: Harper & Bros., p.55; and Kunitz, Stanley & Haycraft, Howard (Eds.) *British Authors before 1800*, New York: H.W. Wilson, 1952, p.842.
74. In this she diverged markedly from Robert Owen, who had always been indifferent to slave emancipation. Coloured people were barred from New Harmony. See Perkins & Wolfson, *op cit.* p.127.
75. It is to her credit that, instead of abandoning her experimental subjects, Frances, together with Phiquepal D'Arusmont, her future husband, took them to Haiti to resettle them.

76. Wright, Frances. *Course of Popular Lectures; with three addresses on various public occasions, and a reply to the charges against the French Reformers of 1789*, New York, 1829.
77. Gurko, Miriam. *The Ladies of Seneca Falls: The Birth of the Woman's Rights Movement*, New York: Schocken Books, 1976. p.32. Gurko writes: 'It was as a lecturer - a female lecturer - that Fanny Wright made her greatest impact on the United States. She was the first woman to speak in public here, and this as much as her radical ideas created a sensation'.
78. Eliza Fletcher was English by birth but married the Edinburgh Whig lawyer, Archibald Fletcher.
79. *Edinburgh Evening Courant*. December 29, 1762.
80. Hamilton, Elizabeth. *Exercises in Religious Knowledge*, Edinburgh: Ballantyne, 1809.
81. Appended to *Exercises in Religious Knowledge*.
82. Fletcher, *op cit.* pp.155-157.
83. Cleland, James. *Annals of Glasgow comprising an Account of the Public Buildings, Chuntries & the Rise and Progress of the City*, 2 vols., Glasgow: James Hedderwick, 1816, vol.1, p.249.
84. *ibid.* vol.1, p.267.
85. *ibid.*
86. Stewart, Dugald. 'Some account of a boy born blind and deaf collected from authentic sources of information', n.d., National Library of Scotland manuscript.
87. Cleland, *op cit.* vol.1, p.261.
88. No relation to the Scottish philanthropist, Andrew Carnegie.
89. Cormack, Alexander. *Susan Carnegie, 1744-1821: Her Life of Service*, Aberdeen University Press, 1966, p.275.
90. Hamilton, David. *The Healers: a history of medicine in Scotland*, Edinburgh: Canongate Press, 1981, p.107.

91. The first Friendly Society Act of 1793 stated that the aim of such societies was to raise funds from members' contributions for use during sickness or at death. In Scotland, Friendly Societies were organised all over the country by parish ministers, who had responsibility for Poor Relief, but it was Susan Carnegie who founded the Montrose Female Friendly Society in 1808.
92. McCafferty, John. 'Thomas Chalmers & Social Change', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol.LX., 1: No.169, April 1981, pp.32-60.
93. See Chapter Three.
94. Hamilton, James. *Life of Lady Janet Colquhoun*, Inverness: Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 1969, p.66.
95. Cage, R.A. and Checkland, E.O.A. 'Thomas Chalmers and Urban Poverty', *The Philosophical Journal*, 1976, 13, p.43.
96. Graham, Henry Grey, *op cit.* p.351.
97. See Jones, T.S. *The Life of the Right Honourable Willielma Viscountess Glenorchy containing extracts from her diary and correspondence*, Edinburgh: William Whyte, London: Longman, 1822.
98. *ibid.* p.260.
99. *ibid.* p.270-271.
100. See Appendix B for details of early life.
101. MacDiarmid, Hugh. *Scottish Eccentrics*, New York; London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1972 (Reprint of 1936 edition).
102. *ibid.* p.169.
103. Anon. 'The Western Delusion! Or, an account of the Buchanites, who have lately raised an uproar in the west of Scotland, showing how one Mrs. Buchan in the town of Irvine, has deluded a number of people (in and) about that town, and amongst others, she had deluded one Mr. White, a relief minister in that place', c.1785, National Library of Scotland, MS.2.643.

104. For example, see Keller, Evelyn Fox. *Reflections on Gender and Science*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1985; and Kelly, Alison (Ed.) *The Missing Half: Girls & Science Education*, Manchester University Press, 1981.
105. Somerville, Mary. *Physical Geography*, 2 vols., London, 1848.
106. *The Morning Post*. London, December 2, 1872. Quoted by Patterson, Elizabeth Chambers. *Mary Somerville & the Cultivation of Science, 1815-1840*, The Hague: International Archives of the History of Ideas, Martinus Nijhoff Publications, 1983, p.1.
107. Thackeray, William. *Vanity Fair*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980, p.713.
108. Holtby, Winifred. *The Crowded Street*, New Edition, Virago Press Ltd., 1981, p.29.
109. Raven, Susan & Weir, Alison. *Women of Achievement*, New York: Harmony Books, 1981, p.242.
110. Somerville, Mary. 'The Magnetic Properties of the Violet Rays of the Solar Spectrum', London, 1826.
111. Somerville, Mary. *The Celestial Mechanism of the Heavens*, London, 1831.
112. Quoted by Robson, Michael. *The Hawick Express*, February 11, 1981 (in an article on Mary Somerville).
113. Spender. *op. cit.*, p.171.
114. Somerville, Mary. *On the Connection of the Physical Sciences*, 1834.
115. Kunitz, Stanley J. (Ed.) *British Authors of the Nineteenth Century*, New York: H.W. Wilson, 1936.
116. Alic, Margaret. *Hypatia's Heritage: A History of Women in Science from Antiquity to the Late Nineteenth Century*, London: The Women's Press, 1986, p.186.
117. Osen, Lynn M. *Women in Mathematics*, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, p.113.

118. Thackeray, *op cit.* p.712.
119. Somerville, Mary. *On Molecular and Microscopic Science*, London, 1869.
120. See Chapter Four.
121. Stenhouse, William. *Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland*, Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1853.
122. Grant, J.P. (Ed.) *Memoirs & Correspondence of Mrs. Grant*, 3 vols., London, 1844, vol.1., p.182.
123. Irwin, David & Francina. *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900*, London: Faber & Faber, 1975.
124. The feminist, Germaine Greer, writing on the subject of art history, in *The Obstacle Race*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1979, p.5, describes how the omission of women painters takes place. At first they are feted by their contemporaries, then they are forgotten by following generations: 'Their work was admired in the old sense which carries an undertone of amazement, as if they had painted with the brush held between their toes...By the time the next commentators came around, no one could remember why they had been included. They appear and disappear, leaving the serious student baffled to know whether there ever were any considerable works, let alone where they have since disappeared to'.
125. Rosalba was a Venetian crayon painter of the early eighteenth century. For a description of a visit to Catherine Read's home by Fanny Burney, see Burney, Fanny. Ellis, Annie Raine (Ed.) *The Early Diary of Frances Burney, 1768-1778*, 2 vols., London: G. Bell & Sons, 1913, vol.2, pp.11-12.
126. Quoted by Manners, Victoria. 'Catherine Read, the English Rosalba', *The Connoisseur*, vol.LXXXVIII, 1931, p.379; Greer, *op cit.* p.27; and Petersen, Karen & Wilson, J.J. *Women Artists: Recognition & Reappraisal from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, London: The Women's Press, 1978.

127. Pevsner, Nikolaus. *Academies of Art Past & Present*, New York: Da Capo Press, 1973, p.231. Referred to by Petersen & Wilson, *op cit.* pp.152-153.
128. Greer, *op cit.* p.278.
129. Sydie, Rosalind. 'Women Painters in Britain, 1768-1848', *Atlantis*, 5, Spring, 1980, p.165.
130. *ibid.*
131. Letter from Alexander Nasmyth to William Cribb, October 9, 1826, National Library of Scotland, MS 1810, f.119. Quoted by Irwin, David & Francina, *op. cit.* p.145.
132. Johnson, Peter & Money, Ernle. *The Nasmyth Family of Painters*, Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis, 1977, p.47.
133. See Sydie, *op cit.* p.167; and Grant, H.H. *A Chronological History of the Old English Landscape Painters: From the XVith. Century to the XIXth. Century*, Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis, 1926, vol.7, p.603.
134. Irwin, Francina. 'Lady Amateurs & their Masters in Scott's Edinburgh', *The Connoisseur*, December, 1974, pp.230-237.
135. Irwin, David & Francina, *op. cit.* p.77.
136. Marshall, *op cit.* pp.241-242.
137. Schaw, Janet. *Journal of a Lady of Quality: Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774 to 1776*, Andrews, Evangeline Walker (Ed.), New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1923, p.35.
138. Dennistoun, *op cit.* vol.ii, p.199.
139. McInnes, J. in Daiches, David (Ed.) *Companion to Scottish Culture*, London: Arnold, 1981, p.135.
140. *ibid.* Henderson, H. writing on ballads.
141. Graham, Harry, *op cit.* p.253.
142. Stenhouse, *op cit.* p.72.

143. Jane Gordon had a strong Scottish accent - as did Mary Somerville, who also used Scottish dialect words. The Scottish noblewomen in Susan Ferrier's novels also used the Scottish vernacular.
144. Craig, *op cit.* p.161.
145. Squire, J.C. *A Book of Women's Verse*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921, p.xxvii.
146. Graham, Henry Grey, *op cit.* p.327. Jean Elliot's, *Flowers of the Forest*, refers to the practice of ewe-milking by farmers in Ettrick Forest which had disappeared by the nineteenth century.
147. *ibid.* p.328.
148. *ibid.* p.332.
149. Stenhouse, *op cit.* p.66.
150. *ibid.* p.65.
151. Review of *Poems by Mrs. John Hunter*, London: Payne, 1802, *The British Critic*, 1802, vol.iv, October, p.410.
152. Lindsay, A.W.C. *The Lives of the Lindsays; or a Memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Balcarres*, 3 vols., London: John Murray, 1849, vol.ii, p.322.
153. *ibid.* vol.ii, p.333.
154. Lindsay, Maurice in Daiches, *Companion*, *op cit.* p.266.
155. Rogers, C. (Ed.) *Life and Songs of the Baroness Nairne, with a memoir and poems by C. Oliphant the Younger*, London, 1869.
156. Stenhouse, *op cit.* pp.75 and 225.
157. *Dictionary of National Biography*, *op cit.* Entry for Mary Ann Paton.
158. Scott, Lady Caroline Lucy. *A Marriage in High Life*, 2 vols., 1828; *Trevelyan*, 1837; *The Old Grey Church*, 1856.
159. Bury, Lady Charlotte. *Diary Illustrative of the Times of George IV Interspersed with Original Letters from the late Queen Caroline and From*

Various Other Distinguished Persons, 4 vols., London: Henry Colburn, 1838. Galt, John (Ed.) vols. 3 & 4, 1839.

160. Kunitz, *op cit.*
161. Hamilton, Mary. *Letters from the Duchesse de Crony*, 1777; *Munster Village*, 1778; *The Life of Mrs. Justman*, 1782; *The Duc de Popoli*, 1810.
162. Ferrier, Susan. *Marriage*, Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1818. *The Inheritance*, Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1824. *Destiny*, London: Cadell, 1831.
163. In *Marriage*, some of the main characters were based on the sculptress, Mrs. Seymour Damer; Lady Frederick Campbell, widow of Lord Ferrers hanged in 1760; Mrs. Davidson, sister of Lord Braxfield; the Misses Edmonstone, maiden aunts and neighbours of Susan Ferrier; and Mary, Lady Clerk, a well-known Edinburgh personage. The character of Uncle Adam was widely supposed to be a portrayal of Susan Ferrier's father.
164. See Appendix B for details of her early life.
165. Baillie, Joanna. *A view of the general tenour of the New Testament, regarding the nature and dignity of Jesus Christ: including a collection of the various passages of the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles which refer to that subject*, London, 1831.
166. Byron, Lord George Gordon. *Letters and Journals*, Rowland E. Prothero(Ed.) 1901, III, pp.399-400.
167. Miller, Frank. 'Newspaper cuttings of some unpublished letters of Joanna Baillie, collected by Frank Miller and read at a meeting of Dumfries & Galloway Natural History & Antiquarian Society, November 20, 1931', p.2. National Library of Scotland, MS.
168. Carhart, Margaret. *The Life and Work of Joanna Baillie*, New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1923, p.206.
169. Baillie, Joanna. *Fugitive Verses*, 1790.
170. Baillie, Joanna. *A Series of Plays: in which it is attempted to delineate the stronger passions of the mind, each passion being the subject of a*

tragedy and a comedy, 3 vols., London, 1798-1812.
Vol.1 published anonymously.

171. Kunitz, *op cit.*
172. There is no better example than Joanna's success to illustrate the public's unwillingness to believe that anything good could be written by a woman. When critics discovered her identity, they suggested that she was unnatural. Even Carhart, *op cit.*, Joanna's biographer, writes 'It is hard to believe that her most successful heroes were conceived by a woman, and an unmarried Scotch [sic] woman at that. In *Henriquez* her grasp of her subject is almost masculine', p.196. Tytler, Sarah and Watson, J.L. in *The Songstresses of Scotland*, 2 vols., London: Strahan & Co., 1871, go further and suggest that Joanna Baillie overcompensated for her masculine tendencies by exaggerating some typically feminine traits:- 'She had a great man's grand guilelessness rather than a woman's minute and subtle powers of sympathy; a man's shy but unstinted kindness and forbearance rather than a woman's eager but measured cordiality and softness; a man's modesty in full combination with a woman's delicacy; and, as if to prove her sex beyond mistake, she had, after all, more than the usual share of a woman's tenacity and headstrongness when the fit was upon her'. Quoted by Carhart, p.196.
173. Baillie, Joanna. *The Family Legend: a tragedy*, Edinburgh: Ballantyne, 1810.
174. Rowton, Frederick. *Female Poets of Great Britain, Chronologically Arranged: With Copious Selections & Critical Remarks*, London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1848, p.307.
175. Jeffrey, Francis. Review of Joanna Baillie's *Plays on the Passions*, *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1803.
176. Baillie, Joanna. *Miscellaneous Plays*, 1804 (3 volumes, 1806). *Metrical Legends of Exalted Character*, London, 1821. *The Martyr: a drama in three acts*, London, 1826. *The Bride: a drama in three acts*, London, 1826.
177. See Appendix B for biographical details.
178. See Appendix B for biographical details.

179. Grant, Anne. *The Highlanders and Other Poems*, Edinburgh, 1803. *Letters from the Mountains; Being her Correspondence with her Friends, 1773-1803*, 2 vols., London, 1806. *Memoirs of an American Lady with Sketches of Manners and Scenery in America, as they existed previous to the Revolution*, 2 vols., 1808. *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland. To which are added Translations from the Gaelic, & Letters connected with those formerly published*, 2 vols., 1811.
180. Quoted by Elwood, *op cit.* p.94.
181. Waldie, Charlotte Ann. *Days of Battle, or Quatre-Bras & Waterloo; by an Englishwoman resident in Brussels in June 1815*, London, 1817.
182. Graham, Henry Grey. *op cit.* p.353.
183. Jean Adam's songs are recorded in Stenhouse, *op. cit.*
184. Quoted by Graham, Henry Grey. *op cit.* p.353.
185. *ibid.* p.354.
186. Hawkins, Susannah. *The Poems and Songs of Susannah Hawkins*, 1838. Susannah dedicated the work to a lady of the House of Queensbury.

Chapter Two

SEPARATE SPHERES : SCOTTISH ENLIGHTENMENT PHILOSOPHY AND WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Scottish Enlightenment Philosophy¹

Like their European contemporaries, most eighteenth-century Scottish philosophers believed that under the benevolent guidance of God man was responsible for his own destiny and could, by his own efforts, advance the development of society. However, it is important to realise that, although Enlightenment philosophers preached that truth was a logical absolute, they nevertheless disagreed amongst themselves on other philosophical points. To call the eighteenth century the 'Age of Enlightenment' or the 'Age of Reason' is to give the mistaken impression that its philosophy was a coherent whole.² It also leads to a confusion of meaning with the modern interpretation of 'enlightenment' and 'reason'.

Enlightenment philosophy was composed of disparate parts and the concept of rationality was based on a number of conflicting assumptions.³ The major contradiction was the dependence of the concept of reason on religious

belief. Eighteenth-century writers used the terms 'God', 'Reason', and 'Truth' as almost synonymous expressions. To them the Christian Church was God's appointed channel for the communication of true and reasonable belief and all other religions were based on irrational misinterpretations of God's word. In their belief that reason was God, the Enlightenment philosophers encountered a major logical difficulty. They advocated that truth should be based on scientific observation of the facts and yet they were unable to prove the existence of God by the empirical method. God had to be accepted by an act of faith.

A similar difficulty was caused by the assumption that man was a free agent of his own destiny. God defined truth but man could make up his own mind whether to seek God's truth or turn away from it. It was assumed that humanity was progressing towards a golden age with God acting as a kind and understanding guide. If individuals turned away from his advice, they were acting irrationally. So, although Enlightenment philosophers appeared to be advocating freedom of expression, they were in fact stipulating that there was only one rational choice to be made. And for women that choice was to be dependent on men rather than to be free individuals.

Was this true also of the Scottish philosophers and to what extent can they be isolated as a group from the mainstream of the European Enlightenment? Some generalisations can be made tentatively about the beliefs that made them distinct from their English and Continental colleagues.

A major distinction was the stress they placed on empiricism. The full title of Hume's work, *A Treatise of Human Nature: Being an Attempt to introduce the experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects* (1739),⁴ indicates such preoccupation. According to the historian, Jane Rendall, the ideas of the English champion of the empirical method, Isaac Newton, were circulating freely within Scottish universities as early as the 1720s⁵ and adherence to Newton's method was typical of the Scottish philosophers. W.C. Lehman, a biographer of Kames maintains they were:-

...essentially empiricists rather than rationalists. Their appeal was always to reason in the abstract, to observation, even if at times introspective, and to experimentation, rather than to first principles.⁶

Many Scottish philosophers believed that the application of the empirical method to the analysis of man's inner being would produce results as concrete as when

it was used for the examination of physical objects. By developing a 'science of the human mind', they hoped to understand the workings of society.⁷ Such a science was to them the key to all other branches of knowledge.

Much of the groundwork for the exploration of this relationship had been laid by the English philosopher, John Locke, who has been called the 'Prophet of Common Sense'.⁸ In his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Locke proposed that ideas were the products of sense impressions. Moral values arose from sensations of pleasure and pain. Thus 'good' was what experience showed to be productive of pleasure, and 'bad' was what experience indicated to be productive of pain. Locke considered the mind a 'tabula rasa' on which ideas were imprinted by sensations caused by external objects. He originated the phrase 'association of ideas',⁹ and emphasised the importance of attention, repetition, pleasure and pain in the fixing of ideas in the memory. He distinguished between a 'natural' correspondence of ideas and a connection established by 'chance' or 'custom'.

Francis Hutcheson, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University and usually regarded as the founder of Scottish Enlightenment philosophy,¹⁰ was strongly influenced by Locke. In his *Inquiry into the Original of*

Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue (1725) he, like Locke, rejected the view that men could discover moral truths by reason (i.e. metaphysical speculation) alone. Instead he tried to measure morality by the use of algebraic formulae and set out a 'mechanics of virtue'.¹¹ In a later work, *A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy* (1747), Hutcheson reiterated that moral laws should be based on the empirical investigation of human nature: 'We must...search accurately into the constitution of our nature, to see what sort of creatures we are'¹² Only then could one begin to study the more general question of men's position in society.

A year after Hutcheson's *Inquiry*, in 1748, George Turnbull, Regent of Marischal University, Aberdeen, presented a thesis at the graduation of his students, 'De Pulcherrima Mundi Materialis tum Rationalis Constitutione',¹³ in which he employed physics to prove the existence of God and maintained that natural science, i.e. physiology, should be taught before moral philosophy. Another Marischal teacher, David Fordyce (1711-1751), Professor of Moral Philosophy, also made a strong link between moral philosophy and science:-

Moral philosophy contemplates human nature, its moral powers and connections, and from these deduces the laws of action; and it is defined more strictly the 'Science of Manners or Duty', which it traces from man's nature and condition, and shows to terminate in his happiness.¹⁴

Later in the century, Thomas Reid (1710-1796), Professor of Philosophy at King's College, Aberdeen, a former pupil of Hutcheson and 'father of the influential school of Common-Sense philosophy',¹⁵ maintained that people were social beings who had to be studied scientifically. Dugald Stewart, appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University in 1785,¹⁶ continued Reid's teachings in *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* (1792) and in 1802 published an *Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Reid*. He was one of the first writers to substitute the word 'psychology' for the term 'science of the human mind', and maintained that philosophy depended on psychology, which should be treated as an inductive science. He asserted that all knowledge was rooted in human nature: 'General psychology is thus the centre whence the thinker goes outward to the circumference of human knowledge.'¹⁷

This stress on individual psychology and empirical method might well lead to the expectation that, in teaching individual children, the precepts of the 'science of the mind' would be applied irrespective of gender. Certainly Stewart and most other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers on education in Scotland (and in England) were strongly influenced by Locke, but even he, the 'Father of

the Enlightenment'¹⁸ in educational thought,¹⁹ said very little about the education of girls.²⁰ Essentially, the system of education he described in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) was designed to produce a young 'gentleman'. Neither did he care much for the education of poor children, male or female, whom he thought would be best trained as useful workers and servants. His focus was solely on the upper-class male child. As will be demonstrated later in this Chapter, the Scottish philosophers of the Enlightenment period also adopted the same narrow perspective, so that, when they wrote about the workings of the young mind it was implicit that they meant the mind of the male child. And 'Virtue', as in Locke, meant manly virtue.

The main difference between Locke and the Scottish Enlightenment philosophers was the development by the latter of a theory of intuition. Locke has been criticised for ignoring the non-rational forces of the mind and the active nature of experience and learning.²¹ For Hutcheson, Locke's description of the senses was too scanty and left unexplained the inner workings of the mind. He proposed instead the existence of a moral faculty, or sense, implanted in man by God, and maintained that, although the association of ideas was important in forming impressions, ideas were not the sole product of external stimuli. He

believed the moral sense to be innate in the mind of every human being and that, because it gave them a calm desire for the happiness of all beings, it motivated men to perform benevolent actions.²²

From Hutcheson's teachings sprang a new school of philosophy, that of 'Common Sense', which spread quickly in Scotland during the last half of the eighteenth century. Combining Hutcheson's ideas with what they considered to be the empirical method, Hutcheson's successors, for example, Thomas Reid and Dugald Stewart, asserted that the internal moral sense, the soul, was as self-evident as the external existence of matter and, although their explanation of the mind's development used the association of ideas, they proposed that there already existed an innate capacity to receive and to order external stimuli. Intuition therefore played an important part in the creation of ideas and in motivation man's virtue was to be sensed rather than reasoned about.

It was the use of this inductive method that set eighteenth-century Scottish philosophers apart from the rest of European Enlightenment Philosophy as a separate school of thought. The historian, James McCosh, claimed in 1875: 'To the Scottish School belongs the merit of being the first, avowedly and knowingly, to follow the inductive

method and to employ it systematically in psychological investigation'.²³ This group of philosophers regarded the heart as important as the head, because they believed that feeling could produce a kind of knowledge that the mind could not generate alone. They considered thought and belief to be constructed from a complex series of feelings and reactions to external objects. However, in the process of perception, intuition was more important than reason, because it was more spontaneous and more sensitive to subtleties.

The importance placed on intuition and the emotions-qualities more usually associated with women rather than with men - might have generated a new consideration of the role women had to play in the new philosophy. However most Scottish philosophers remained unaware of such a possibility and instead used their new theory of learning as a basis for proposals for a more liberal education for boys, while maintaining a traditional domestic training for girls.

Educational Theory

Hutcheson's predecessor and the first occupant of the Chair of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University, Gershom

Carmichael (1672-1729), maintained that parents were duty-bound to provide their children with the best education possible.²⁴ Hutcheson took up the theme, stating that parents should not treat their children as their own personal property since: 'They [children] commence rational beings, parts of this great system, with the same natural rights which their parents enjoy, as soon as they have reason to use them'.²⁵ Parental power over children could only be justified while children were young, unable to look after themselves and dependent on their parents' loving care. As soon as the children were mature, parents must relinquish the reins of power. Even when the children were little, parents had no right to punish them severely.

The Scottish philosophers, influenced by Hutcheson, believed that malevolent actions occurred because the moral sense had been warped in its development. The seed of morality was sown by God in infants but it was up to parents and the wider society to ensure its growth to successful fruition. If neglected, it would die or, if nourished in the wrong way, would become deformed. They based their theory of moral development on Locke's theory of the association of ideas, which explained how children, presented with the right stimuli at the right time, would come to associate 'good' with pleasure and 'bad' with pain, and so would be motivated to make good moral

judgements. It was therefore vital to society that the theory of the association of ideas be used correctly in the education of children.

David Fordyce in his *Dialogues Concerning Education* (1745-1748) discussed 'Education and Non-Education or the Respective Influence of Nature and Art' in Volume One. Therein, Eugenio, one of the disputants, criticised school learning because it stifled genius. Eugenio's opponent, Constant, replied: 'Let us once get free of all Principles and Restraints and then our Practice may take its full swing. This is fashionable doctrine and palatable to the present age'.²⁶ Constant condemned such freedom from educational rules, because he thought that a formal education was necessary to direct the growth of the child's understanding. The conclusion to this debate was a compromise summed up by a third disputant, Philander, who appears to have been Fordyce's mouthpiece:-

...as the understanding ought to be opened and enlarged, by laying the best of Materials, both philosophical and religious, before it; so too great Pains cannot be taken to guard against unjust and narrow Prejudices, and to keep the Heart open to every humane and benevolent Impression.²⁷

Fordyce's *Dialogues* illustrates that, even before Rousseau's *Émile* (1762), Scottish philosophers had already

recognised the importance of the emotions. As the educational historian, Elizabeth Lawrence, noted in 1970:-

The little-known writings of David Fordyce, Professor of Aberdeen, forecast most of the principal ideas of Rousseau's *Émile* and draw together most of the enlightened thoughts of his predecessors, Erasmus, Vives, Comenius, Locke and others.²⁸

One of the first to endorse the application of 'the science of the human mind' to education at this time was Henry Home, Lord Kames.²⁹ As Fordyce had done, Kames advocated that the faculties should be developed according to a pattern preordained by nature. This too was before the publication of Rousseau's *Emile* - although Kames might have been aware of Rousseau's ideas from *La Nouvelle Heloise* (1760) and earlier writings. In his small treatise, *The Art of Thinking* (1761), Kames made no reference to Rousseau but claimed that education should follow the natural unfolding of the faculties and that its object should be the moral and intellectual development of the individual both for his own sake and for the benefit of the community.

Kames' most influential work, *The Elements of Criticism* (1763), made a considerable impact on his contemporaries (six editions were printed in his lifetime). In it he refuted the idea that self-love was the sole motive for action and maintained that sympathy was just as

influential. He suggested that man had an instinctive notion of right and wrong, which was not determined by reason. Conscience was a feeling that preceded reflection. The first two chapters of *The Elements* contain Kames' ideas about human psychology. According to a recent biographer, A.E. McGuinness, the most fundamental element of his theory of mind was the principle of association:-

Like Hume, Kames reasons that all human knowledge originates in the senses. Unlike Hume...[he] maintains that man possesses both internal and external senses. The external senses provide knowledge of physical reality; the internal, knowledge of such abstract realities as morality and beauty.³⁰

Thus Kames accepted the associationism of the Locke-Hume tradition, but rejected any materialistic explanation of human behaviour. Instead, he interpreted them as connected with feeling and considered, like Rousseau, that the training of the emotions was all important.

In *Loose Hints upon Education: Chiefly Concerning the Culture of the Heart* (1781), Kames maintained that the mother should be the educator of the small child. He disagreed with Rousseau that children should be free from all constraints, because he considered that children were incapable of judging for themselves. However he resembled Locke in that he believed that shame and disgrace should be

used to control children rather than corporal punishment, which should be resorted to only in cases of grave obstinacy. What the pupil learned should be understood; it should be interesting; and it should be taught in stages. Kames shared Rousseau's and Locke's belief that private education was necessary for the correct development of the child. Public schools were effective in teaching young men worldly manners but they were unable to tutor them in morals. Informal education in the home environment was better than formal schooling.

The central position given by Scottish moral philosophers to the role of emotion was continued into the nineteenth century by the Scottish Common-Sense School. However, common-sense philosophy, as presented by Thomas Reid and his disciples, introduced a new conservatism into Scottish educational thought. For although the publication of Rousseau's *Émile* heralded a resurgence of interest in education in Scotland and James Beattie and the Laird of Hilton educated their children according to Rousseau's proposals, some writers were markedly hostile to such innovations. Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, thought the educational writings of John Locke and Isaac Watts, the hymn writer, were far superior to those of Rousseau, because the former were practical, easily understood and advocated a rational system of education. He claimed that

after the publication of *Émile*, parents became confused and distrustful of their abilities to educate their children:-

New systems of education, controversial treatises in support and refutation of these systems and books for the instruction of children, framed on all their opposite principles, now issued from the press in endless succession. The infant man seemed to be regarded as a subject of perpetual experiment, on which every daring empiric was a liberty to try the effect of his alternative processes, his stimulant, or his sedative medicines...³¹

Despite their emphasis on the emotions, most Common-Sense philosophers were, in general, distrustful of allowing emotions to develop unchecked by outside agency. Those who wrote on education used Rousseau's ideas selectively. They used the parts of his theories that fitted in with the concepts of the Scottish Common-Sense School and discarded the rest. For example, Thomas Reid declared:-

That it is the will of God that Human Minds should grow up from a small an [sic] imperceptible beginning, passing through various States of Existence, each of which is preparatory to that which follows; and that their improvement both in intellectual and moral Endowments in those states which fall under our Notice depends in a great Measure upon the Culture they receive; that this Culture depends partly upon themselves partly upon those who are connected with them, and partly upon the circumstances of their lot in the World which are neither in their own power nor that of their Connexions.³²

And J.C. Stewart-Robertson, a scholar working on the thought of Thomas Reid, suggests that to the Scottish 'Common-Sense' philosophers, the concept of Virtue was much more important than that of Freedom. To them a cohesive system of education was necessary to imbue the child's mind with the right type of 'Culture', that would teach the child the quality of Virtue. As Stewart-Robertson has remarked: 'The freedom to fix the mind, to make it a fit subject of attention rather than an object for distraction, was for Scottish thinkers a fundamental axiom of moral life'.³³

Perceptions of the Social Role and Education of Scottish Women

In their writings on psychology and the learning process the Scottish philosophers made no distinction of gender. They referred, like Reid above, to 'human minds'; to 'men', in the sense of humanity; and to 'children' in general. One might well conclude, particularly from their emphasis on common sense, that is, a sense common to all people, that it was as important to train 'the infant woman' in the same way as 'the infant man'. And the greater liberalism of their ideas on how children should be taught,

for example, their opposition to corporal punishment, might suggest a more liberal attitude to women's education than that held by their predecessors. However, when one turns to their ideas about society and the application of those ideas to education it is clear that they considered women to be peripheral to discussions about the development of intellect.

Certainly there were Scotsmen throughout the period 1750-1830 who claimed greater equality and educational opportunity for women. For instance, Francis Hutcheson declared that men, women and children all had equal natural rights, not just before God but in the secular world too. He proposed that within the family, wives and children should have the same rights as husbands and fathers. In *A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy* (1747)³⁴ Hutcheson wrote that marriage was necessary for the continuation of the species, for the 'natural love of the sexes, and equally natural love of offspring'.³⁵ Marriage was a sacred contract between two consenting and equal individuals: 'Marriage...may be defined a covenant between a man and woman about perpetual faithful cohabitation and joint care of their common offspring'.³⁶ It was necessary for both partners to strive equally for the education and welfare of their children. Divorce should only be possible in extreme cases of marital breakdown, such as '...adultery, obstinate

desertion, capital enmity, and such gross outrages as take away all hopes of any friendly society for the future'.³⁷ If divorce had to occur, then the wronged party should be free to marry again and the guilty one be heavily penalised, irrespective of their sex.

Similarly, although David Fordyce devoted most of his *Dialogues Concerning Education* to a discussion of liberal education for boys, he briefly mentioned girls' education and expressed views contrary to those traditionally held on the subject. As well as reading, writing, music, dancing, sewing, animal husbandry and charitable works, he proposed more radically that girls should be taught history, geography, astronomy and physics and that they should read Rollin, Fenelon, Francis Hutcheson and *The Spectator*.³⁸

A century later, Mary Somerville's uncle, Thomas Somerville (1741-1830), in his autobiography, *My Own Life and Times* (1861), wrote that in his youth the subjects thought most important for girls had been sewing, embroidery, pastry and cookery and they had been taught in all girls' schools in Edinburgh. Only girls of the higher social classes were taught music and dancing. Somerville claimed: 'Within my remembrance, many even of the latter were shamefully deficient in the elementary, and now universal accomplishments of writing and spelling'.³⁹ But,

according to him, this situation had improved by mid-century and girls received a more liberal education that comprised the development of taste and the learning of accomplishments. While some of his contemporaries, according to Somerville, claimed that the new trend diverted attention from domestic duties, Somerville was of the opinion that, on the contrary, women of good sense and modesty benefited both society and their families 'with the elevation of their own tastes and habits'.⁴⁰ Somerville advocated that girls should learn to read and write and should develop their talents for accomplishments. He read Virgil with Mary Somerville and encouraged her by telling her that women could be 'elegant scholars'.⁴¹ Nevertheless, there was still no suggestion that girls should have an education similar to boys, and the aim of girls' education was still the same, that is, the production of good wives and mothers.

The Common-Sense philosophers considered that the environment had an influence on the moulding of the mind and intellect. The admission that differences in mental attainment and moral worth between men were not completely attributable to differences in innate qualities, but could occur from different types of interaction with people and things, led some male writers to apply the same argument to women. By the end of the eighteenth century, the view that

male and female inequalities were innate was meeting some opposition. For example, George Chapman, master of an academy near Crieff, though continuing to believe that woman's main preoccupation should be domestic, admitted in 1773 that 'the fair sex are capable of a very high degree of improvement', and that 'they are capable of instruction as well as the men'.⁴²

Dugald Stewart had many intelligent women as friends, for example, Elizabeth Hamilton, and his second wife, Helen D'Arcy Cranstoun (1765-1838), the daughter of Lord George Cranstoun, has been acclaimed as: 'a woman of cultivated intellect and great social charm';⁴³ 'a brilliant, well-educated woman, who acted as critic of all his [Stewart's] writings';⁴⁴ and 'a lady of high accomplishments, fascinating manners and literary tastes'.⁴⁵ In his own household, then, Stewart had before him an excellent example of the intellectual potential of women and, indeed, he believed that any apparent intellectual inferiority in women was due to insufficient formal education for girls. Lack of education in its widest sense also explained why women were less energetic than men, more inclined to hysteria and more inclined towards 'enthusiastic' religion. In *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* (1792-1827) he wrote:-

Women are not trained to think with steady and concentrated attention to some particular intellectual objective, and it is not surprising, therefore, that they show no particular taste for the philosophy of mind and even less for mathematics.⁴⁶

Despite this, Stewart believed that women had a 'greater facility of association', which gave them an advantage over men in learning foreign languages, in conversation and in letter-writing.

It is without question that many women described in Chapter One were helped by men to achieve what they did. Nevertheless such isolated incidents did little to change the general pattern of thought about women's social role and education in Scotland between 1750 and 1830. Scottish law still kept to the precedent set in 1681 by Sir James Dalrymple, Lord Stair, Lord President of the Court of Session, when he asserted that the husband's power over his wife was 'no more than a consequence of the moral law, whereby marriage being institute before the fall, woman was made for man, and not the man for woman'.⁴⁷

A century later the law was unchanged. Although a single woman over the age of twenty-one had the same legal rights as a man,⁴⁸ once a woman was married, her property and income became her husband's and she lost her legal rights to act as a free individual. A marriage contract,

however, could override the law, giving the wife more favourable terms. Indeed by the beginning of the nineteenth century, it has been claimed, half or more of Scottish lands were held under marriage contracts.⁴⁹ Most aristocratic women had a small, independent income guaranteed in their marriage settlements, which they could keep even if separated from their husbands. But for most of the Scottish population the laws governing property and succession were unqualified by personal contracts.

It might be expected that the Scottish philosophers, fired by the Age of Enlightenment, would question the legal subordination of women to their husbands. But most ignored the female sex in their deliberations on metaphysics and psychology and only admitted women into their sociological writings, because women could not be overlooked in a discussion of social institutions that included marriage. Kames, for example, viewed women's history as 'a capital branch of the history of man'⁵⁰ and although he, John Gregory (1724-1773), John Millar and William Robertson prefaced their accounts of the development of society with sections on the role of women in different societies,⁵¹ such discussions were usually brief. Kames, for example, dealt with women in ninety-seven out of 1,867 pages in his *Sketches of the History of Man* (1778).⁵²

From these writings, there emerged a 'four-stages theory',⁵³ which traced man's evolution from hunter to shepherd to farmer to merchant, sometimes modified, as in the case of John Gregory's *A Comparative View*, to three stages. No matter the number of categories, the conclusions were the same: that the development of society was accompanied by an increasing division of labour which caused greater complexity in society and within the individual personality. It also brought the benefits of 'the refinement of the passions and the growth of politeness',⁵⁴ although a warning was usually added that too much opulence and luxury would cause social and individual corruption. In a developed society it was essential that women as well as men observed the division of labour and obeyed the social laws which protected family life.

In their explanation of the division between male and female roles these philosophers, motivated by the prevailing spirit of empiricism, claimed that they were presenting an objective analysis of history, their thesis being that the distribution of goods determined social relations. Yet the accounts of social customs by Kames, Millar and Gregory, for example, were highly coloured by their own subjective judgments. To them it was self-evident that their own society was the highest form of

civilisation yet attained and that institutions within that society should be perpetuated. However, they found it difficult to arrive at a consistent rationale for the social inequality of men - let alone women. They were caught in a trap of their own making - confusion as to whether inequalities were innate or environmentally determined.

For example, Adam Smith in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), argued that sympathy with others was the highest virtue which men could attain.⁵⁵ But sympathy with those different from oneself did not signify that one should deal with them equally. Nature allotted men separate situations in life and it was therefore only rational that they should remain in them. But later, in 1776, Smith wrote in *The Wealth of Nations*:-

The difference of natural talents in different men, is, in reality, much less than we are aware of; and the very different genius which appears to distinguish men of different professions, when grown up to maturity, is not upon many occasions so much the cause as the effect of the division of labour. The difference between the most dissimilar characters, between a philosopher and a common street porter, for example, seems to arise not so much from nature, as from habit, custom and education.⁵⁶

This represents a swing from the belief that social inequalities are determined by Nature to a suggestion that,

instead, they are caused mainly by environmental factors. The Moderate view of religion, to which most Scottish Enlightenment philosophers adhered, offered a compromise solution to the problem. The Moderates regarded God as a benevolent guide in the affairs of humanity, before whom all human souls were equal. This is what the Scottish Enlightenment philosophers termed 'natural equality'. However, they also professed that differentiation of social function was approved by God and it, too, was 'natural'. The concept of the division of labour enabled the Scottish philosophers to justify social inequality on the grounds that a harmonious society was the product of a social structure in which everyone kept to the range of activities prescribed for them by birth, that is, by Nature and by God.

This comfortable rationalisation for the maintenance of inequality was easy to extend to women. While they conceded that men and women were equal in the sight of God, the majority of Scottish Enlightenment philosophers were in complete agreement with the French philosopher, Rousseau, that women's dependence on men was determined by nature. When men and women carried out their different social functions and acted in accordance with their different physical and mental attributes, then they acted as a complement to each other and ensured social stability. The

outside world of business and activity belonged to men, and the inner world of the home and spiritual values to women.

Central to this ideology of sexual differentiation was the traditional concept of virtue. In early eighteenth-century Scotland the classical ideal of civic virtue, as proclaimed by men like Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, stressed the moral duties of free and equal citizens in creating an independent political state. Such civic humanism excluded both women and the poor. Women were not regarded as the equals of men and to be independent a man had to be free from the worries of ensuring his livelihood. Therefore, one had to be male and wealthy to qualify for civic virtue. Indeed, the classical 'virtus' excluded women by the very terms of definition, i.e. 'vir' is Latin for 'a man' and thus 'virtus' meant qualities associated with a man.⁵⁷

The Union of the Scottish and English Parliaments in 1707 undermined the appeal of civic virtue, although the idea persisted in Scotland throughout the eighteenth century.⁵⁸ Now virtue became associated with social, rather than with political culture and a liberal (civil) concept of virtue emphasised moral qualities of the individual within the private sphere. Virtue came to centre on 'the refinement of the passions and the growth of politeness' ⁵⁹ and wisdom became equated with virtue. The Scottish

historian, Nicholas Phillipson, has recently commented in reference to eighteenth-century Scotland that, 'In commercial civilisation wisdom rather than the classic martial and political virtues was the true touchstone of virtue'.⁶⁰ More feminine qualities were included as 'virtuous' than in the classical republican ideal. But the idea that knowledge (or wisdom) was necessary for virtue applied only to men. Knowledge in women was viewed with distaste and knowing women were considered impure. Enlightenment philosophy as a whole equated virtue with knowledge, but often saw female virtue at risk from the acquisition of knowledge.⁶¹

The contradictions between the values of male and female knowledge became firmly embedded in Scottish Enlightenment philosophy and were cemented by the ideas of Rousseau, who maintained that a woman's virtue lay in blind submission to her father and then to her husband. According to Rousseau, knowledge was unnecessary for a woman and even harmful to her development of virtue:-

A witty (i.e. articulate) woman is a scourge to her husband, to her children, to her friends, her servants and to all the world. Elated by the sublimity of her genius, she scorns to stoop to the duties of a woman, and is sure to commence a man.⁶²

'Refinement of the passions' involved the association of female virtue and chastity. For women, the question of morality related principally to their sexual apparatus, while for men, moral issues were mostly cerebral and unconnected with sexual continence. An unmarried woman had to be chaste for chastity was 'woman's only and best-selling economic asset'.⁶³ Without it, her marriage prospects were spoiled and her financial position extremely uncertain. Insistence on an unmarried woman's virginity and a married woman's sexual fidelity were supported by other values that safeguarded male dominance. Female virtue at the beginning of the nineteenth century could be divided into four cardinal virtues: 'piety', 'purity', 'submissiveness' and 'domesticity'.⁶⁴ Women were increasingly regarded in Scotland as a man's personal property.⁶⁵

In *A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy*, Francis Hutcheson attacked the double standard of sexuality, maintaining that both man and wife should be faithful to each other:-

...it is a natural iniquity that a wife's conjugal affection, and all her cares and fortune, should be devoted to one man and his offspring; while the affections of the husband are allowed to be intercepted by, or dispersed among several women and their children, and along with it his fortune.⁶⁶

But Hutcheson's words were not heeded by his fellow-philosophers. Kames, for instance, felt no reluctance in championing the superiority of men, asserting that women's functions were domestic, not only because of the demands placed on them by the division of labour but, most of all, because the home was where nature had decreed they should be:-

To make a good husband is but one branch of a man's duty; but it is the chief duty of a woman, to make a good wife. To please her husband, to be a good economist, and to educate their children, are capital duties, each of which requires much training. Nature lays the foundations: diligence and sagacity in the conductor will make a beautiful superstructure.⁶⁷

Kames asserted that the most essential feature in women was virtue. Men had no respect for women without it and their relationship with such females could only be one of 'animal desire'. Virtue had to be present (presumably only in the woman) for 'genuine love' to exist.⁶⁸

The division of social roles into masculine and feminine spheres had, as its logical corollary, the separation of male and female education. Scottish Enlightenment Man found Rousseau's authoritarian views on female education particularly suited to his own thoughts about Scottish Enlightenment Woman. The philosophers of the

Scottish Enlightenment argued that, since nature decreed that public activity was exclusive to men and that women should be confined to private life, education should be similarly divided.

The theory of the association of ideas, described earlier in this Chapter, goes some of the way in explaining this seeming contradiction. Most of the Scottish philosophers, excluding Hume and Smith, were convinced of the existence of an innate moral sense but they also believed that this and other senses could be influenced by external stimuli. So, although girls were born with wifely and maternal instincts, education could either strengthen or weaken nature's imprint. For example, Kames, like Rousseau, asserted that differences between the sexes began at birth and were instinctive: boys constantly indulged in vigorous activity, while girls were preoccupied with first dressing their dolls and then themselves. In Section VI of *Loose Hints*, entitled 'Peculiarities respecting the Education of Females', Kames proclaimed: 'The time a girl bestows on her doll is a prognostic that she will be equally diligent about her offspring'.⁶⁹ In his opinion, girls preferred needlework to reading and writing and, when they were of an age to draw, they should be taught to sketch leaves and flowers, rather than human beings,

because they were more useful as ornamental designs for their dress.

However, appearance was not to be emphasised to the exclusion of all else. Girls learned to speak earlier, but to Kames this did not indicate any female advantage, for they were more motivated by the opinions of others and more likely to dissimulate, whereas boys were governed by their inner consciences: 'A man says what he knows; a woman what is agreeable; knowledge is necessary for the former; taste is sufficient for the latter'.⁷⁰ Since esteem of others was so important to women, girls' education should concentrate on the development of 'modesty and reserve'; the repudiation of their own desires; and the growth of 'decency and decorum'.⁷¹ Furthermore: 'Women, destined by Nature to be obedient, ought to be disciplined early to bear wrongs, without murmuring'.⁷² Kames benevolently allowed that within these restrictions, girls' activities should be made as enjoyable as possible, so that their submission would be willingly given.

Girls should be trained to be good mothers, so, as well as music and dancing, they should study human nature and the art of improving the heart. Mothers in towns, who devoted themselves to the pursuit of fashion, ignored the education of their children and often resorted to sending

them to boarding schools. This practice, Kames maintained, was not good for girls as the rising divorce rates indicated.

Good physical health was necessary for girls, not just for their own sake but so that they would bear healthy children. Kames briefly referred at this point to the Spartan practice of girls taking part in wrestling and other strenuous games with men but hastily recovered himself from this immodest thought by the brief, somewhat contradictory statement: 'This surely was not prompted by nature, which does not intend women to be so robust. For the sake of health, all that is necessary is plain food, with frequent walking or riding'.⁷³ To Kames, the total isolation of women from public life, as in a convent, was unnatural and bred immorality. Girls, we are glad to learn, should be allowed occasional outings from their home under the strict chaperonage of their mothers.

In *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774), Kames explained that girls should be taught history, science and biography like men, because the purpose of nature was to make women 'fit companions for men of sense'.⁷⁴ And a woman with such an education would still be able to influence men when her beauty declined with old age. But he warned that girls should: 'avoid the intricacies of philosophy and

loose reasoning; which would lead to emulation, not to cordiality'.⁷⁵

Kames' cousin, David Hume, declared in his *Treatise of Human Nature* that all of humanity reacted to similar influences in similar ways: 'Whether we consider mankind according to the difference of sexes, ages, governments, conditions or methods of education; the same uniformity and regular operation of natural principles are discernible'.⁷⁶ However, drawing an analogy between trees that bear different fruits, Hume professed that the actions and the passions of the two sexes were markedly different. Those of men were characterised by 'their force and maturity'; those of women were marked by their 'delicacy and softness'.⁷⁷ Women were more influenced by their passions than men and were more concerned with romance, superstition and power. They were also more inclined to deceit than men, who possessed not only greater strength of body but also of mind.⁷⁸ Those few women who transcended the 'amiable weaknesses' of femininity became unattractive 'as a wife or a mistress'.⁷⁹

Hume, unlike other Scottish philosophers, thought it was absurd to imagine that the pain and pleasure that distinguished bad from good were produced by 'an original quality and primary constitution'.⁸⁰ Instead they were

determined by men's passions. Thus, there was no natural or God-given distinction between right and wrong but, 'granting that morality has no foundation in nature, it must still be allow'd that vice and virtue, either from self-interest or the prejudice of education, produce in us a real pain and pleasure'.⁸¹ Therefore the general sense of common good persuaded all members of a society to observe the customs and laws of that society. For example, the social institution of marriage, though freely entered by a man and a woman, ensured the continuation of that society through the production of children. It was therefore in society's interests to safeguard the marriage bond by the use of law and custom. Modesty and chastity had to be observed by women and it was necessary to inculcate in girls from birth onwards a repugnance to promiscuity since 'fear of a bad reputation, shame of infidelity and praise of chastity' were not sufficiently strong inhibitors:-

Men have undoubtedly an implicit notion, that all these ideas of modesty and decency have a regard to generation; since they impose not the same laws with the same force, on the male sex, where that reason takes not place.⁸²

Although men should not be allowed a complete sexual freedom, they were able to enjoy greater liberty than women because 'bachelors, however debauch'd cannot chuse but be

shock'd with any instance of lewedness or impudence in women'.⁸³

In an earlier essay, *Of Love & Marriage*,⁸⁴ Hume inveighed against tyranny of wives over their husbands claiming that, 'no passion seems to have more influence on female minds, than this for power'.⁸⁵ Hume considered female despotism 'barbarous',⁸⁶ and referred to his dislike when he saw, as he said he often did in Scotland, a woman marrying a fool so that she could dominate her husband.

Thus Hume's ideas on women's social role were pragmatic. Women were not naturally inferior, but society treated them as if they were and should continue to do so, because men had to ensure that they were raising their own children by restricting their wives' freedom. Indeed, though in amicable disagreement with Kames on the rest of his philosophy, Hume concurred with Kames' thoughts on women's education. In his essay, 'Of the Study of History' (1741),⁸⁷ Hume warned women against the self-indulgent reading of fiction. Novels gave them an unrealistically romantic notion of the real world. Instead, he recommended that they should read history for a more accurate picture of how 'avarice, ambition, vanity and a thousand other passions' predominated over love in the 'male world', so that they would be content with their isolation from it.

John Gregory struck a more hopeful note when, in *A Comparative View of the State & Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World*, he argued that it was only insensitive men, or men whose attentions had been rejected, who proclaimed that women were inferior: 'To give love more force and permanency, it must be connected with sentiment and esteem. But this desirable effect can never be produced as long as we continue to treat women like children'.⁸⁸ However, it was at this point that what appears to be the beginning of an argument for equal treatment of women stops short. Though he believed that mothers had a vital part to play in the formation of a well-balanced member of society, Gregory did not want women to behave like men because:-

The two sexes have very different parts to act on the theatre of life. Nature has sufficiently marked their different characters and enables both of them to perform their respective duties in society...The more laborious and active parts in the greater scene of human affairs must be performed by the men. They must, of course, exert bodily strength, greater personal courage, and greater powers of understanding. Domestic life, as friends, wives and mothers, constitute the highest glories of the female character. Their office is to superintend the economy of families...the training of youth of both sexes devolves chiefly upon the women.⁸⁹

It is true that Gregory defended women against misogynists in this essay and, in *A Father's Legacy to his*

Daughters (1774), criticised the custom of marrying without love, which, according to him, was prevalent in Scotland: 'Indeed, without an unusual share of natural sensibility, and a very peculiar good fortune, a woman in this country has very little probability of marrying for love'.⁹⁰ But confronted with the problem of his daughters finding suitable partners, he came down on the side of expedience. If Scottish society expected particular modes of dress, behaviour and levels of accomplishment from women, then women must conform.

Gregory cautioned his two daughters against the pitfalls of intelligence in women. If a woman had any knowledge, she must keep it hidden, as if its possession were a deformity:-

Females cannot be possessed of a more dangerous talent than Wit...if you happen to have any learning, keep it a profound secret, especially from the men who generally look with a jealous and malignant eye on a woman of great parts and a cultivated understanding.⁹¹

He allowed that a few men of noble character existed, who would not object to a woman of learning, but these rare beings would be able to discover a woman's knowledge for themselves without her risking a display of it. The chief aim of a woman in company should be to please others, that is, to be seen and not heard. Even the study of history was

thought by Gregory to bring girls into disrepute. He advised that the main aim of a girl's education should be to equip her with the domestic skills necessary to be a good wife and mother. Other accomplishments should be regarded merely as icing on the cake and were only to be welcomed if they enhanced the wife's role as friend and companion to her husband. All talents unconnected with the domestic sphere were irrelevant to women's lives and should not be cultivated by them.

Mary Wollstonecraft, while dubbing him the 'worthy Dr. Gregory' and professing that she respected 'his heart',⁹² denounced him for encouraging women to dissimulate and lie:-

...all the writers who have written on the subject of female education and manners, from Rousseau to Dr. Gregory, have contributed to render women more artificial, weak characters, than they would otherwise have been; and consequently, more useless members of society.⁹³

The division of labour according to gender is marked in the writings of John Millar, a noted sympathiser with the French Revolution and campaigner for the abolition of slavery. The difference between what he regarded as suitable conduct for men and women is made explicit in his sociological piece of writing, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks, or an Enquiry into the circumstances*

which gave rise to influence and authority in the different Members of Society (1771).⁹⁴ Millar considered social values to be dependent on economic factors and in his work he linked the state of women to the economic development of society. In primitive societies, in which there was hardly any private property, men and women were considered equal, the only differences in rank arising from personal qualities such as age, experience, strength and courage. Marriage only occurred for the procreation of children and was usually arranged by parents. Millar viewed such customs as denigrating to women, because neither women nor their occupations were treated with respect.

In a society often at war, women were held to be inferior to men. Even though they might sometimes accompany their men on expeditions and even fight beside them:-

...in barbarous, as well as refined periods, the women are, for the most part, incapable of rivalling the other sex in point of strength and courage. It falls upon them to manage all the inferior concerns of the household, and to perform such domestic offices as the particular circumstances of the people have introduced: offices which, however useful, yet requiring little dexterity or skill, and being attended by no exertion of splendid talents, are naturally regarded as mean and servile...⁹⁵

Differences in the ways that various nations treated the members of each sex were due, according to Millar, to the

progress each society had made in 'the cultivation of the arts of life'; 'the advancement of opulence'; and 'the gradual refinement of taste and manners'.⁹⁶ These resulted from a change in economy.

As members of a society became involved in trade for their mutual benefit, they saw peace, stable government and obedience to laws as advantages. Women were respected for their special skills rather than adored passionately from afar. Millar called those special skills the 'female accomplishments and virtues',⁹⁷ and regarded them as civilising influences upon men:-

In this situation the women become neither the slaves, nor the idols of the other sex, but the friends and companions. The wife obtains that rank and station which appears most agreeable to reason, being suited to her character and talents.⁹⁸

Women who found enjoyment outside the family group were 'dissipated by pleasure' or 'corrupted by the vicious customs of the world'. Instead, women's feelings and energies had to be concentrated on their domestic activities if they were to be 'useful members of society'.⁹⁹ And since women who were skilled in domestic accomplishments and virtues were held in the highest regard in civilised societies, it was obvious that girls would be educated to emulate them:-

They are instructed...in whatever will qualify them for the duties of their station, and is thought conducive to the ornament of private life...As their attention is principally bestowed upon the members of their own family, they are led in a particular manner to improve those feelings of the heart which are excited by these tender connections, and they are trained up in the practice of all domestic virtues.¹⁰⁰

Millar equated an increase in women's power with an increase in women's licentiousness. Referring to countries in which it was the custom for women to hold authority and to remain unmarried he warned:-

In proportion to her affluence, she has the greater temptation to indulge her sensual appetites and, in a period when the sexes are but little accustomed to control or disguise their inclinations, she may, in some cases, be led into a correspondence with different male retainers, who happen to reside in her family, and over whom she exercises an authority resembling that of a master.¹⁰¹

Free women lost the respect of men and were regarded only as objects which satisfied lust. The social disorder which resulted from disrupted family relations brought about the downfall of the society. Therefore, the harmony and continuation of civilised society depended on the generation of female chastity. Millar ended his discourse with an 'awful warning' of what happened to a society when, with greater wealth and luxury, women emerged from the

territory of their homes and 'distinguish themselves by polite accomplishments that tend to heighten their personal attractions and to excite those peculiar sentiments and passions of which they are the natural objects'.¹⁰²

This warning was very likely directed at Scottish parents, who, like English ones of the same period, were increasingly training their daughters in the accomplishments. Nevertheless, Scotland lagged behind England and Scottish educational reformers still praised the practicality of girls' domestic education in contrast to the classical education given to boys. Scottish grammar schools and universities provided boys with a good understanding of Latin but, according to university teachers like George Turnbull, David Fordyce and Alexander Gerard, the traditional curriculum ignored the development of the moral faculties and it served no useful purpose.¹⁰³ By mid-century, other university professors were attempting to improve courses in belles-lettres and philosophy¹⁰⁴ and the landed gentry, who wanted an improved secondary education for their sons, were pressing for the establishment of more academies that had greater occupational emphasis than the traditional grammar schools.

Adam Smith admired the usefulness of a girl's education in *Wealth of Nations* (1776) and contrasted it

with what he regarded as the irrelevance of a boy's curriculum. He saw no reason to change a system which trained girls in domestic skills and virtues:-

There are no public institutions for the education of women, and there is accordingly nothing useless, absurd, or fantastical in the common course of their education. They are taught that their parents or guardians judge it necessary or useful for them to learn; and they are taught nothing else. Every part of their education tends evidently to some useful purpose; either to improve the natural attractions of their person, or to reform their mind to reserve, to modesty, to chastity, and to economy; to render them both likely to become the mistress of a family, and to behave properly when they have become such. In every part of her life a woman feels some conveniency or advantage from every part of her education. It seldom happens that a man, in any part of his life, derives any conveniency or advantage from some of the most laborious and troublesome parts of his education.¹⁰⁵

While boys' education was in need of reform, girls' education, so long as it centred on domestic activity, required no change. Smith, like his male contemporaries, believed that women's activities should be confined as much as possible to the home, the sole aim of female education being the production of virtuous wives and mothers, suitably equipped with the skills of domesticity and self-effacement.

Most Scottish male writers opposed the teaching of accomplishments, first, because they considered them a

distraction from domestic duties, and second, because they thought them frivolous. For example, in 1765 James Fordyce (1720-1796), the younger brother of David Fordyce and husband of the Lindsays' ex-governess, Henrietta Cumming, published his *Sermons to Young Women*. He thought that reading should be a minor activity in women's lives and advised them: 'Your business chiefly is to read Men, in order to make yourselves agreeable and useful'.¹⁰⁶ Should books become a distraction from domestic duties, then they should be abandoned immediately.

But some men, like Kames and Thomas Somerville, though wary of independent knowledge in women, advocated a certain amount of learning to increase their entertainment value for men. David Hume, for instance, wrote:-

A woman may behave herself with good manners, and have even some vivacity in her turn of wit; but where her mind is so unfurnished, 'tis impossible the conversation can afford any entertainment to men of sense and reflection.¹⁰⁷

And George Chapman extended the ideal of wife as friend and companion to the lower classes. In *A Treatise on Education* (1773), he wrote that the ideal marriage was based on 'the possession of a virtuous and amiable woman, the friend and companion of life'.¹⁰⁸

In other European countries a new shift in the classical meaning of female virtue occurred during the eighteenth century, which added to the sexual function of a virtuous woman the task of raising citizens for the state. This involved the recognition that women had political influence, albeit at second-hand, through influence on their husbands and sons and that they had a right to participation in civic culture. However, the concept of 'Republican Motherhood',¹⁰⁹ which became influential in post-Revolutionary America and France,¹¹⁰ found only a few disciples in Scotland, most of them women. Though Elizabeth Hamilton might urge upon women the necessity of building a new nation through the wise upbringing of sons in *Agrippina* (1804),¹¹¹ most Scottish men expected women to confine themselves to their traditional roles of house management and physical rearing of children. Only in women's writings and those of men like Thomas Somerville and Sir Walter Scott is there any suggestion that a woman should be both knowledgeable and virtuous in order to fulfil her duties as a citizen. It is difficult to imagine any Scottish man of the eighteenth or later centuries agreeing that his wife should follow the model depicted by Linda Kerber: 'The Republican Mother's life was dedicated to the service of civic virtue: she educated her sons for it, she condemned and corrected her husband's lapses from it'.¹¹² Some Scottish women, like Elizabeth Hamilton, found the image

attractive, as it allowed a woman some political influence, albeit within the arena of the home. And a Church of Scotland minister, William Duff (1732-1815) provides an interesting example of a major swing of opinion between 1789 and 1807 in *Letters on the Intellectual and Moral Character of Women* (1807).

In the opening pages, written before 1789, William Duff outlined an argument in favour of reform of girls' education. He claimed that men would be the direct beneficiaries, since well-educated women acted as a civilising influence, and he commented that an accurate comparison of women's intellectual achievements with those of men could not be made:-

...unless their education were conducted upon a far more liberal and comprehensive plan than is generally adopted at present; upon a plan calculated to call forth, to excite, and to invigorate the natural energies of the female mind, which at present lie dormant, are misapplied and perverted in their exertions, or are wasted in frivolous gratifications and their pursuits, as incompatible with true pleasure and rational enjoyment as with their intellectual and moral improvement.¹¹³

Here Duff found common ground with Dugald Stewart, who also thought that any perceived intellectual inferiority in women was due to nurture rather than to nature. At this point in his book, Duff recognised that any apparent mental

inequality between men and women was the result of women's inferior education. When it came to qualities, which both sexes were allowed to exercise, women were equal with men. For example, the faculty of judgement was pronounced in women because it was needed as much for family management as it was for affairs of state. A certain amount of intellectual ability was necessary in private life as well as public and Duff gave historical examples of women, like Elizabeth I, whose intellects could rival those of men. However, Duff asserted that one advantage of the existing different systems of education for the sexes was in the moral sphere. Men were more immoral than women, for, whatever the faults of female education, it did teach girls virtue and, because girls were in the home more than boys, it was easier to protect them from the vice with which the boys of his day were becoming contaminated.

By 1807, when the book was published, Duff's views had completely changed. The first section of the book ended hopefully with the idea that women are men's equals in intellect; the second began with the warning that, though women's mental faculties might be the same as men's, they could never hope to aspire to the same range of activities. They must never attempt to be ambitious, famous or political:-

From all these splendid and envied spheres...you my fair readers are debarred, by the destiny of providence, by the propriety and decorum of character, which it concerns you to maintain, and by those bounds, which the author of our common nature has prescribed to your powers and to your exertions, beyond which, you ought not to attempt to pass.¹¹⁴

The argument that women were different because of the way they had been educated has slipped away. Now Duff brought into play the contention that women were naturally weaker than men, so they had to take a backseat in the running of society. Duff held up the awful warning of the feminist, Mary Wollstonecraft, 'a late celebrated Amazonian heroine',¹¹⁵ and a traitor to her sex, who, he emphasised, was destroyed by her loose living. Echoing the earlier philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment, Duff claimed that domestic duties were 'a woman's highest honour and her greatest glory':-

You will ask me then, Ladies, what is your natural, general and proper station in society? I answer that the humble, but not inglorious walks of private life, constitute your true sphere, and your natural and proper station in social life.¹¹⁶

Duff claimed that, although women should not be stopped from interesting themselves in science and literature, 'intricate parts of learning' were not women's 'natural province'.¹¹⁷ Such interests were trivial

distractions from domestic duties. Repeating the views of his Scottish male predecessors, Duff maintained that the most important aim of a woman's education should be that intended by God: to make her into a fit friend and companion for her husband and to prepare her for her duties to her parents, to her husband, whom she must obey, and her children.

The threat of social breakdown at the beginning of the nineteenth century caused Scottish men to return to the promotion of domestic training for women with renewed vigour. But this time their energy was directed away from the prosperous classes and towards instilling poor girls with religion and docility, in the hope that they would act as civilising influences on their menfolk and children. For example, in 1809, in the wake of social unrest and upheaval caused by industrialisation, the Managers of the Edinburgh House of Industry, an institute founded to train indigent women, described their purpose thus:-

...the Managers think it necessary to observe, that it is not so much their object to make accomplished readers and needleworkers, as to make active, diligent, and sober-minded servants, well instructed in their duty to God and Man, and who have acquired habits which may accord with and support their principles.¹¹⁸

And working-class children were to be taught the proper social virtues of thrift, industry and obedience to their masters, by the monitorial system. Numerous books and articles were published on how to educate working-class children,¹¹⁹ notable among which were Elizabeth Hamilton's.¹²⁰

The American and French Revolutions enabled American and French women to apply some of the egalitarian doctrines of the European Enlightenment to the female sex and to wrest a little more political equality from their masters but Scottish women lacked the opportunity to capitalise on a similar political upheaval. Englishwomen were subjected to intensified pressure to restrict their sphere of activity to the home at the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹²¹ The same pressure was brought to bear on Scottish women also. For example, in 1826 the historian, Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) wrote to his future wife, Jane Welsh, that:-

The man should bear the rule in the house, and not the woman. This is an eternal axiom, the Law of Nature herself, which no mortal departs from unpunished...It is the nature of a woman...(for she is essentially passive not active) to cling to the man for support and direction, to comply with his humours and feel pleasure in doing so, simply because they are his; to reverence while she loves him, to conquer him not by force but by her weakness and perhaps (the cunning gypsy!) after all, to command him by obeying him...¹²²

The new spirit of philanthropy adopted as its central motif the image of woman as wife and mother, so eagerly promoted by Scottish men of the earlier Enlightenment period, and it was never again to loose its grip on the Scottish male mind.

The effect of Scottish Enlightenment philosophy was therefore to confirm the traditional social role and education of Scotswomen. The theory of the division of labour provided an ideological base for Scottish male and female roles and much was made of the idea of two separate but (supposedly) equal spheres. Scottish philosophers, for example Adam Smith, emphasised that women's sphere was the home and men's the public domain. The welfare of society in general depended on the continued exclusivity of the two spheres. Therefore it was imperative that girls and boys should receive different kinds of education to fit them for their different social roles. Rather than inspiring change in the opportunities open to women and encouraging innovation in their education, Scottish Enlightenment philosophy reinforced the beliefs of most Scotsmen that girls should be selectively trained as wives and mothers. As Chapter Three demonstrates, school provision for girls in Scotland remained rudimentary and of much lesser importance than boys' schooling. The only radical impact

made by Scottish Enlightenment philosophy on girls' education may be perceived in the attempts of women to educate themselves and in their writings promoting social and educational reform for women. These two consequences are discussed further in Chapters Three and Four.

NOTES

1. Such terms as the 'Scottish Enlightenment', 'The Industrial Revolution', 'The Reformation' and 'The Renaissance', give a misleading image of historical periods as predictable results of changes within discrete and separate fields labelled 'politics', 'economics', 'the arts', etc. They ignore important influences outside the allotted time span and interrelationships between different fields of interest. Another problem with these descriptive terms is that their users employ them differently. A comparison of different interpretations of the 'Scottish Enlightenment' reveals a diversity of opinion on relevant periods of time and key figures. For example, Charles Camie, *Experience and Enlightenment: Socialization for Cultural Change in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, Chicago University Press, 1983, p.50., dates the Enlightenment from 1740 to 1780 because, he claims, only five individuals - Adam Ferguson, David Hume, John Millar, William Robertson and Adam Smith - are 'the known population of enlightened individuals in mid-eighteenth-century Scotland', and he discounts anyone born after 1750. James McCosh, *The Scottish Philosophy, from Hutcheson to Balfour*, London: Macmillan, 1875, on the other hand, takes the appointment of Francis Hutcheson in 1730 to the Chair of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University as the beginning of Scottish Enlightenment philosophy and traces its development to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Two other differences are that, in contrast with Camie's small group of Enlightenment members, McCosh's group is extensive; and, whereas Camie opposes the common-sense philosophers of the last half of the eighteenth century to philosophers of the Enlightenment, McCosh considers all eighteenth-century Scottish philosophers under the umbrella title of 'The Scottish Philosophy'. A too narrow time division ignores early influences on Scottish Enlightenment thought and precludes discussion of how the Enlightenment philosophy affected political and economic developments at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century.

2. For instance, Nicolson, Harold. *The Age of Reason*, London: Constable, 1960; and Hampson, Norman, *The Enlightenment*, Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1968. For analyses that delve more deeply into the contradictions, see Cassirer, Ernst. *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, Princeton University Press, 1951; Whitney, Lois, *Primitivism and the Idea of Progress*, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1934; Gay, Peter, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1967; Lovejoy, Arthur O. *Essays in the History of Ideas*, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1948.
3. Lovejoy, *op cit.* pp.68-79.
4. Hume, David. *A Treatise on Human Nature*, London: John Noon, 1739. Edition used here Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969.
5. Rendall, *op cit.* p.21.
6. Lehmann, W.C. *Henry Home, Lord Kames & the Scottish Enlightenment: a study in national character and the history of ideas*, The Hague, 1971, p.163.
7. Rendall, *op cit.* p.96.
8. Jeffreys, M.V.C. *John Locke - Prophet of Common Sense*, London: Methuen, 1967.
9. Bate, Walter Jackson. *From Classic to Romantic: Premises of Taste in Eighteenth-Century England*, New York: Harper & Row, 1961, p.97.
10. Hutcheson is described by Henry A. Craik, in *A Century of Scottish History*, London & Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1911, p.434, as 'the founder of the Scottish School of philosophy' and is called 'the pioneer of the Scottish Enlightenment' by David Daiches, in *The Paradox of Scottish Culture: the Eighteenth Century Experience*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1970, p.82.
11. Wills, Gary. *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence*, London: Athlone Press, 1980, p.193.

12. Hutcheson, Francis. *A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy in Three Books Containing the Elements of Ethics and the Law of Nature*, 1747. Fourth Edition, translated from the Latin, Glasgow: Robert & Andrew Foulis, 1772, p.2.
13. Referred to by McCosh, *op cit.* p.96.
14. Fordyce, David. *The Elements of Moral Philosophy*, 3rd. edition, London, 1758, p.5.
15. Camic, *op cit.* p.89.
16. Stewart is credited with a deeper grasp of philosophy than his contemporaries. See Stewart-Robinson, J.C. 'The Fixing of the Scottish Mind, or the Sad Tale of Scottish Enlightenment Philosophy', *Scotia*, April 1978, vol.2, no.1, pp.43-60; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol.LIV., p.283.
17. John Veitch's Memoir of Dugald Stewart in Stewart's *Collected Works*, X, xxxix-xxxv. Quoted by Bryson, Gladys. *Man & Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1945, p.20.
18. Phillipson, Nicholas. 'Adam Smith as civic moralist', in Hont & Ignatieff, *op. cit.* p.181.
19. Cunningham, C.W. *Feminine Attitudes*, London: Heinemann, 1935, p.90.
20. Kerber, Linda. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*, University of North Carolina, 1980, p.18, claims that 'Locke came closer than most of his contemporaries and successors to specifying a political role for women'. Nevertheless, she agrees that he did not take this further than emphasising the rights of women in their domestic sphere.
21. See Jeffreys, *op cit.*
22. Hutcheson is considered to be the forerunner of utilitarianism and the first to coin the phrase 'that which procures the greatest happiness for the greatest number'; see Hampson, *op. cit.* p.124. He also used the phrase, 'the general interest of mankind' - see Rendall, *op cit.* p.75. Peter Stein, in Phillipson, N.T. and Mitchison, Rosalind. *Scotland in the Age of*

Improvement: Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century, Edinburgh University Press, 1970, p.153, quotes from Scott, William R. **Francis Hutcheson: his life, teaching and position in the history of philosophy**, Cambridge University Press, 1900, in which Scott describes Hutcheson as 'an intuitionist strongly influenced by Stoic ideas on the citizenship of the world and universal good'.

23. McCosh, *op cit.* p.3.
24. See Moore, James, and Silverthorne, Michael. 'Gershom Carmichael and the natural jurisprudence tradition in the eighteenth century', in Hont & Ignatieff, *op cit.* London; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
25. Quoted by Bryson, *op cit.* p.180.
26. Fordyce, David. **Dialogues Concerning Education**, London, 1745 & 1748, vol.1, p.113.
27. *ibid.* vol.1, p.137.
28. Lawrence, Elizabeth. **Origins and Growth of Modern Education**. Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1970, p.147.
29. Home, Henry Lord Kames. **An Introduction to the Art of Thinking: To which is prefixed an original life of the author**, fifth edition, Edinburgh: Mackay, 1810. **The Elements of Criticism**, Edinburgh, 1762. **Sketches of the History of Man**, 1774. **Loose Hints upon Education**, Edinburgh: J. Bell, 1781.
30. McGuinness, A.E. **Henry Home, Lord Kames**, New York: Twayne Publishers Inc., 1970, p.62.
31. Tytler, Alexander Lord Woodhouselee. **Memoirs of the Life & Writings of the Honourable Henry Home of Kames**, Edinburgh, 1807, p.213.
32. Quoted by Stewart-Robertson, J.C. 'The Well-Principled Savage, or the Child of the Scottish Enlightenment', **Journal of the History of Ideas**, vol.42, 1981, pp.504-505.
33. Stewart-Robertson, J.C. 'The Fixing of the Scottish Mind', *op. cit.* pp.43-60.

34. Hutcheson. *Short Introduction, op. cit.* Book III, vol. iii.
35. *ibid.* Chapter 1, 'Concerning Marriage', pp.274-275.
36. *ibid.* pp.280-281.
37. Quoted by Bryson, *op. cit.* pp.178-179.
38. Fordyce, David, *op. cit.* vol.ii, Dialogue xiv.
39. Somerville, Thomas. *My Own Life and Times, 1741-1814*, Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1861, p.349.
40. *ibid.* p.350.
41. See *Quarterly Review*. 1874, vol.136, p.83.
42. Quoted by Marshall, *op. cit.* p.212.
43. *Dictionary of National Biography, op cit.* Entry for Dugald Stewart.
44. Kunitz, *op cit.*
45. McCosh, *op cit.* p.283.
46. Stewart, Dugald. *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*. 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1792-1827, Part III, Section V.
47. Quoted by Hunter, Eveline. *Scottish Women's Place*, Edinburgh University Student Publications, 1978, p.6.
48. I am indebted to Professor W.M. Gordon of Glasgow University's Law Faculty for advice on this point.
49. See Patton, G. Campbell H. 'Property Rights and Relationships', *An Introduction to Scottish Legal History*, The Stair Society, Edinburgh: Robert Cunningham & Sons Ltd., Alva, 1958, p.114.
50. Home, Henry, Lord Kames. *Sketches, op cit.* Quoted by Kerber, *op. cit.* p.26.
51. Gregory, John. *A Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World*, 1765; Millar, John. *The Origin & the Distinction of Ranks*, 1771; Home, Henry Lord Kames. 'Progress of the Female Sex', in *Sketches, op. cit.*, ii, pp.1-97; and Robertson, William.

'The History of America', *Works*, 2 vols.,
Edinburgh, 1824, i, pp.292-293; 295-296; 317-322.

52. Kerber, *op cit.* p.27.
53. Pocock, J.G.A. 'Cambridge paradigms and Scotch [sic] philosophers', in Hont & Ignatieff, *op cit.* p.242.
54. *ibid.*
55. Smith, Adam. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, London: A. Millar, 1759.
56. Smith, Adam. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Cause of The Wealth of Nations*, 1776, 1, ii, quoted by Wills, *op cit.* p.223.
57. Dutch, Robert A. (Ed.) Roget's *Thesaurus*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966, divides 'virtue' into two headings of 'manliness' and 'purity'. Included under the first heading are the qualities which the classical concept of virtue encapsulated, namely: manhood, manly spirit, heroic qualities, aggressiveness, fierceness, bellicosity, endurance, stiff upper lip and resolution. Whereas under the second heading are listed the incompatible values of: modesty, chastity, continence, temperance, women's honour, virginity, maidenhood, maidenhead, virgo intacta, pure woman, maid and old maid.
58. See Pocock. *op. cit.*; and Dwyer, John & Murdoch, Alexander. 'Paradigms & Politics: Manners, Morals and the Rise of Henry Dundas, 1770-1784', in Dwyer, John, Mason, Roger A. and Murdoch, Alexander. *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979, p.223.
59. Pocock, *op. cit.* p.242.
60. Phillipson, in Hont & Ignatieff, *op cit.* p.181.
61. An equivocation scorned by C.W. Cunningham, writing in the 1930s about perceptions of femininity: 'To be perfectly pure, the female mind ... had to be perfectly blank'. Cunningham, *op cit.* p.90.

62. Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Émilius, or a Treatise of Education*, Translated from the French, Edinburgh, 1763. Quoted by Kerber. *op cit.* p.26.
63. Hill, *op cit.* p.12.
64. Agress, Lynn. *The Feminine Irony: Women on Women in Early 19th Century Literature*, London: Associated University Presses, 1978, pp.35-37. Hill, *op cit.* in her Introduction suggests that the hostility of men towards spinsters was possibly due to the fact that such women, like widows, had escaped full male control.
65. Thomas, Keith. 'The Double Standard', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 20, 1959, p.210.
66. Quoted by Bryson, *op cit.* p.178.
67. Home. *Loose Hints*, *op cit.* p.228.
68. *ibid.* p.141.
69. *ibid.* p.228.
70. *ibid.* p.135.
71. *ibid.* p.136.
72. *ibid.* p.228.
73. *ibid.* p.138.
74. Home. *Sketches*, *op cit.* quoted by Lehmann, *op. cit.* p.247.
75. Home. *Loose Hints*, *op cit.* p.246.
76. Hume. *op cit.* p.449.
77. *ibid.* p.449.
78. See 'Of the rise and progress of the arts and sciences', in Green, T.H. & Grose, T.H. (Eds.) *The Philosophical Works of David Hume*, London, 1874-1875, iii, p.193.
79. Hume, David. *The History of England*, 10 vols., London, 1808-1810, vi, lxiv, p.402.
80. Hume. *Treatise*, *op cit.* p.520.

81. *ibid.* p.346.
82. *ibid.* p.623.
83. *ibid.* Quoted in Selby-Bigge, L.A. (Ed.) *Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding and Concerning the Principles of Morals*, 3rd. edition, Oxford, 1975, p.572.
84. Omitted from editions of his essays after 1760.
85. Quoted in Mahowald, Mary Briody (Ed.) *Philosophy of Woman: Classical to Current Concepts*, Indianapolis: Hacket Publishing Co., 1976, p.92.
86. *ibid.* p.93.
87. Quoted by Kerber, *op cit.* p.246.
88. Quoted by Smellie, William, in *Literary & Characteristical Lives of John Gregory, M.D., Henry Home, Lord Kames, David Hume Esq. & Adam Smith, L.L.D.*, Edinburgh, 1800, p.36.
89. *ibid.* p.37.
90. Gregory, John. *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters*, London, 1774, p.46.
91. Quoted by Smellie, *op cit.* pp.100-101.
92. Wollstonecraft, Mary. *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978, p.111.
93. *ibid.* p.103.
94. See Lehmann, William C. (Ed.) *John Millar of Glasgow, 1735-1801*, Cambridge University Press, 1960.
95. *ibid.* p.193.
96. *ibid.* p.203.
97. *ibid.* p.219.
98. *ibid.* p.219.
99. *ibid.* p.221.
100. *ibid.* p.220.

101. *ibid.* p.202.
102. *ibid.* p.224.
103. See Turnbull, George. *Observations upon Liberal Education*, 1742; Fordyce, David, *op cit.*; Gerard, Alexander. *Plan of Education in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen*, 1755.
104. See Jones, in Hont & Ignatieff, *op cit.*
105. Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, *op. cit.* Book V, Chapter 1.
106. Fordyce, James. *Sermons to Young Women*, 2 vols., 3rd. edition, London, 1766, p.273.
107. Quoted by Bryson, *op cit.* p.189.
108. Quoted by Marshall, *op cit.* p.212.
109. Kerber, *op cit.* p.11.
110. Bloch, Jean H. 'Women & the Reform of the Nation', in Jacobs, Eva et al. (Eds.) *Women & Society in 18th. Century France*, London: Athlone Press, 1979.
111. Hamilton, Elizabeth. *Memoirs of the Life of Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus*, 3 vols., Bath, 1804.
112. Kerber, *op cit.* p.229.
113. Duff, William, *Letters on the Intellectual and Moral Character of Women. On the Station for which they are destined: On the Characters they are qualified to sustain. And on the duties they are required to discharge, Both in private and social life. Addressed to the Ladies of Great Britain*, Aberdeen: J. Chalmers & Co., 1807 (Dedication to Duchess of Gordon), pp.33-34.
114. *ibid.* p.99.
115. *ibid.* p.100.
116. *ibid.* p.100.
117. *ibid.* p.99.

118. Appendix to Hamilton, Elizabeth. *Exercises, op. cit.* p.4.
119. *The Edinburgh Review's* Quarterly List of New Publications, April-July, 1808, includes: *A Complete Set of Spelling & Reading Lessons, adapted to Mr. Bell's & Mr. Lancaster's Plan of Education. For the Use of Sunday Schools & Other Institutions for instructing the poorer Classes of the Community; The Madras School; or, Elements of Tuition*, by the Rev. Dr. Bell; *A Comparative View of the Plan of Education, as detailed in the Publications of Dr. Bell & Mr. Lancaster*, by Joseph Fox; and *Lessons for Young Persons in humble life.*
120. Hamilton, Elizabeth. *The Cottagers of Glenburnie*, Edinburgh: Manners & Miller, 1808. *Exercises in Religious Knowledge, op. cit.* *Popular essays: illustrative of principles connected with the improvement of understanding*, 2 vols., Glasgow, 1812. *Hints adressed to Patrons & Directors of Schools*, London: Longman, 1815.
121. Adburgham, Alison. *Women in Print*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1972, p.39.
122. Quoted by Hanson, Lawrence and Elizabeth. *Necessary Evil: The Life of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, London: Constable, 1952, p.106; and Marshall, *op. cit.* p.191.

Chapter Three

WIVES AND MOTHERS : THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS IN SCOTLAND, 1750-1830

Scotland has long enjoyed a reputation of equal educational opportunity, whereby the 'lad o' pairts' might rise to academic achievement on a par with his wealthier peers. It is debatable whether this presents an accurate historical picture. And it is even more arguable whether Scottish girls have ever had the same educational opportunities as Scottish boys. The following description of educational provision for girls in Scotland between 1750 and 1830 demonstrates that, whereas academies were opened for boys in this period and new subjects introduced into university curricula, the practical effect of Scottish Enlightenment philosophy on the reform of girls' education was minimal. Nevertheless, as the section on literacy contained in this Chapter explains, a large proportion of the Scottish population could read. Scotswomen took advantage of the increased availability of books and periodicals and, as shown in the section on Self-Enlightenment, taught themselves. Through their own wide reading, mostly carried out in solitude, they achieved the education that formal provision denied them.

Public Schools

By its 1696 Education Act the Scottish Parliament had decreed that the heritors, or landowners, in every parish should provide a schoolmaster and schoolhouse. However, the presbyteries appointed to supervise such arrangements, among other things, found it impossible to enforce the Act in some places. Even by the mid-eighteenth century there were large areas of Scotland where there was not even rudimentary, publicly-financed schooling. As late as 1803, Dorothy Wordsworth reported that there was no school in the area for the children of a family she stayed with at the Head of Loch Lomond. The mother, Mrs. Macfarlane, lamented that the children would have to be sent into the lowlands to learn reading and English.¹ The wealthier Lady of Glengyle, who had a house near Tarbet, was more fortunately placed, for she could afford to live at Callander while her son was at school there.²

Even in places where there were schools, education tended to be irregular, as parents would keep their children away from school to work in the fields when the agricultural seasons demanded it or when bad weather made travel difficult. Girls were often needed at home to look after younger brothers and sisters and to help with domestic chores. Fewer girls than boys went to school;

their attendance was more sporadic; and they were offered a narrower range of subjects.³

Theoretically, the parish school taught reading, writing, arithmetic and the Shorter Catechism to both sexes. But provision varied according to locality. It has been reported that girls were taught with boys in Jedburgh parish schools and some girls even stayed on until they were fifteen or sixteen years of age, but this was unusual.⁴ The average length of a pupil's school life in eighteenth-century Scotland, irrespective of sex, has been assessed as four years,⁵ from a starting age of about five or six,⁶ and girls usually left school before boys.⁷

In Perth the public English school, taught by Alexander Riach, brought both girls and boys to a high standard of reading. In 1758 when the pupils, of both sexes, read extracts from Milton's *Paradise Lost* and 'Magazines' before 'the magistrates, ministers and a crowded assembly of ladies and gentlemen', those who did best were under eight years old. The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* commented: 'they were not outdone by the Grammar Scholars', and it praised Riach as a 'careful and intelligent teacher'.⁸

Four years later, the same newspaper published an announcement by the Town Council and Magistrates of Banff, that they intended to establish three public schools in addition to the existing Grammar School 'for the education of youth of both sexes'. One school was for teaching the English language; the second for Writing, Accompts (Accounts), Book-keeping and Navigation; and the third for teaching white and coloured seam and 'other branches proper for young ladies, under the direction of a mistress'.⁹ It is not clear whether girls and boys were to attend the first type of school and then graduate separately to the second and third school (some of the boys presumably being creamed off for the Grammar School) but it seems likely. The schoolmaster's salary for the first school was advertised at nine pounds Sterling, while that for the master of the second school was ten pounds Sterling, suggesting that the first school was an elementary school (the mistress required for the third school was offered one hundred pounds Scots, about eight pounds Sterling).¹⁰ Additionally, accounts, book-keeping and navigation were not usually taught to girls, and there is little evidence that sewing was taught to boys.

The vague term, 'other branches for young ladies', is indicative of the unstructured nature of girls' schooling in eighteenth-century Scotland. In some areas, a girl was

lucky if she learned to read, write and count, since it was daughters, rather than sons, who were kept at home by their parents to help care for younger children and to assist with housework. In Aberdeenshire, literary education for girls was considered of little importance until the mid-nineteenth century,¹¹ and in the Highlands girls' education counted for little and was often resisted.¹² Ayrshire girls figure seldom in records of parish schools,¹³ and in Banffshire only a small number of girls attended S.P.C.K. schools.¹⁴ When Lord Banff's factor established a bursary at Forglen School in 1791, he stipulated that, of the future recipients, 'the boys may write a little, the girls none, as it can be of no use to them'.¹⁵ Isobel Pagan summed up her formal education thus:-

My learning it can be told,
Ten weeks, when I was seven years old,
With a good old religious wife.¹⁶

And Mary Somerville noted bitterly that the Burntisland schoolmaster, Mr. Reed, taught the village boys Latin and navigation but that it was sufficient for girls to read the Bible - many of them could not even write.¹⁷ Opposition of parents to teaching girls how to write was by no means uncommon. Some parents thought that if a girl knew how to write, she would spend her time writing love letters.¹⁸

Even for boys, writing was sometimes considered to be unnecessary unless they were to continue to secondary education.¹⁹

Like Mary Somerville, Elizabeth Hamilton was sent to a public school. When she was eight, she boarded in Stirling during the week, so that she could attend the Burgh Writing and Mathematical School run by Daniel Manson.²⁰ Here she learned writing, geography, French, drawing and music. Although Manson was known for his teaching of the classics, girls were not allowed to study them in the school.²¹

Jane Welsh Carlyle was served better by local schools in Haddington. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, she, like other Haddington children, attended classes in both the Grammar School, under William Graham, and the English school, under Richard Hay. They learned reading, writing and Latin in the Grammar School and English and mathematics in the English School. In the Grammar School she sat next to a boy, 'twice her age', who attended the school before and after his work.²² (This would suggest, that in some places girls were educated to the same standard as boys). After an unsatisfactory experiment with a boarding school,²³ Jane's parents returned her at the end of 1813 to James Brown's Public School, an amalgamation of the Mathematics and English Schools in Haddington, and

there she stayed, making 'spectacular progress',²⁴ until she was sixteen.

Usually, however, a girl was unable to continue past the rudimentary level in the public system. A boy, on the other hand, when he had learned to read and write and had spent at least two years in the Parish School, could pass on to the Grammar School to learn Latin, provided that his parents could afford the fees.²⁵ Or, if the parish schoolmaster taught Latin, a boy could go straight to university and miss out Grammar School. It was possible, therefore, for a boy to enter university at the age of eleven.²⁶

For some Scottish families the fees of the parish schools were difficult enough to afford. Sending older daughters to the type of school patronised by the prosperous classes was financially problematic. However, some non-fee-paying schools existed to train girls from poor homes in domestic skills - in contrast to the accomplishments taught to their better-off sisters in fee-paying schools. The curriculum of such charity schools was narrowly vocational and concentrated on cooking, knitting, sewing and spinning. These young women would work at such occupations in their own homes and as servants in homes of

other women freed from housework by their husbands' prosperity.

The Merchant Maiden Hospital, 'one of the earliest foundations for female education in the country',²⁷ and its sister institution, the Trades Maiden Hospital, were founded at the end of the seventeenth century in Edinburgh by the Company of Merchants of Edinburgh and the Craftsmen of Edinburgh as a result of gifts by a prosperous widow, Mary Erskine (?1639-1707). Their aim was to maintain and educate the daughters of poor merchants and tradesmen. Girls were admitted between the ages of seven and eleven years of age and left when they were seventeen or eighteen. The curriculum was designed to produce useful housewives, skilled servants and, in the case of the Trades Maiden Hospital, girls who could earn their living from a trade such as dressmaking.²⁸ A basic training in the 'three Rs' was provided but there was, even in the early years of the eighteenth century, criticism by the governors of teaching standards in these subjects, most of the time being spent in sewing and housework. Later in the nineteenth century, the emphasis shifted to subjects with which to equip future governesses and teachers and, after 1870, the schools became fee-paying.

Such charitable enterprises were not confined to the main centres of population. Plans for a 'female school' at Stornaway in 1825, under the patronage of the Hon. Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie of Seaforth, noted the aim of the enterprise as being 'teaching the female youth of Stornaway reading, writing and needle work, and spinning'.²⁹

Wives of landowners opened schools on their estates and, sometimes, taught in them. Lady Janet Colquhoun (1781-1846) used an estate cottage at Rosisdhu to house a girls' school in an attempt to improve housekeeping methods in tenants' homes. A teacher was found and despatched to Edinburgh to improve her needlework, which together with religion, comprised the bulk of the curriculum. The pupils' parents were apparently delighted with the scheme according to Lady Janet's biographer, James Hamilton:-

Hitherto so little had the manual arts interfered with the abstract sciences in the education of their daughters, that few of them were able to sew, and consequently for the most rudimental essays in dressmaking they were obliged to call in professional assistance. It was, therefore, a great surprise and satisfaction when they found that they had seamstresses nearly as accomplished in their own abodes.³⁰

Such schools were established, not just to train the girls in domestic skills useful to them as wives, but also as

domestic servants. Once their training was complete, girls were picked out as suitable servants for 'the big house'.

Janet Colquhoun became a fervent Evangelical and, like her mentor, Thomas Chalmers, believed that the function of education was the moral rescue of the poor. Such an approach laid small emphasis on the teaching of writing, because it was believed inappropriate for the occupations to be followed by the pupils once they left school. Indeed, many Evangelicals, like Hannah More in England, actively discouraged the teaching of writing; and in Scotland, David Stow's Sunday Schools, established at the beginning of the nineteenth century, concentrated on teaching Bible reading. Writing played only a small part in the curriculum.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge attempted to establish industrial schools in the Highlands, where both girls and women could learn spinning and sewing. Their reception by the local female populace was lukewarm and it was only towards the end of the eighteenth century that they attracted more pupils, partly by the gift of a spinning wheel and reel to anyone who completed the course.³¹ Schools that taught girls spinning, and nothing else, were established in various parts of the Highlands in the early 1720s. After the Rebellion of '45, spinning

schools were opened and administered by the Commissioners and Trustees for improving Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland and later by the Board of Trustees for the Forfeited Estates. A woman, who wanted to run such a school, had to obtain a certificate from the Magistrates of a Burgh or from the Justices of the Peace of a County testifying her proficiency. Skill in spinning was the only necessary qualification as some of these teachers could not even sign their own name.³² (Often they were the wives of the masters who ran the local English school). Once the spinning teacher had obtained the certificate, she had to find a suitable schoolhouse and enrol a minimum of fourteen pupils between the ages of eight and fourteen.³³ This age limit was not always observed, for example the Stornoway Spinning School had pupils ranging from eight to forty years old. The Board provided spinning wheels, and those pupils who had attended for three sessions were given a spinning wheel of their own when they left.

Wives and daughters of landowners sometimes took the initiative in establishing such schools. In 1754 the daughter of Sir Alexander Mackenzie sought a certificate as spinning mistress, in order to start her own spinning school for the daughters of her father's tenants.³⁴

The professed aim of the Board in backing spinning schools was to promote industry and industrious habits in the Highlands. However, schooling for the poor also served the purpose of quelling their unruliness. Thus the factor on the estate of Perth wrote to the Board of Trustees in the mid-eighteenth century that a spinning school should be established at Crieff because:-

There are crowds of little Girls here that Stroll about the streets, playing at hand ball and other Such Employments and Diversions, who might be usefully employed in Spinning.³⁵

In 1784 the administration of all spinning schools was taken over by the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge and more were established in the cities to provide poor women with a means of earning their own living. However, by the end of the eighteenth century, machinery was beginning to make such skills redundant and gradually spinning schools disappeared.

Education at Home

Some parents believed strongly that the only education a girl needed was training in domestic skills at home. In poor families the work of daughters in the house and in the fields was vital to the family economy and the attainment

of reading and writing had little relevance to such lives. But even in better-off families, there was a reluctance to provide girls with instruction on subjects outwith the domestic realm. Parents who preferred not to expose their daughters to outside influences, or who could not afford to send them to boarding schools, taught them at home or, in the wealthier families, employed a governess.

Elizabeth Mure of Caldwell, describing her girlhood in the 1720s, explained that daughters received little teaching from their mothers as the latter were too busy with domestic affairs. Even if the family could afford a governess:-

...all they could learn them was to read English ill, and plain work. The chief thing required was to hear them repeat Psalms and long catechisms, in which they were employed an hour or more every day, and almost the whole day on Sunday. No attention was given to what we call accomplishments. Reading and writing well, or even spelling, were never thought of.³⁶

Thus, even a girl whose parents could afford the exclusive services of a governess for her, was often no better educated, perhaps worse, than a girl who attended the local parish school.

Mothers or older sisters might teach girls basic reading and writing along with domestic duties. When they grew into their teens and their mothers' thoughts turned to

marriage prospects, girls from well-off homes were often trained in the accomplishments by tutors.

If the family home were in a remote country area and the parents unable to move to town to oversee their children's education, daughters from prosperous families might be sent to board with relatives, other suitable families or unmarried ladies, in towns, so that they might have easier access to tutors. This arrangement enabled the girl to continue in a home background, while having full facilities to learn the accomplishments, without being sent away to school. Elizabeth Hamilton and Anne Grant were only two of many ladies who boarded such girls and supervised their general upbringing and training in the accomplishments. Anne boarded girls from as far away as the West Indies and New York, and supplemented her income in this way for thirty years. She was expected to form 'their mind and manners' and later effect for them 'an introduction into the Edinburgh literary society in which she moved'.³⁷

Alison Rutherford, later Mrs. Cockburn, was sent to board with 'the politest lady of the age' as early as the 1720s, having until then been dependent on her oldest sister's efforts to teach her arithmetic at home. Alison was more fortunate than Mary Somerville seventy years later, as she was allowed to avoid the subjects she

disliked. She took to French and dancing quite happily, but refused to do music 'as I was digusted with hearing some Misses who had been taught to squal [sic] horribly'. She was also excused needlework and allowed to read to the family instead.³⁸

The practice of sending daughters to be 'finished' by a lady of quality persisted well into the eighteenth century. Margaret, Lady Dumfries, in an undated letter to Lord Kames, written about 1783, described how two sisters, aged thirteen and fourteen years, had come to stay with her 'by way of initiating them in Gayety'.³⁹

By the beginning of the nineteenth century home education of aristocratic girls followed the English pattern and a governess, often English, was frequently employed. Miss Macpherson, sister of the poet, James Macpherson, ran her own girls' boarding school in Edinburgh at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries and also acted as an intermediary in finding suitable governesses for the daughters of wealthy families. In her letters she advised parents on the progress of their daughters at the school and, in 1800 to a lady living near Leven, Fife, she recommended a governess who had worked for Lady Arbuthnot's family and for the family of Mr. Christie of Duries. This governess, who had

also been employed by Miss Macpherson in her school, had sent her the following advertisement, which sums up the kind of teaching that a young lady might expect to receive, if educated at home:-

A native of England wishes a situation in a Nobleman's family who resides a part of the Season in Edinburgh, she can instruct her pupils in English, French, Music and Geography. Likewise useful and ornamental works.⁴⁰

The governess employed by the Countess of Leven and Melville for her daughters was exceptional in her professionalism. Elizabeth Appleton, an Englishwoman, published a guide for parents and governesses, *Private Education; or a Practical Guide for the Studies of Young Ladies with an Address to Parents, Private Governesses and Young Ladies*, in 1813. Though her emphasis was on 'the practice of duties inseparably connected with female tenderness, submission and patience',⁴¹ nevertheless she stressed the need for governesses to be mature and well-educated, and criticised the employment, by even wealthy families, of ignorant girls just out of the schoolroom to teach their daughters. Such low standards are borne out by contemporary accounts. For instance, while her brothers were sent to Eton and to Edinburgh University, Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus (1797-1830) and her sisters were educated at home by a succession of governesses, all of

whom seem to have been incompetent and to have had a very unhappy time. Of Miss Ramsay, employed to teach her and her sisters in 1809, she wrote:-

She was not capable of teaching us much, neither was she an intelligent person, so that probably she was no loss had her place been better supplied; but from my recollections of nursery gossip, nursery misrule, wasted time, neglected studies, ill-used masters, I should say that as far as our progress was concerned the sums my father paid to our several teachers might as well have remained in his pocket.⁴²

Elizabeth commented that it was very unusual that her father should attempt to teach her mathematics. However, the experiment only lasted a short time. When the girls were in Edinburgh for the winter, they had tutors for music, painting and dancing. At one time, seven different tutors were employed. Elizabeth's summing up of her own education was that it was sporadic and unorganised.

The Lindsay boys were also sent to English boarding schools, while their sisters, Anne (later Anne Barnard), Margaret and Elizabeth, were taught at the family home at Balcarres by a 'decayed gentlewoman',⁴³ Miss Henrietta Cumming (1734-1823), who had formerly earned her living by painting butterflies on gauze. As well as needlework, she was able to teach the girls Italian, French and singing.

Henrietta Cumming spent much of her time at Balcarres locked in bitter combat with another member of the Lindsay household, Sophia Johnstone, whose upbringing was in direct contrast to that of most Scottish young ladies. Her father, the Laird of Hilton, had been so much influenced by the educational theories of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, that she was left to develop by him in 'a state of nature'.⁴⁴ She taught herself to read and the family butler taught her to write in secret.

At Gask, Carolina Oliphant, later Baroness Nairne, and her three sisters had a Mrs. Cramond from Perth to teach: 'y needle, principles of religion and loyalty, a good carriage, and talking tolerable good English'.⁴⁵ A Mr. Marconchi, a fiddler, also came once a week for dancing lessons and perhaps for harpsichord and guitar.

Until Mary Somerville was ten years old, she was kept at home and supposedly taught by her mother. In fact she hardly knew how to read and write when her father, Admiral Fairfax, came home from sea. Even he (a staunch Tory with a strong belief in domestic education for girls) was shocked by her ignorance and insisted that she be sent to boarding school to 'at least know how to write and keep accounts'.⁴⁶

Boarding Schools

As the eighteenth century progressed, the number of private schools for girls in Scotland, modelled on English examples, increased. The third quarter of the century, in particular, saw a rapid growth in a variety of private educational provision, for example, tutors, schools and academies, in Edinburgh, and well-off families came to live there while their children were being educated.⁴⁷ When Highland chiefs became absentee landlords, their wives attended social gatherings in Edinburgh and tried to emulate the more refined manners of town society. They intended that their daughters should be taught the social graces so that they would make good marriages.⁴⁸ One of the main areas of private educational expansion was the emergence of girls' boarding schools.

The first girls' boarding schools in Scotland, established after the Union of 1707, concentrated on teaching their pupils practical skills such as cookery and sewing. But as the century progressed and ladies depended more on servants to do these tasks, they spent most of their time teaching handicrafts and accomplishments.⁴⁹

There were two main reasons for the change in emphasis in the education of girls from aristocratic, professional

and merchant backgrounds: a greater amount of money in Scotland and a wider distribution of it; and a wish to emulate the upper classes of society. While still lagging behind their English counterparts in aggregate wealth and the rate of industrialisation, the emerging Scottish middle classes wanted to consolidate their new economic status by family connections with the upper classes. Their main opportunity lay in educating their daughters and their sons at boarding schools that taught their children the social graces of the upper classes.

In a society in which women's economic survival depended upon men's provision, the unmarried state could be disastrous for a woman. Even if her male relatives could support her financially, she was doomed to a life of subservience, possibly in a home run by another woman, to whom she had to defer. As Sir Walter Scott wrote to Maria Edgeworth:-

We are poor people, and our estates are almost uniformly strictly entailed on heirs male; therefore the mother has to keep the female children under her own wing. Our eldest sons get our estates; our younger girls live at home while Mamma can keep house on her jointure, get husbands if they can, and if not do as they can on the interest of 1,500 or 2,000 [pounds]. The elder brother is in general an honest fellow, but embarrassed with debts; he keeps his sisters in his house if his wife is not cross; and a sort of half family pride, half family affection, carries the thing through.⁵⁰

Marriage therefore assumed priority in a girl's upbringing and her education concentrated on achieving that aim. Any learning or skills that men did not consider suitable in women were handicaps in the marriage stakes and were therefore considered dangerous to a girl's life chances.

Since the beginning of the eighteenth century, the education of girls from well-off homes in England had centred on the learning of accomplishments. After a girl had learned rudimentary literacy in the early years, by the time she was in her teens she was expected to acquire a repertoire of social skills, such as playing a musical instrument, singing, conversational French, sketching, painting and handicrafts. All of these activities were to be dabbled in before her marriage and chiefly served as an opportunity to show off a young girl's charms in front of potential suitors. Once married, though such pursuits might still be continued for the sake of amusement, women were no longer expected to acquire such skills. Their only importance lay in the capture of a husband and, if too keen an interest was shown in their pursuit for the sake of the subject alone, the enthusiasm was quickly discouraged.

An advertisement in The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* in 1758, announcing the publication of the 1759 edition of

'The Ladies Compleat Pocket-Book', reflects the type of interests that Scottish women were thought to share with their English counterparts and indicates the beginning of interest in female accomplishments. Most of the items in the list of contents are related to domestic matters: a memorandum book to be used as an account book; observations on preserving salt meat; directions for poultry management; receipts (recipes); tables for marketting [sic]; and a model for a lady's conduct for one day; but one item, new songs from Ranelagh, Vauxhall and Marybone Gardens, shows that women outside of London were becoming interested in learning fashionable ways.⁵¹ Such books were only one influence on Scottish women in their adoption of English manners and fashions. Ever since the Union of 1707 with the improvement of communications more and more Scottish people were visiting England and English influence on Scottish social customs was increasingly strong.

Girls' boarding schools had existed in England since the seventeenth century,⁵² and as early as the 1720s some Scottish families sent their daughters to English boarding schools, as well as their sons. Two daughters of Susanna, Countess of Eglinton, briefly attended a London school before the Countess decided that it was too expensive; and the daughter of Sir James Grant, Sophia, attended a London school when the family visited the city.⁵³ Educating one's

daughter in England appears to have been more often for the sake of superior social contacts than for greater intellectual development, although Margaret, Lady Dumfries, expressed to Lord Kames her satisfaction, despite initial doubts about boarding schools, with 'one of the great Boarding Schools in Queen's Square', London, which her eleven- year-old daughter, Elizabeth, attended as a day pupil in 1783. The mistress, Mrs. East, had assured her that she considered moral education as important as learning the accomplishments.⁵⁴

A Scottish family might also send a girl away to school for religious reasons. A number of Catholic parents sent their daughters abroad to be educated in convents, for example, the Edinburgh advocate, Hew Dalrymple, who sent his daughter, Grace, to a French convent. Though some girls were still sent to English schools, like Janet Sinclair, later Lady Jane Colquhoun, and her sisters, who were taught at a boarding school in Stoke Newington in the 1790s, most girls were kept in Scotland, both for economic and moral reasons. Scottish boarding schools tended to be cheaper, albeit less fashionable, than their English counterparts, and, although no expense might be spared on a son's education, parents, like Elizabeth Grant's, often considered a daughter's to be less important. Second, it was cheaper to keep a daughter under parental supervision

in a Scottish boarding school than in one outside the country.

While in eighteenth-century England an exclusively home-based education was still considered desirable for daughters of the aristocracy,⁵⁵ in Scotland some of the nobility did send their daughters to boarding schools, perhaps because they too believed that their girls would be at a disadvantage in the marriage stakes, if brought up in an area of Scotland remote from the 'polite' accomplishments so popular in England. However, as in England it was the socially ambitious families in the newly prosperous, professional and merchant sectors of Scottish society, who were the mainstay of Scottish boarding schools.⁵⁶ Such schools not only taught their daughters social etiquette, most of all they provided social contacts. A daughter might mix with girls from a higher status group than her own and even, if lucky, marry into their families. The clientèle also included girls from Scottish families resident in the Colonies, who often remained in Scotland for all the years of their schooling. John Rutherford, a Scottish planter in North Carolina, sent his daughter Fanny, aged ten, and her two younger brothers, aged five and two, to be looked after in Edinburgh by relatives after his wife's death in 1768. Fanny was sent to a boarding school, where she became friendly with the

daughters of Dr. Muir of Antigua.⁵⁷ And Miss Macpherson, mistress of an Edinburgh boarding-school, was advised to solicit pupils from abroad when times were hard in 1798.⁵⁸

Usually schools were small, with about six to ten pupils each,⁵⁹ some of whom might attend the school during the day only. In 1809, fourteen pupils were enrolled in the 'School for Young Ladies' opened by Jane Pirie (1784-?) and Marianne Woods (1783-?) at Drumsheugh Gardens, Edinburgh, five of whom were day pupils. They all came from families of the Scottish gentry.

Though most private girls' schools were in Edinburgh and Glasgow, by the beginning of the nineteenth century others existed as far away as Elgin, where there was a finishing school for girls,⁶⁰ and Forres, where there was a school supplying girls with a 'good plain education and music'.⁶¹ The curriculum of such privately-run boarding schools depended for content on the teaching of 'accomplishments'. The account books kept by pupils' fathers afford a glimpse at their activities. For example, the accounts for the education of Helen and Anne Gray at their school in Musselburgh, from October 1791 to April 1792, listed fees for music, French, writing and arithmetic, drawing, dancing, use of instruments, geography, and seats in chapel. However, the biggest part

of each account was for social expenses and clothes. It is obvious that these young ladies were not expected to spend their time on serious study, nor were they trained in sober, Protestant values. For example, the second group of expenses includes ball tickets, coach hire, concert tickets, and seeing the dwarf, Count Boruwlaski, perform.⁶² Neither was the girls' dress of a Puritan nature, for materials bought included five-and-a-half yards of muslin for a petticoat, muslin for a tucker, satin for a jacket, ribbon, silks, and silver fringe and spangles. Also itemised are dress shoes and French gloves. The total account for Helen Gray for six months was thirty-seven pounds, four shillings and four pence farthing.⁶³

It is possible that this school was the same boarding school in which Mary Somerville spent a year in 1790. From the start, the experiment was doomed to failure and Mary was extremely unhappy:-

My future companions, who were all older than I, came round me like a swarm of bees, and asked if my father had a title, what was the name of our estate, if we kept a carriage, and other such questions, which made me first feel the difference of station.⁶⁴

To encourage good deportment she was made to wear stays with steel rods and bands connected to a steel chin support. The main intellectual task was to learn Samuel

Johnson's Dictionary by heart but she also learnt the basics of writing and of French and English grammar. According to her, 'the method of teaching was extremely tedious and inefficient'⁶⁵

The parents of Joanna Baillie, the poet and dramatist, sent her at the age of ten in 1772, with her sister, to Miss Macdonald's boarding school in Glasgow's Gallowgate. An advertisement for the school, owned jointly by Miss Macdonald and Miss Drummond, which was placed in the local press a year earlier claimed that:-

...young ladies are instructed in the principles of the French and English languages, in tambour, Dresden and all kinds of fashionable needlework, in the making of their own millinery things, and in several instruments of music, viz., the harpsichord, guitar, as likewise in singing.⁶⁶

Joanna learned reading, writing and arithmetic, some geography and history, and took lessons in singing, drawing and dancing.⁶⁷ Unusually, she was introduced to mathematics but had to study Euclid alone and without help.

A rival establishment, Miss Simpson's Academy, near the Saltmarket, offered only 'Music, French, writing and the finishing of the English language'.⁶⁸

By the nineteenth century, more serious subjects were being introduced into the curriculum of girls' boarding schools.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, accomplishments were still considered important. Arithmetic, geography, literature, history, philosophy, religion, all figured in Jane Pirie's plans for her school.⁷⁰ But when the advertisement appeared for the school in the local press, it had been amended by Mrs. Woods, Marianne's aunt, so that it made no reference to such subjects:-

...an establishment is forming by two English Ladies [Jane Pirie was of Scottish birth] for a limited number of young ladies of genteel connections only, conducted on the plan of the most approved schools in London.

The domestic arrangements are carefully adapted to combine the comforts of home with the forms of polished society. The plan is confined to those of amiable disposition and destined for genteel life.⁷¹

So in the end, the eighteenth-century estimation of what a girl needed to know triumphed over the introduction of intellectual subjects for girls.

The practice of sending children to boarding schools was condemned by Adam Smith in 1759. In Part IV of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, entitled 'Of the Character of Virtue', he claimed that sending both boys and girls away to boarding schools was harmful to them. Children of both

sexes should preferably have all their education at home but, if they were sent out to lessons during the day, they should at least come home at night.⁷² Such fears of the moral dangers lurking in boarding schools were realised when the case of Jane Pirie and Marianne Woods against Dame Helen Cumming Gordon came to court. The school only existed for a few months, for on November 14, 1810, Lady Cumming Gordon removed her granddaughter from the school on the grounds of her allegations of her teachers' lesbian relationship.⁷³ Soon all the other parents had taken away their daughters and Jane and Marianne were faced with ruined finances and reputations.

The mistresses sued Lady Cumming Gordon for defamation of character and, though the Court of Session gave a verdict on June 27, 1811, that Dame Cumming Gordon had been correct in assuming that Miss Pirie and Miss Woods were lesbians, the decision was reversed in February 1812 and Dame Cumming Gordon was ordered to pay damages. Still, irreparable harm had been done to their reputations as teachers and, though Marianne was re-employed as a part-time teacher in a London school where she had taught before, Jane never taught again. So great was the fear of moral contamination in nineteenth-century Scotland, that even the pupils of their former school found it difficult to find new schools that would admit them. Lady Cunnyname

eventually placed her daughter in an Edinburgh School run by a Miss Weston but only because Miss Weston had taught the girl before. Miss Weston made it clear that had Miss Cunnyname been a witness at the trial, it would have been impossible to accept her. She had already turned away two of Jane's and Marianne's former pupils.

Boarding schools were attacked on many other grounds as well as moral, for example, it was alleged that they taught girls trivia; their teachers had been themselves insufficiently educated; and by offering an opportunity of social mobility, they upset the social order. It has been argued by Peter Miller in an article on eighteenth-century women's education that most criticism of boarding schools was based on the fear that they upset social stability:-

The 'providential framework' of society was being threatened not only by doctrines preaching the 'rights of man', but by the increasing wealth and social ambition of the middle classes.⁷⁴

Although this was written of England, 'the typically Victorian preoccupation with the relationship between social class and education'⁷⁵ was certainly evident in Scotland at the beginning of the nineteenth century and, as demonstrated already, much of the criticism of girls' boarding schools in Scotland had, at its core, the worry about social instability. But it was also linked with the

wider anticipation of social chaos if women became the intellectual equals of men.

That boarding schools were effective routes to improved social status is shown from their popularity. Some schools neglected their pupils' physical welfare, as well as their intellect, and scrimped on the pupils' food and yet they still attracted pupils. Jane Carlyle's parents sent her to a boarding school in Haddington run by a Mrs. Hemming, formerly governess to the family of the Chief of Coll in the Western Isles, in an attempt to make her learn some accomplishments, but they took her away in 1813, when they discovered the hardships undergone by the pupils and their inadequate food. And yet, so strong was her mother's determination to make Jane conform with the image of a refined young lady, she was packed off again when she was sixteen, this time to Miss Hall's finishing school off Leith Walk in Edinburgh. This time she stayed two years, until 1819.⁷⁶

Premises were often cramped, since the mistresses often used their own homes as schools and, if they paid rent, could only afford a limited amount of accommodation. In Jane Pirie's and Marianne Woods' School, the nine boarders slept in two rooms, five girls in one bedroom and four in another. Jane slept in one room and Marianne in the

other, so that they could supervise their pupils at all times. Nevertheless, such establishments increased in number because they offered an opportunity to girls to make socially advantageous marriages. They equipped girls with accomplishments, a sense of fashion and etiquette, so that they could compete in the marriage market on terms almost equal with daughters of a higher social class. And, if a girl did not succeed in marrying, her education enabled her to become a teacher or a governess, so that she could make their own living. However meagre the remuneration, at least it provided some independence.

Private Day Schools and Tutors

The English writers, Anna Maria and Jane Porter, moved to Edinburgh with their mother after the death of their father. There they received a sounder education than most of their female contemporaries in the 1780s, at the day school run by George Fulton.⁷⁷ At the age of five, Anna Maria Porter was promoted at the public examination of pupils by members of the Town Council and Presbytery over a sixteen-year old classmate, to become Dux of the class.⁷⁸ Twenty-three years later, she still remembered Fulton with affection and dedicated the second edition of her novel, *The Hungarian Brothers* (1807), to him.

Private day schools also existed for specific subjects, for example, writing schools, which sometimes taught arithmetic as well. Other schools offered tuition in the accomplishments. In the 1760s Elizabeth Hamilton attended a dancing school in Stirling, after her lessons at the Writing and Mathematical School; and in 1793, and subsequent winters, Mary Somerville, when in Edinburgh, attended Alexander Nasmyth's Painting Academy for Young Ladies, a writing school, a riding school, and Strange's Dancing School, held in the Assembly Rooms. She also had piano lessons from an Italian named Corri and, because of her mother's belief in girls' domestic training, went to a pastry cook in the company of the daughter of Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood, where they learned to make jellies and creams. Pastry schools were popular in the first half of the eighteenth century and continued into the second half. One owned by Elizabeth Clelland is recorded in Edinburgh in the 1750s⁷⁹ and in 1783 another Edinburgh cookery teacher, Mrs. MacIver, published a book of her own recipes.⁸⁰

Professional painters frequently swelled their incomes by tutoring young ladies. In 1800 the English landscape painter, Julius Caesar Ibbotson, spent several months instructing Ann Barnard and her sisters.⁸¹ Alexander

Nasmyth went further than most in the establishment of his Academy at York Place in Edinburgh. However, he was assured of a permanent teaching staff in his six daughters, who had been trained by him. While he supervised the classes, they did the teaching. It soon became fashionable for young ladies to attend the Academy. But while the Nasmyth girls exhibited and sold their paintings, most art training for girls in eighteenth-century Scotland, and elsewhere, was designed only to provide the girls with a social skill. There was no intention to provide them with a paid occupation.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, private tutors increasingly advertised their services in Scottish newspapers. Thus, it was possible for any girl, so long as her family could afford the fees, to learn a variety of accomplishments, without having to attend a school. It was usual for a male tutor to teach a girl in her own home. Even though he might run a school for boys, the laws of propriety dictated that it was morally safer for a girl to be on her own ground, preferably with her mother or older female relation close by. Catering for this preference, James Lumley, who had his own school in Blyth's Close, Edinburgh, also offered 'to wait upon young gentlemen or ladies at their own rooms, any hours of the day, excepting school hours'. to teach them English.⁸²

Some girls did elope with their masters - Agnes Bonar, with the future Count Moretti,⁸³ and Elizabeth Boswell of Balmuto was cut off by her family after running off with her drawing master, Patrick Syme.⁸⁴ A wise mother provided a chaperone for her daughters' lessons with male teachers.

Great emphasis was laid upon the Englishness of English tutors. James Lumley proclaimed himself to be 'a Native of England, and from his infancy till he was 22 years of age, regularly educated in that country'. Not only did he teach English Grammar, he also paid strict attention to Pronunciation.⁸⁵ An English accent was considered to be a major attainment in men, as well as women, in these years of emulation of 'polite' English culture. As the historian, Peter Jones, has noted: 'The aversion of the Scottish literati to Scotticisms is well known,⁸⁶ and in Edinburgh students and professors flocked to the elocution lessons of an Irishman, Thomas Sheridan'.⁸⁷ Sheridan offered a course of eight lessons for one guinea that had been modified for women's weaker intellects. An advertisement placed by him in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* in 1761 proclaimed: 'Mr. Sheridan hopes, that, by retrenching all such passages (Latin and Greek), and compressing others of a more dry nature, into a narrower compass...This course will answer every purpose to the ladies'.⁸⁸ Speaking with an English

accent became a social asset in places other than Edinburgh. John McEwen, notifying the public of his move from Port Glasgow to Greenock, promised that he would teach: 'The reading of the English language with taste and propriety, according to a new method, as practiced [sic] by the best masters in Edinburgh'.⁸⁹ In addition, he would teach: Church Music, Arithmetic, Italian, Book-keeping, Writing, Geometry, Trigonometry and Navigation.

The acquisition of an English accent as a status symbol was by no means confined to the Lowland towns. Dr. Samuel Johnson, in *A Journey to the Western Isles* (1775), recorded meeting the daughter of an innkeeper at Avoch in the Black Isle, who 'had been at Inverness to gain the common female qualifications; and had...the English pronunciation'.⁹⁰ Concern with English pronunciation continued well into the nineteenth century and beyond.⁹¹ Actors who were well-practised in speaking with an English accent often discovered a secondary means of making their living in Scotland. The Shakespearean actor, William Woods, the uncle of Marianne Woods, relied on the teaching of elocution after his retirement from the Edinburgh stage in 1802, to supplement his income.⁹²

For other social accomplishments, such as music, dancing and French, many foreigners advertised their

services. Mrs. Le Picq, 'at the Desire of several people of quality, and others', proposed to open a French school in Edinburgh,⁹³ entering into competition with Signor Nicolosi, who offered to teach French or Italian to eight boys or girls, free of charge, so long as they produced a certificate from the minister of their parish that they were unable to pay. This may have been an advertising gambit, since he asked ladies and gentlemen who wanted to learn, to attend his lodgings at Mrs. Buchanan's at the foot of Niddery's Wynd.

Sometimes tutoring was a family occupation. While Mrs. Le Picq taught French, Anthony Le Picq ran a dancing school in Skinner's Close, which he later transferred to his brother, Charles.⁹⁴

Dancing lessons were available at home also, conducted by an Irishman from Dublin's Theatre Royal, Mr. Mahon,⁹⁵ and Mr. Richard Eales, formerly of the choir of Durham, offered the opportunity of a moral pursuit of music, in addition to music for entertainment's sake. He proposed to teach : 'Church Music or Psalmody...also to instruct ladies and gentlemen in singing Oratorio Songs, Cantatas, Ballads, etc.'⁹⁶ Handicrafts were also popular. A young lady might not need to learn any plain sewing because the family linen would be repaired by a servant but she was expected to do

something with her hands, however useless. An advertisement by a Miss Gardiner in Edinburgh, proposed to teach girls the 'fashionable accomplishments' of making 'gum flowers, shell work, glass jars (in imitation of china), Dresden fabrics, to work watch chains and string and net purses, etc.'.⁹⁷

Local school teachers often took on extra private work outside school hours. Mary Somerville was coached by the Burntisland schoolmaster; and at the age of ten, Jane Welsh Carlyle studied before school from six to eight a.m. and after school until bedtime, with Edward Irving, who had been employed in Haddington the previous year (1810) as master of the new Mathematics School. When Irving left Haddington in 1812, for a post at Kirkcaldy Academy, his successor, James Brown, continued to tutor Jane.⁹⁸

Literacy

The Scottish educational system, established by the Protestant Reformers in the sixteenth century, attempted to establish general literacy in Scotland,⁹⁹ and according to a description of the 1740s by Thomas Somerville, came close to achieving its aim:-

Any books read by the working people...were such as they themselves possessed; and a select number of treatises of popular divinity, like Boston's Fourfold State, the same author's Crook in the Lot, and Bunyan's Pilgrims Progress, might be found in almost every cottage.¹⁰⁰

However, R.K. Webb, describing the literacy of the Scottish working class in the nineteenth century, warns against making generalisations for the whole of the country, since in the Highlands and areas undergoing industrialisation, there was a lack of educational provision. Indeed, he suggests that the literacy rate had declined 'from nearly universal literacy',¹⁰¹ in the eighteenth century.

For female literacy alone there are no statistics and evidence can only be circumstantial and anecdotal. There are some indications, nevertheless, that a wide cross-section of eighteenth-century Scottish women could write as well as read. For example, many townswomen were involved in business activity that required accounting ability and several ran publishing firms and bookshops.¹⁰² The inclusion in this study of such poets as Jean Glover, Susannah Hawkins, Janet Graham and Jean Adam, testify that many poor women were also literate.¹⁰³ Elspeth Buchan was a domestic servant in the house of a Glasgow potter but was able to correspond with clergymen and teachers, defending her beliefs.¹⁰⁴

Dorothy Wordsworth in the course of her Scottish journey with her brother, William, and Samuel Coleridge, in 1803, was happily surprised by the literacy of Scottish women.¹⁰⁵ An innkeeper in Leadhills, Mrs. Otto, kept books in her kitchen and a woman shopowner impressed her with a 'bookishness, a certain formality' in her language, 'which was very remarkable'.¹⁰⁶ In Lanark, Dorothy's guide, an eight-year-old girl, could repeat several of Isaac Watt's hymns from a book commonly called the 'Collection' and read, according to Dorothy, by all Scottish children she questioned. And, although it appears that many aristocratic ladies were given an irrelevant and trivial education, many of those who looked after their husbands' estates showed an astute grasp of keeping the estate books and read and corresponded widely on the subjects of land improvement and estate management.

The dissemination of knowledge to people outside Scottish academic circles was greatly advanced by the establishment of public libraries. As early as 1704, thirty-one Presbyterian libraries had been founded throughout Scotland by the General Assembly for the use of congregational members,¹⁰⁷ and soon more were established in the Highlands and Islands. The books in them ranged over a wide number of subjects, as well as religion, and many were written in French, Greek and Latin.¹⁰⁸ The evidence is

that they were read by ordinary people¹⁰⁹ and, although most women were unable to read the classical languages, because they were unable to attend the schools in which Latin and Greek were taught, some of them did read books in English and French and obtained information about such subjects as history, theology, medicine, astronomy, phrenology, agriculture and horticulture. The writer, Mary Anne Burgess (1763-1813), knew Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish and some Swedish and German. She also read many books on geology, botany and music.¹¹⁰

Reading societies were launched throughout the eighteenth century and, though they were initiated by men, it is very possible that the books that men took home were also perused by women.

Towns, the centres of communication, were the most successful breeding grounds for libraries. In 1725 Allan Ramsay, poet and bookseller, opened the first circulating library in Britain,¹¹¹ and in 1753 John Smith established Glasgow's first circulating library. That they afforded a new opportunity to women to read is illustrated by the following diatribe of disapproval from the Rev. Robert Wodrow against Allan Ramsay's venture:-

...all the villainous profane and obscene books and playes printed at London by Curle and

others, and gote down from London by Allan Ramsay, and lent out, for an easy price, to young boyes, servant weemen of the better sort, and gentlemen, and vice and obscenity dreadfully propagated. Ramsay has a book in his shope wherein all the names of those that borrou his plays for two pence a night, or some such rate, are sett down; and by these, wickedness of all kinds are dreadfully propagated among the youth of all sorts...A villainous obscene thing, is no sooner printed at London, than it's spread and communicat at Edinburgh;¹¹²

But it was not only 'servant weemen' who read the contents of Ramsay's shelves, for many of them were sent to borrow books for their mistresses, who also became eager patronesses of subscription libraries, when they appeared mid-century.

Libraries spread quickly over all of Scotland. In 1765, there was a penny-a-night circulating library in Aberdeen, stocked with most of Henry Fielding's novels, Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa*, Cervantes' *La Princesse de Cleves*, and Dryden's plays. In 1795, another Aberdeen circulating library advertised the works of Fanny Burney and Rousseau's *Nouvelle Heloise*, and by 1821 there was a public library which lent out works by Sir Walter Scott, James Hogg, Elizabeth Hamilton, Jane Austen and Maria Edgeworth.¹¹³

Subscription libraries differed from commercial circulating libraries, because they were established on a

non-profit making basis, the subscription of the members being used to purchase books. By the middle of the nineteenth century, subscription libraries were to be found everywhere.¹¹⁴ A system of Itinerating Libraries was set up in 1817 in East Lothian by the Rev. Samuel Brown, his object being to promote religion. He claimed that these libraries were used by everyone: 'from families of the first respectability in the country down to the poorest and most distressed of its inhabitants - not excepting the prisoners in jail'.¹¹⁵

George Buchan of Kelloe introduced similar libraries into Berwickshire about 1822; James Douglas of Cavers did the same for Roxburghshire in 1829; and in that year, too, the General Assembly's Committee of Religious Instruction in Scotland established itinerating libraries that moved between Highland schools to replace the now defunct Presbyterian Libraries.¹¹⁶ Noted in these Reports are the comments of schoolmasters on their use, and they indicate that pupils frequently read their library books aloud to their parents at night.

Throughout the eighteenth century reading tastes changed. Whereas working people in the early years of the century had been content to read their Bibles, collections of sermons and works on divinity, by the beginning of the

nineteenth century they had begun to read political tracts and the writings of Tom Paine and William Godwin.¹¹⁷ The early 1800s saw the replacement of Presbyterian Libraries by Mechanics' Libraries equipped with a stock of self-improving works and imaginative literature.¹¹⁸ While the Leadhills Library admitted no women, the Innerpeffer Library in Perthshire, established for the use of young students in 1747, did.¹¹⁹

Unfortunately, most of the many detailed histories of the Scottish library movement leave out women. It is only through their own writings that we know that Scottish women borrowed books from libraries. So, for the women who had neither the time nor ability to keep written records of what they did, we have little evidence of their reading habits. We can only presume that the wives of working men, who belonged to libraries, found time away from their domestic duties in the evenings to read or listen to their husbands' books.¹²⁰

Nevertheless, we do know from their own references to such publications, that many Scottish women regularly read both English and Scottish newspapers and literary periodicals, such as the *Edinburgh Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine*. Also popular were improving magazines such as *The Grand Magazine of Universal Intelligence or Monthly*

Chronicle of Our Own Times; *Martin's Magazine of Arts & Science*; *The Gentleman's Magazine* (perused by ladies also); *The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*; *The Universal Magazine of History, Politics & Literature*; and *The Young Lady's Magazine*.¹²¹

Many English magazines, written specifically for women, also found a wide readership in Scotland. *The Female Preceptor*, established in 1813, was sold by Ogle of Glasgow,¹²² and other booksellers in Edinburgh and Glasgow included among their periodicals such titles as: *The Female Spectator* (1744-1746); *La Belle Assemblée, or Court and Fashionable Magazine* (1806-?1832); *The Lady's Magazine, or Polite Companion for the Fair Sex* (1759-?1766); *The Lady's Magazine, or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex* (1770-?1811); *The Ladies Magazine, or Universal Entertainer* (1749-1753); *The Lady's Magazine, or Universal Repository* (founded in 1773); *The Ladies Poetical Magazine, or Beauties of British Poetry* (1781-?1782); and *The Ladies' Monthly Museum, or Polite Repository of Amusement and Instruction* (1798-1832), which changed its title to *The Ladies' Museum* in 1829.¹²³

In 1758, the Edinburgh bookseller, William Gray, had in stock copies of: *The Gentleman's Magazine*; *The London Magazine*; *The Monthly Review*; *The Critical Review*; *The*

London Gazette; *The General Evening Post* and *London Chronicle*. It was therefore possible for Scottish women with the time, money and inclination, to be as well informed as Englishwomen.

Scotswomen took a lively interest in new publications and frequently made book purchases by post. Not only lairds but also their wives ordered books from the catalogue of the Edinburgh booksellers, Bell & Bradfute, which listed history, Greek and Latin classics, travel and topography, sermons and theology, politics, poetry and essays. However, they stocked few novels.¹²⁴

The Edinburgh book trade flourished during the 1750s and 1760s.¹²⁵ One business, established by Gavin Hamilton and John Balfour, published about 400 different books between 1750 and 1762.¹²⁶ Sales of books increased dramatically throughout the eighteenth century.¹²⁷ Publishing was an occupation in which women could also join in the middle of the eighteenth century, usually through inheritance of their husband's business. 'Widow Chapman' advertised books printed at her printing house in Parliament Close and sold them from her house in the Grassmarket.¹²⁸

Once the printed word became widely available, literate women were no longer dependent on others to teach them. They could now explore new worlds of knowledge for themselves and form their own opinions - despite the disapproval such activity attracted.

Self-Enlightenment

No more than an introduction to the basic skills of literacy and a training in accomplishments was thought to be either necessary or wise for eighteenth-century girls. If girls wanted to continue their education, or to pursue subjects that were the monopoly of men, then they had to do it alone, often in great secrecy, for fear of disapproval from their parents and ridicule from others.

There were, of course, exceptions. Mary Somerville was kept in domestic submission by her first husband, Captain Samuel Grieg, but was assisted in her studies by her second, Dr. William Somerville, the son of Dr. Thomas Somerville. Martha Somerville, Mary's daughter, recorded the attitudes of the three men towards Mary's intellectual occupations in her *Memoirs*:-

The first person - indeed the only one in her early days - who encouraged her passion for

learning was her uncle by marriage, afterwards her father-in-law, the Rev. Dr. Somerville, minister of Jedburgh, a man very much in advance of his century in liberality of thought on all subjects. Nothing can be more erroneous than the statement, repeated in several obituary notices of my mother, that Mr. Greig (her first husband) aided her in her mathematical and other pursuits. Nearly the contrary was the case. Mr. Greig took no interest in science or literature, and possessed in full the prejudice against learned women which was common at that time. Only on her marriage with my father, my mother at last met with one who entirely sympathised with her, and warmly entered into all her ideas, encouraging her zeal for study to the utmost, and affording her every facility for it in his power. His love and admiration for her were unbounded; he frankly and willingly acknowledged her superiority to himself, and many of our friends can bear witness to the honest pride and gratification which he always testified in the fame and honours she attained.¹²⁹

He has been called Mary's 'willing satellite',¹³⁰ and it has been suggested that, when the couple moved from Scotland to London, William enjoyed the limelight that was reflected from Mary:-

Ambitious and gregarious, he perceived his talented wife as a distinct asset, a congenial and useful helpmate who, through her accomplishments, could assist his rise in London as she had done in Edinburgh.¹³¹

Without him it is possible that her work would not have been published so easily, because he acted as her agent in arranging publication for her manuscript of *The Mechanism of the Heavens* with John Murray. He also acted as her

assistant, finding books she needed in libraries and repeatedly copying out her revised manuscripts.

The father of Jane Welsh Carlyle (1801-1866) also helped her with her studies and attempted to educate her as a son. He sent her to school before she was five and, arranged in 1811 for Edward Irving, teacher in the new Mathematics School at Haddington, to tutor her in addition to her school lessons. When Irving left, a year later, to take up a new post at Kirkcaldy Academy, Dr. Welsh replaced him with James Brown, schoolmaster at the Public School.

The painter, Alexander Nasmyth, impressed his daughters, as well as his sons, with the need to be self-sufficient. His son, James, described Alexander's aim in training his children in the practice of art: 'My father's object was to render each and all of his children - whether boys or girls - independent on their arrival at mature years'.¹³²

Sometimes brothers would pass on some of the knowledge they had acquired from formal teaching to their sisters. Though separated for a long period in their childhood and thereafter by his commission in India, Elizabeth and Charles Hamilton kept up a frequent correspondence in which he guided her reading. And when he returned to London in

1786 to work on his translation of *The Hedaya* (1791),¹³³ Elizabeth and her sister, Mrs. Blake, joined him there and were introduced to his friends, who included Warren Hastings, Governor-General of Bengal. Earlier in her girlhood, when she was thirteen, Elizabeth had met a Dr. Moyse, a lecturer on experimental philosophy, and later he too corresponded with her, giving direction to her studies. In adult life she was advised on her writings by the poet, Hector MacNeill, and Dr. James Currie, medical practitioner and biographer of Burns. Dugald Stewart assisted her with some Latin translations for material for *Memoirs of the Life of Agrippina*. However, it must be stressed that the exchange of information was not one-way. Elizabeth Hamilton also offered her male literary friends criticism (not all of it laudatory) and from her correspondence with MacNeill and Currie,¹³⁴ it seems that they exchanged views on a mutual understanding of intellectual equality.

Generally, though, the story behind the women in this study is one of dedicated self-improvement, all the more admirable because of the isolation in which it was carried out. Solitary study has never been easy. Looking back on the uncertainties that besieged her when, as a girl, she struggled to learn by herself, Frances Wright wrote:-

Myself a scholar, not a teacher, who have
purchased such knowledge as I possess, by years

of self-directed study, persevering observation and untiring reflection. I can well conceive, for I myself have experienced, the doubts, difficulties, hopes, fears and anxieties, which beset the awakening mind in the early stage of inquiry: the indistinct and, often, evanescent perceptions which encourage, then check, and then again encourage, again to intimidate its advance; the conflicting thoughts and feelings with which it has to struggle ere it can vanquish early impressions, and consent to receive new ones, admit ideas subversive of those which had grown with its growth, and which, associated with tender recollections, cling to the heart as well as the head...All this I can understand, for all this I have...felt...¹³⁵

It is, therefore, proof of dogged determination that these women continued to learn by themselves, when their own families often discouraged them and disapproved of the subjects they chose to pursue. Many of them perceived the study of Latin as the key to a closed door. The classics were still the central subject of the university curriculum at the beginning of the nineteenth century and boys' grammar schools concentrated on the teaching of Latin. Girls were told that they could not pursue a secondary education on an equal basis with boys, because they did not know Latin. The predicament of the situation was that few men would teach them the subject. Therefore women were prevented from pursuing the classical education that was an entrance requirement to the universities and the professions.

A thorough knowledge of other subjects, like mathematics, was also difficult, since many fundamental books were written in Latin and Greek. Since men gave such works such importance, women could only feel that if they too learned the classics, then the rest of the world's knowledge would be open to them. Latin was a symbol of male power and women who wanted self-determination went to great lengths in trying to learn it.

The poet, Elizabeth Rutherford, Mrs. Scott of Wauchope (1729-1789), was fortunate compared to most girls. She was taught Latin and French as a girl. But it was thanks to her own efforts that she later became 'proficient in many branches of the belles-lettres'.¹³⁶ Mary Somerville encountered considerable familial opposition, yet persisted in teaching herself Latin and eventually persuaded her uncle, Thomas Somerville, to help her with it. But she still needed some knowledge of Greek to pursue mathematics and astronomy, so she taught herself sufficient Greek to read Xenophon and Herodotus. Jane Welsh Carlyle was forbidden to learn Latin by her mother but when she taught herself, with the help of a Latin grammar and of a local boy, her father gave in and allowed her to learn Latin at the local Grammar School.

Elizabeth Hamilton found herself in grave difficulties when she was engaged in research for her book, *The Memoirs of Agrippina*, because she did not understand Latin and was thereby unable to read the Roman authors on which her work was based. Instead, she had to ask various men friends, such as Dugald Stewart, for help and they translated into English the parts they thought useful to her. Elizabeth compensated to some extent for the lack of Latin in her education by reading as many philosophical works in English as she could obtain. By the time she was sixteen, she had read Kames' *Elements of Criticism* (1762), concealing it under a cushion whenever anyone entered the room, for fear of discovery.

In comparison with Anne Grant, Elizabeth's education was bountiful. Anne (née MacVicar) spent her early years in America, where her father was a subaltern in the 55th. Regiment. Although friends outside the family encouraged her precocious love of literature, her parents disapproved, her mother making her spend hour after hour doing needlework and her father ordering her to read 'no more idle book and plays'.¹³⁷ Anne was given no kind of formal education but she could read and she struggled to learn from books in the lonely hours she spent shut up in the fort at Albany. In 1763, at the age of eight she tried to understand Milton's *Paradise Lost* with the use of an old

copy of Bailey's Dictionary. Later, she was to write that Milton was the greatest influence on her life.¹³⁸

The cousins, Mary Scott of Harden and Margaret Scott, were only two of the many girls who raided their fathers' library shelves in search of intellectual nourishment. In their letters to each other, written in 1828, they earnestly discussed their intentions to learn Icelandic, Persian, Arabic and Chinese.¹³⁹

Mary Somerville, was totally dependent on her own efforts to gain the mathematical knowledge necessary for the pursuit of her particular interest, astronomy. The turning point in Mary's intellectual career came when she discovered the delights of algebra. On a visit to a Miss Ogilvie in Burntisland, she picked up a copy of the Magazine of Fashions and was instantly absorbed by a series of algebraic puzzles. This led to a determination to learn mathematics, but:-

Unfortunately not one of our acquaintances or relations knew anything of science or natural history, nor had they done so, should I have had the courage to ask any of them a question, for I should have been laughed at.¹⁴⁰

By dint of pretending that she needed to learn a little geometry and algebra in order to draw better, Mary succeeded in getting hold of some elementary mathematical books. Her art teacher, Alexander Nasmyth enabled Mary to take another step in her studies when, by chance, he suggested that to understand perspective she should study Euclid's *Elements of Geometry*. Even then, there were problems in acquiring a mathematical book, thought unsuitable for girls, because she found it impossible to enter a bookshop and ask for such a title. Eventually, she persuaded her brother's tutor, the Rev. Peter Craw, to buy her a copy and, despite opposition from her parents, sat up all night studying in defiance of her father's protestation that reading mathematics would make her mad. By the time her candles were confiscated, she had memorised the first six books of Euclid and lay in bed solving problems in her head. Nocturnal study was the only means by which she accomplish mastery of the subjects which interested her, because, besides familial hostility to her reading, the daytime hours were totally occupied with household chores, making and sewing her own clothes, practising the piano, and painting.

The 'doubts, difficulties, hopes, fears and anxieties', experienced by Frances Wright, are all found in

Mary's memory of her teenage years. She regretted that her interests had been diversified:-

...had they been more concentrated, it would have been better; but there was no choice; for I had not the means of pursuing any one as far as I could wish, nor had I any friend to whom I could apply for direction or information. I was often deeply depressed at spending so much time for so little purpose.¹⁴¹

As Mary grew older, her visits to Jedburgh afforded some opportunity for increasing her mathematical knowledge, for the Somerville boys, Samuel and William (later her husband), were tutored in that subject by David Brewster, later a renowned mathematician and a close friend of both Mary and his former pupil, William. Another Jedburgh inhabitant, James Veitch, a self-taught mathematician, also exchanged scientific ideas with her and from him Mary bought one of the telescopes he made, for by this time her interest in astronomy had been aroused by a book on navigation.¹⁴² Her first marriage to Samuel Greig in 1804 cut her off from these contacts as they went to live in London. She was left by herself all day while Greig was at the Russian Consulate, and so filled her time with more study. Greig disapproved:-

...although my husband did not prevent me from studying, I met with no sympathy whatever from him, as he had a very low opinion of the

capacity of my sex, and had neither knowledge of nor interest in science of any kind.¹⁴³

After his death, Mary and her two children returned to Scotland and she took up the threads of her old friendships and made some new ones, the most important of which for her work was that of William Wallace, Professor of Mathematics at Edinburgh University. The seclusion from social life enabled her to spend most of her days studying trigonometry, astronomy and Newton's *Principia*, and by the time she was thirty-three, she achieved a long-standing ambition: the purchase of a library of scientific books based on the suggestions of Wallace. There was still familial hostility to her intellectual activities and pressure to entertain more but Mary was now sufficiently mature to brush off such remarks as trivial: 'As I was quite independent, I did not care for their criticism'.¹⁴⁴ Instead, she divided her time happily between her children, her father and her studies, no longer attempting to hide what she was doing, even though some people called her 'eccentric and foolish'.

After her marriage to William Somerville in 1812, the family moved to London. Mary's circle of scientific acquaintances increased, for example, she struck up a friendship with John and Caroline Herschel, and she took lessons in mineralogy. Both she and William went to

lectures at the nearby Royal Institution in Albemarle Street. Her daughter, Martha, remarked, when recalling her childhood, that her mother learned to distance herself from what was happening around her, so that she might continue to follow a train of thought while physically being in the presence of her family. When writing, too, she was able to shut out distractions around her.

Jane Welsh Carlyle as a girl was resolved to supplement the education she received at the local parish church in Haddington and at an Edinburgh boarding school. Her father taught her some Latin and Greek, but after his death she found herself without an intellectual mentor. This gap was filled by Thomas Carlyle, the historian, whom she later married. He sent her reading lists and, despite her mother's hostility and friends' disparaging comments on blue-stockings, she managed to obtain the books and read them.

In Orkney Mary Balfour (1778-1818), later the novelist, Mrs. Brunton, was as isolated as Anne McVicar had been in America. Her mother taught her reading and writing, some French, Italian and German, and a little music. Apart from a short time in an Edinburgh boarding school, she was totally dependent on reading poetry and fiction, for the rest of her education.

Most of these women regarded learning as a lifelong activity - not just as a girlhood occupation. Isabella Strange at sixty years old, in a letter to her son, Andrew, described her course of studies. This included reading poetry, history, philosophy, the life and writings of Petrarch and Pliny's Epistles.¹⁴⁵

If women from better-off families looked on reading as the only way of widening their intellectual horizons, the selection was far more difficult for women of a lower social standing. Not only did they have to battle against male prejudice that dictated that female intellectual development was dangerous, they were also at a disadvantage in that they had little access to reading matter. Whereas better-off women might read their fathers' and brothers' books, and even be able to use private libraries, poor women had few opportunities of obtaining books. Many were too poor to pay the subscription or fee required by most libraries begun in the eighteenth century.

Nevertheless, girls from poor backgrounds persisted in their single-minded search for more learning. Jean Adam, orphaned at an early age, became governess in a minister's family and educated herself from his library. Susannah Hawkins spent any free time left over from her duties as a

herd and domestic servant in gaining as much knowledge as possible and, in middle-age, made her living by selling her poems.¹⁴⁶ Isobel Pagan taught herself to read the Bible; and another poet, Mrs. Margaret Inglis, having being widowed twice, studied hard to furnish herself with sufficient knowledge to earn a living for her children and herself from writing.

It is a pity that the efforts of so many Scottish women to educate themselves to a level on which they were of equal intellectual standing with men have been ignored for so long. These women made their own education, despite considerable opposition they met from those with conventional expectations of women. Without books they would have had to live their lives out still frustrated by the inadequacy of educational opportunity.

Teaching

Learning gave these women their own sense of identity and they were committed to widening educational opportunity to all sectors of society. However, as a consequence of being barred from universities, the Scottish teaching profession was not open to women, the only exception being in areas where men did not want to teach, that is, at the

most elementary stage and in girls' subjects.¹⁴⁷ Since women were denied the opportunity of obtaining a degree, there was an additional excuse for reserving the least important parts of education for them, despite the fact that not all male teachers had degrees and none of them had any training as teachers.¹⁴⁸

Teaching as a profession was so poorly paid that usually women, who became teachers, did so only as a last resort. Even late in the nineteenth century, women teachers in Scotland were paid half the amount earned by their male counterparts. In 1765 the annual salary for the Governess of the Merchant Maiden Hospital in Edinburgh was twelve pounds Scots. By 1793 this had risen to twenty pounds, while the three assistant mistresses received twelve pounds.¹⁴⁹ Kilmarnock Town Council in 1810 put aside twenty-four pounds Scots for the salary of a woman teacher qualified to teach girls 'to sue [sic], weave lace and other kind of handiwork'.¹⁵⁰ In 1825 the annual salary offered to a teacher for the female school in Stornoway was twenty pounds Scots, to which sum a proportion of the pupils' fees were to be added.¹⁵¹

As late as 1816, the 144 Glasgow teachers listed by James Cleland in his *Annals of Glasgow* contained only twenty-one women, five of whom taught only sewing and

knitting, and four of whom taught only music. No woman taught Latin, Greek or Mathematics.¹⁵² These figures reflect how the domestic emphasis of the female curriculum remained unchanged even by the nineteenth century. The Governesses, or Matrons, of the Merchant Maiden Hospital were as likely to have been former housekeepers as teachers, and in the first half of the eighteenth century the 'three Rs' were taught by a visiting male teacher, although the two or three assistant mistresses took on more responsibility for these subjects as the century progressed. In 1832 the Governors declared, in the face of increasing discipline problems and complaints from parents about educational standards, that a new Governess 'must be fully qualified to superintend the education as well as the domestic economy of the hospital'.¹⁵³ Even then, however, the domestic subjects were of major importance in the curriculum and experience in household skills a more important qualification for assistant mistresses than in teaching writing and arithmetic, which were put under the direction of the male chaplain.

It was possible for almost any woman to set up as a teacher. Elspeth Buchan, when left destitute by her husband in Banff, unsuccessfully tried to make a living from opening an infants' school, where she taught needlework and spelling, and Jean Adam met with similar results, when she

began a school in Greenock. She was reduced to making a living as a hawker and died in the poorhouse. These schools were of the type labelled 'adventure schools'. They were set up in the hope that they would be paying propositions and often gave no more than a child-caring service in rooms that were frequently no better than hovels. However, as indicated by the Scottish educational historian, Henry Hutchison, in 1973, the frequent decrees issued by Town Councils, forbidding women to establish schools, might have been motivated more by the fear that male teachers would have their businesses threatened, rather than by their declared reasons that women were unfit to teach.¹⁵⁴

Boarding schools for girls were a more prosperous enterprise, since men wished no part in them and their pupils came from relatively well-off families. The women, who established such schools, usually came from a background of genteel poverty and were mostly spinsters and, sometimes, widows. The father of Miss MacPherson was a poor farmer, closely related to the MacPherson clan chief, and her mother was the daughter of a respectable tacksman (a small landowner).

The *raison d'être* of girls' boarding schools was social, rather than intellectual, and expert teaching in the subjects taught was not required. Therefore, they

offered a means to 'gentlewomen', well-versed in the niceties of social etiquette, to make a living. Many of the women who established such schools were former governesses. Jane Pirie and Marianne Woods were aged twenty-five and twenty-six when they opened their school. Both had been governesses and looked forward to making an independent living together. Money, however, was a constant worry. They charged fees of forty pounds per annum, which included: 'boarding, washing, and class and private instruction'.¹⁵⁵ Except for dancing and writing, all the teaching was carried out by the two mistresses. Marianne's aunt, Mrs. Ann Quelch Woods, acted as housekeeper but the two young women were alone responsible for teaching and supervising their pupils.

Usually, teaching in Scotland was a dead-end job for women, and there were better opportunities abroad. Isabella Marshall, the daughter of a Paisley landowner, attended Mrs. Betty Morehead's Glasgow school in her youth. After her marriage to Dr. John Graham of Paisley in 1765, she followed him to Canada, where he was physician to an English regiment. He died in 1773, leaving her with no money and four children. Like many other women in the same circumstances, she was forced to provide for herself and her children. She returned to Scotland and opened a boarding school in Paisley. When that was unsuccessful, she

established a boarding school in Edinburgh in 1780. However, like Frances Wright, she concluded that there was greater opportunity for women in America and, nine years later, she went to New York and set up a girls' school there. This time her venture was prosperous and, once her daughters were married, she was able to retire and devote her time and not insubstantial funds to philanthropy.

In Scotland, women dedicated to serious learning could find few, if any, outlets in which they could put their educational ideas into practice. Even if one had a boarding school of one's own, parents demanded that their daughters should be taught not mathematics, philosophy, languages and science, but handicrafts, deportment, social etiquette, singing, and playing the piano and the guitar. and none of these was to be pursued seriously. A woman who felt she had a vocation to open girls' minds to more serious studies and application had nowhere to do this. Accordingly, as will be discussed in the next Chapter, some interested women wrote books on education, in which they outlined their views on women's role in society.

NOTES

1. Wordsworth, Dorothy. *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland AD 1803*, Shairp, J.C. (Ed.) Edinburgh: James Thin, Mercat Press, 1974, p.91.
2. *ibid.* p.80.
3. Moore, Lindy. 'Invisible Scholars', *History of Education*, 1984, vol.13, no.2, pp.121-137.
4. Glaister, R.T.D. 'Education in the Presbytery of Jedburgh in the Eighteenth Century', Ph.D., Open University, 1984.
5. Smout, T.C., *op cit.* p.454.
6. Beale, J.M. *Education in Fife from the Reformation to 1872*, SCRE, 1984, p.339.
7. Boyd, William. *Education in Ayrshire through Seven Centuries*, SCRE, University of London Press, 1961, p.84.
8. *Edinburgh Evening Courant*. June 17, 1758.
9. *ibid.* February 6, 1762.
10. I am indebted to Mrs. I. McIntyre of Glasgow University Library and to Dr. John Durkan, Research Fellow in the Department of Scottish History at Glasgow University for information on the rate of exchange. See also Stewart, Ian Halley. *The Scottish Coinage*, London: Spink & Son, 1967.
11. Simpson, Ian J. *Education in Aberdeenshire before 1872*, SCRE, 1947, p.197.
12. Moore, *op cit.* p.123.
13. Boyd, *op cit.* p.84.
14. Barclay, W. *The Schools & Schoolmasters of Banffshire*, Banff, 1925, Preface, xiii.
15. Barclay, *op. cit.* p.269.

16. Pagan, Isobel. 'An Account of the Author's Lifetime', *A Collection of Songs and Poems*, Glasgow: Niven, Napier & Khull, Trongate, 1805. Quoted by Stenhouse, *op cit.* p.316*.
17. Somerville, Martha, *op cit.* p.29.
18. Allardyce, John. *Byegone Days in Aberdeenshire*, Aberdeen: Milne, 1913, p.135.
19. Hamilton, D. 'Classroom Research & the Evolution of the Classroom System', 1978, p.7.
20. It is possible that Elizabeth's later ideas on education were influenced by the liberal methods used by Manson. See Russell, Rosalind. 'From Enlightenment Philosophy to Utilitarian Pedagogy', M.Ed. Glasgow University, 1982, p.46; and 'Elizabeth Hamilton: Enlightenment Educator'; *Scottish Educational Review*, vol.18, no.1, May 1986.
21. Moore, *op cit.* p.125, dates the first definite reference to girls studying Latin as 1842.
22. Hanson, *op. cit.* p.6.
23. *ibid.* p.255.
24. *ibid.* p.11.
25. Stirling, Amelia Hutchison. *A Sketch of Scottish Industrial & Social History*, London, 1906, p.35.
26. Beale, *op cit.* p.97.
27. Towill, Edwin S. 'The Minutes of the Merchant Maiden Hospital', *The Book of The Old Edinburgh Club*, vol.29, 1956, p.1.
28. Towill, Edwin S. 'The Minutes of the Trades Maiden Hospital', *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol.28, 1953, p.8.
29. Letters from Miss Harriet Howell, Edinburgh, on a girls' school for Stornaway, 1826, Scottish Records Office, Seaforth [GD46] 17/68 and 17/70-1.
30. Hamilton, James, *op cit.* p.64.
31. Law, Alexander. *Education in Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century*, University of London, 1965, pp.47-57; Marshall, *op cit.* p.210.

32. Dean, Irene F.M. *Scottish Spinning Schools*, University of London Press, 1930, p.103.
33. *ibid.* p.102.
34. *ibid.* p.62.
35. Scottish Records Office, Forfeited Estates Papers, 1745. Quoted by *ibid.* p.84.
36. Quoted by Murray, Eunice. *Scottish Women in Bygone Days*, Glasgow & London: Gowans & Gray Ltd., 1930, p.176.
37. Grant, Anne. *Memoirs of an American Lady with Sketches of Manners and Scenes in America as They Existed Previous to the Revolution*, first edition, 1808; 1901 edition with unpublished letters and a memoir of Mrs. Grant by James Grant Wilson, New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., pp.xx-xxi.
38. Rutherford, Alison. *Letters & Memoir of Her Own Life By Mrs. Alison Rutherford or Cockburn*, Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1900, p.2.
39. Dumfries, Lady Margaret. 'Letters to Lord Kaimes [sic] at Blair Drummond' Scottish Records Office, Abercairny, GD24/1/589.
40. Macpherson, Miss B. 'Letters from Miss B. Macpherson'. Scottish Records Office, Macpherson of Cluny, GD80 927. Letter dated 28th September 1800.
41. Appleton, Elizabeth. *Private Education; or a Practical Guide for the Studies of Young Ladies with an Address to Parents, Private Governesses and Young Ladies*, London: Henry Colburn, 1813, p.235.
42. Grant, Elizabeth of Rothiemurchus. *Memoirs of a Highland Lady 1797-1827*, London: John Murray, 1899, p.65.
43. Graham, Harry, *op cit.* p.263.
44. Tytler & Watson, *op cit.* p.4.
45. *ibid.* p.115.
46. Somerville, Martha, *op. cit.* p.21.

47. Smout, *op. cit.* in Hont & Ignatieff, *op. cit.* p.58.
48. Prebble, *op. cit.* p.17.
49. Law, *op. cit.* p.183.
50. Quoted by Murray, *op. cit.* p.174.
51. *Edinburgh Evening Courant*. December 16, 1758.
52. See Edwards, Phyllis. 'The Contribution of British Women to Education Thought in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries with special reference to the teaching of English', M.Ed., Leeds University, 1955, p.1.
53. Marshall, *op. cit.* p.206.
54. Dumfries, Lady Margaret, *op. cit.*
55. See Kamm, Josephine, *Hope Deferred: Girls' Education in English History*, London: Methuen, 1965.
56. For description of pupils' backgrounds see Faderman, Lillian. *Scotch Verdict: Miss Pirie and Miss Woods v. Dame Cumming Gordon*, New York: Quill, 1983.
57. Schaw, *op cit.*
58. Macpherson, *op. cit.*
59. Marshall, *op. cit.* p.206.
60. See Grant, Elizabeth, *op. cit.* Possibly this is the one run by Miss Charles and attended by Jane Cumming, a pupil of Miss Pirie and Miss Woods, between 1804 and 1809.
61. *ibid.*
62. Count Boruwlaski was a Polish dwarf, who was a celebrated musician and toured the European courts. See *Memoirs of Count Boruwlaski: Containing a Sketch of His Travels, With An Account of His Reception At the Different Courts of Europe. Written by Himself*, Durham: Francis Humble & Co., 1820.

63. Accounts for education of Helen and Anne Gray at Musselburgh 1788-96, Scottish Records Office, Murray of Lintrose [GD68] 2/74-6.
64. Somerville, Martha, *op. cit.* p.21.
65. *ibid.* p.22.
66. Quoted by Murray, *op. cit.* p.178.
67. Tytler and Watson, *op. cit.* p.192.
68. **Glasgow Mercury**. May 4, 1770. Quoted by Murray, *op. cit.*
69. See for example, Towill, Edwin S. 'The Minutes of the Merchant Maiden Hospital', *op. cit.*, pp.62-63.
70. See Faderman, *op. cit.*
71. **Edinburgh Advertiser**. August 18 and 25, and September 12, 1809. Quoted by Faderman, *op. cit.* p.34.
72. Smith, Adam. **Moral Sentiments**, *op. cit.* Part IV, p.326.
73. For a discussion of the nature of their relationship, see Faderman, *op. cit.* passim and Jeffreys, Shelia, 'Does It Matter if They Did It?', **Trouble & Strife**, 3, Summer, 1984.
74. Miller, Peter J. 'Women's Education, "Self-Improvement" & Social Mobility - A Late Eighteenth Century Debate', **British Journal of Educational Studies**, 20, October, 1972.
75. *ibid.*
76. Hanson, *op. cit.* p.11.
77. George Fulton was well-known as an innovator of teaching methods and as the compiler of dictionaries.
78. Elwood, *op. cit.* p.279.
79. Marshall, *op. cit.* p.206.
80. MacIver, Mrs. **Cookery and Pastry Taught and Practised By Mrs. MacIver, Teacher of Those Arts in Edinburgh. To which are added Figures of**

Dinner and Supper Courses, from Five to Fifteen Dishes. Also a Correct List of Every Thing in Season for Every Month of the Year, London: C. Elliot & T. Kay; and Edinburgh: C. Elliot, 1789. Advertisement to former editions refers to opening of successful school for cooking in Edinburgh, 'some years ago'... 'for instructing young Ladies in this necessary branch of female education'.

81. Irwin, David & Francina, *op. cit.*
82. *Edinburgh Evening Courant*. June 23, 1762.
83. Somerville, Martha, *op. cit.* p.56 and 119.
84. Irwin, David & Francina, *op. cit.* p.216.
85. *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, June 23, 1762.
86. After the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, elocution teachers were in great demand to train the Edinburgh bourgeoisie and professional classes in speaking with an English accent, and in 1787 James Beattie published a list of 'Scotticisms, arranged in Alphabetical Order, designed to correct Improperities of Speech and Writing'. His aim was '...to put young writers and speakers on their guard against some of those Scotch idioms, which, in this country, are liable to be mistaken for English. With respect to broad Scotch words I do not think that any caution requisite, as they are easily known, and the necessity of avoiding them is obvious'. Quoted by Daiches, David, *Literature and Gentility in Scotland*, Edinburgh University Press, 1982, p.68. Boys from well-off families, and sometimes their sisters, were sent to English boarding schools. London replaced Edinburgh as the cultural centre and wealthy Scottish families kept town houses in London, where they resided for the London season.
87. Jones, Peter. 'The Polite Academy and the Presbyterians, 1720-1770' in Dwyer, et al. *op. cit.*, p.174.
88. *Edinburgh Evening Courant*. July 27, 1761.
89. *ibid.* July 14, 1762.

90. Johnson, Samuel. *Johnson. Prose & Poetry. Selected by Mona Wilson*, London: Hart Davis, 1950, p.683.
91. In Scotland an 'educated' person is still expected by many people to speak with a 'received' English pronunciation. When the writer was a pupil at a Scottish girls' boarding school in the 1950s and 1960s, an elocution teacher trained girls with a Scottish accent in the skill of speaking with an English one.
92. Faderman, *op. cit.* p.31.
93. *Edinburgh Evening Courant*. September 15, 1762.
94. *ibid.* December 13, 1762.
95. *ibid.*
96. *ibid.* April 7, 1759.
97. Quoted by Murray, *op. cit.* p.177.
98. Hanson, *op. cit.* p.6.
99. The definition of literacy used here is that given by Robert Kiefer Webb in his article, 'Literacy Among the Working Classes in Nineteenth-Century Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, vol.35, no.116, October, 1954, p.100, and is merely the ability to read a simple prose passage. As Webb indicates: 'Literacy is not to be equated with the ability to write; writing is much more difficult to learn than reading; and it requires practice.'
100. Somerville, Thomas, *op. cit.* p.350.
101. Webb, *op. cit.* p.112.
102. Marshall, *op. cit.* pp.155-157.
103. It is true that Isobel Pagan (1741-1821) could not write and others had to write down the words to preserve her ballads but she could read her Bible.
104. See 'Eight Letters between the people called Buchanites and a teacher near Edinburgh...one by Mrs. Buchan together with two letters from Mrs.

Buchan to a clergyman in England, etc.', 1785, ms., National Library of Scotland.

105. Wordsworth, *op. cit.* p.18.
106. *ibid.* p.21.
107. Maclean, Donald. 'Highland Libraries in the Eighteenth Century', *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society*, vol.VII, Sessions 1918-1919 & 1919-1920, Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson & Co., 1923, p.41; Aitken, W.P. *A History of the Public Library Movement in Scotland to 1955*, Glasgow: Scottish Library Association, 1971, p.11.
108. 'Register Concerning Libraries for the Highlands and Islands of Scotland', in the Library of the General Assembly, Edinburgh. Quoted by Maclean, *op. cit.* pp.41-42.
109. *ibid.* pp.42-43.
110. Hutton, James (Ed.) *Selections from the Letters and Correspondence of Sir J.B. Burges...With notices of his life*, London: John Murray, 1885, p.188.
111. Maclean, *op. cit.* p.16.
112. Wodrow, Robert. *Analecta, or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences mostly relating to Scotch ministers and Christians*, 4 vols., Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1842-1843, vol.3, pp.515-516. Quoted by Aitken, *op. cit.* p.16.
113. Craig, *op. cit.* p.208.
114. Aitken, *op. cit.* p.23.
115. *ibid.* p.31.
116. *ibid.* p.36.
117. Thompson, Alastair R. 'The Use of Libraries by the Working Class in Scotland in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Scottish Historical Review*, 42, 1963, no.133, April, 1963, pp.122-123.
118. By 1850 there were fifty-five Literary and Mechanics' Institutions, with a total of almost sixty thousand volumes in their libraries. Aitken, *op. cit.* p.39.

119. See Kelly, Thomas. *Early Public Libraries*, 1966, and Dickie, William. Article on Innerpeffer Library in *Library Association Record*, n.s. vol.VI, 1928, p.101. I am grateful to Mrs. S. McManus, Hon. Sec. of the Allan Ramsay Library, Leadhills, for drawing my attention to these references.
120. There is need for research on the membership lists of such libraries to see if there were any women members. Also to see whether those who ran the Itinerating Libraries, for example, shopkeepers, etc., included women.
121. All advertised in *The Evening Courant*. December 7, 1758; March 6, 1762; and March 3, 1762.
122. Adburgham, Alison. *Women in Print*, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1972.
123. *ibid.* and White, Cynthia L. *Women's Magazines 1693-1968*, Michael Joseph, 1970.
124. Craig, *op. cit.* pp.210-211.
125. Thomson, Alastair, G. 'The Paper Industry in Scotland 1700-1861', Ph.D., Edinburgh University, 1965.
126. MacDougall, Warren. 'Gavin Hamilton, John Balfour & Patrick Neill: A Study of Publishing in Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century', Ph.D., Edinburgh University, 1974. Referred to by Smout, T.C., in 'Where had the Scottish economy got to by the third quarter of the eighteenth century?', in Hont & Ignatieff, *op. cit.* p.62.
127. *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, 15 vols., 1845, vol.VI (Lanark), pp.180-183, reports expanding book sales at the beginning of the nineteenth century.
128. *Edinburgh Evening Courant*. 5th December 1758.
129. Somerville, Martha, *op. cit.* pp.2-3.
130. *ibid.* p.41.
131. Patterson, *op. cit.* p.11.
132. Quoted by Johnson & Money, *op. cit.* p.44.

133. *The Hedaya*. Translated by Charles Hamilton, 4 vols., London, 1791.
134. Included in Benger, Elizabeth. *Memoirs of the late Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton*, 2 vols., London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1818.
135. Wright, Frances. *Course of Popular Lectures*, New York, 1829. Quoted by Taylor, Barbara. *Eve & the New Jerusalem*, London: Virago, 1983, p.65.
136. Stenhouse, *op. cit.* p.309.
137. Elwood, *op. cit.* p.68.
138. *ibid.* p.67.
139. Scott, Mary and Margaret. Letters. Scottish Records Office, Scott of Harden Papers, GD 157/2831/1.2.
140. Quoted by Marshall, *op. cit.* p.216.
141. Somerville, Martha, *op. cit.* p.72.
142. *ibid.*
143. *ibid.* p.75.
144. *ibid.* p.80.
145. Dennistoun, *op. cit.* vol.ii, p.277.
146. Irving, Joseph. *The Book of Eminent Scotsmen*, Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1881.
147. Glaister, *op. cit.* found that no woman teacher was employed in a parish school although there were girl pupils.
148. Teacher training only began in the late nineteenth century after the introduction of governmental inspection.
149. Towill. 'The Minutes of the Merchant Maiden Hospital', *op. cit.* pp.39-40.
150. Kilmarnock Town Council Minutes, May 13, 1810. Quoted by Hutcheson, Henry. *Scottish Public Educational Documents*, Edinburgh: SCRE, Series 3, no.1, 1973, p.63.

151. Howell, *op. cit.*
152. While twelve of the twenty-one women taught all subjects except Latin, Greek and Mathematics, none of the men did. Instead they specialised in one or two subjects. Thus, there were forty-seven men who taught English; eleven, writing and arithmetic; ten, instrumental music; fourteen, singing; six, modern languages; three, Latin and Greek; six, mathematics; five, drawing and painting; two, elocution; and four, dancing. See Cleland, *op. cit.* vol.2, pp.415-419.
153. Towill, *Merchant Maiden, op. cit.* p.48.
154. Hutchison, Henry. *Scottish Public Educational Documents, 1560-1960*, Edinburgh: SCRE, 1973.
155. Faderman, *op. cit.* p.34.

Chapter Four

CONSERVATISM AND RADICALISM : SCOTSWOMEN'S VIEWS ON GIRLS' EDUCATION AND THEIR SOCIAL ROLE

In the period after 1750 Scottish women began to show a sense of their own identity as free human beings, separate from that of men, and they started to take responsibility for their own lives. No longer did all of them see their main role in life as the supporters of men. The cause of Scottish women's self-regard can be found in the spirit of the Enlightenment that pervaded Scotland, as well as the rest of Europe, during the eighteenth century. As women's minds gained more information, largely through self-education, their sense of independence from men grew accordingly. Later in the century such women were quick to apply the doctrines of the French and American Revolutions to their own lives and they began to unite and speak in favour of more equality. As Lady Eunice Murray, herself a Scotswoman, wrote fifty years ago:-

In the eighteenth century, woman found a new outlook on life, a new vista of hope and promise stretched before her, enticing her onwards. She was a pioneer, one who had the courage to step aside from the beaten track, to face ridicule and scorn, because she realised that in ignorance lay subjection and degradation.¹

The second half of the eighteenth century saw a rising divorce rate, as shown by figures recorded by the courts.² It is interesting that women now often took the initiative in seeking divorce, although, even if their husbands were the guilty party, the latter were usually granted custody of the children. For example, the writer, Eglantine, Lady Wallace (?-1803), sister of Jane, Duchess of Gordon, obtained a legal separation from her husband. Though it has been claimed that, in England until 1859, only the upper classes could afford divorce,³ because it could only be granted by a special Act of Parliament, in Scotland those applying for a legal end to their marriages came from all social strata, except the very poorest.⁴ However, even in Scotland, until the Conjugal Rights (Scotland) Amendment Act (1861) a woman who accumulated money or property after her divorce or separation could still legally have it taken away from her by her former husband - even though she had been the wronged party.⁵

Women became aware of the possibility of greater freedoms through their reading. The novel had a particularly subversive effect on women for, although the reading of novels was attacked as a waste of time by men, and even by some literary women, in private women read them voraciously and even wrote them. Novels provided women with new role-models and showed them alternative existences. The literary historian, P.M. Hall, considers that novels not

only provided women with an opportunity to write but also 'by portraying female characters, enabled women to emerge from the obscurity with which historians had shrouded them.'⁶ Bridget Hill has also stressed the liberating effects of reading on women:-

As more women began to read...so their horizons broadened. It began to be possible to conceive of alternatives to their constricted existences. A fantasy world of independence, from their husbands and from the role allotted to them, began to open up.⁷

Reading was life and blood to women who were confined to their homes, as Elizabeth Hamilton was quick to acknowledge:-

A lively imagination creates a sympathy with favourite authors, which gives to their sentiments the same power over the mind as that possessed by an intimate and pleasant friend; and hence a taste for reading becomes to females of still greater importance than it is to men.⁸

The new female heroines in literature, Rousseau's *Nouvelle Heloise* in particular, led to a vigorous debate on what the social role of women should be. Scottish women discussed in their letters with each other whether women should be considered equal with men; how they should be educated; and what was their importance in society - as wives and mothers or as individuals who could make the same intellectual contribution as men. Women writers, like

Joanna Baillie in her plays and poetry and Susan Ferrier in her novels frequently highlighted the conflict between the new fashionable life of London, which allowed women greater freedom, and the old traditional Scottish customs, which placed women firmly in the home.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, although many women writers portrayed their heroines as submissive to men's wishes, the Scottish historian, Rosalind Marshall, suggests there is evidence that Scottish men were becoming worried about the growing independence of their women.⁹ Certainly, men realised the subversive effect of novels on women only too well and this was a reason for their complaints that reading distracted women from their domestic duties. Very often such women had been relieved of their household chores by servants and what their husbands really objected to was the realisation by their wives and daughters of more liberated existences.

By the nineteenth century, the Evangelical Movement had attracted many female members in Scotland. Its emphasis on chastity, for both men and women, brought with it the benefit of a new idea of self-importance for women. No longer did women have to regard themselves as without a useful function in life if they were not married. As Nancy Cott has remarked: 'By replacing sexual with moral motives

and determinants, the ideology of passionless favored [sic] women's power and self-respect'.¹⁰

Religion offered a route to self-fulfilment other than marriage and so the possibility of leading a rewarding life independent of men appeared. Indeed, instead of women being regarded as naturally seductive and a danger to virtuous men, they were now put on a pedestal of purity. Though this brought the disadvantage of sexual repression, women derived considerable benefit from such a belief. The idea that women lacked sexual passion, in contrast with men, made them morally superior. It also increased their own solidarity, because they regarded their spiritual relationships with each other as of a higher order than their relationships with men, in which the threat of sex was either overt or latent.

Evangelism also filled the empty lives of middle-class women with philanthropic and religious activity. For example, some, like Lady Janet Colquhoun, founded schools, and they worked for the abolition of slavery and for the end of exploitation of children as factory workers and chimney sweeps.

The improved self-image of Scottish women in the second half of the eighteenth century was the foundation on

which nineteenth-century women started to build their careers. Education was the means of escape from domestic servility. Consequently, many of the women who wanted greater female participation in public life, concentrated all their energies on promoting equal educational opportunities for girls.

The rest of this Chapter will centre on the Scottish women writers who, inspired by their own hard-won education, championed the cause of women's education and condemned the attitudes of men like Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who preached freedom for men and servility for women. However, at the same time, it must be borne in mind that Frances Wright was exceptional in her advocacy of equality for women on every social dimension. As J.A. and Olive Banks, writers on Englishwomen's history, warned in 1964: 'Emancipation from the constraints of the domestic routine should not be confused with emancipation from dependence upon the male members of the family'.¹¹ Despite increasing support among women for reform in girls' education, most Scottish women stopped short of demands for political equality and, like Elizabeth Hamilton, Anne Grant and Joanna Baillie, had otherwise conservative views. And some Scottish women were in complete agreement with men on the domestic role of women and girls' education.

For instance, in her memoirs, *Some remarks on the change of manners in my own time 1700-1790* (1854), Elizabeth Mure, member of an academic and liberal family, remarked disparagingly on new bookshops 'stuffed...with novels and magazines' and harked back approvingly to her girlhood days when women used to gain their knowledge from conversation with men: 'Whoever had read Pope, Addison and Swift, with some ill-writ history, was then thought a learned lady, which character was by no means agreeable'.¹² According to her, girls should not be allowed to read literature and philosophy, because, as future wives and mothers, their chief aim would be to please their husbands and care for their children. Literature and philosophy would be trivial distractions from domestic duties. Any knowledge they acquired should be through the medium of conversation with men: 'The men thought justly on this point, that what knowledge the women had out of their own sphere should be given by themselves and not picked up at their own hand in ill-chosen books of amusement'.¹³

This attitude was still firmly entrenched in some women at the turn of the century. For example, Lady Janet Colquhoun criticised the blameless Elizabeth Hamilton for living too much in the limelight. In a letter written in 1819, she refers to Elizabeth Benger's *The Life of Mrs. Hamilton*:

She seems to have been amiable and religiously inclined; but oh, I pity the person, of whatever talents possessed, who is not humbled at the foot of the Cross; and this, I fear, she was not. She talks of the greatest enjoyment in this life as being in the society of persons of genius. Ah no! she knew not that other happiness, communion with God and His people.¹⁴

Elizabeth Hamilton, 'one of the great literary ladies of Edinburgh Society',¹⁵ trod a middle path between the conservative Elizabeth Mure and the radical Frances Wright. When she joined her brother, Charles, in London in 1788, she was surprised by the readiness of English men to listen to her conversation. In Scotland, by contrast, she claimed to have been shut out from the 'commerce of intellect'.¹⁶ In England, however:-

Men of learning addressed themselves to me, as to a being who was actually capable of thinking. Men of wit seemed to imagine that I could understand them; and both men and women, very superior both in point of situation and abilities, to those with whom I had been accustomed to associate, conversed with me so much upon a footing of equality, that sometimes, I was inclined to exclaim with the wee wife, 'Surely this is no me'.¹⁷

Yet, however gratified she may have been by her treatment as an independent intellectual being, her advocacy of improved education for girls stopped short at demands for equal social and political rights. She regarded

women who championed sexual equality as 'absurd',¹⁸ and, made a typically Enlightenment distinction between heavenly and secular equality:-

It is not an equality of moral worth for which they contend and which is the only true object of regard, nor for an equality of rights with respect to the Divine favour, which alone elevates the human character into dignity and importance; but for an equality of employments and avocations, founded upon the erroneous idea of a perfect similarity of powers...they desire for their sex an admission into the theatre of public life, and wish to qualify them for it by an education in every respect similar to that of men.¹⁹

And she believed that the 'race of female free-thinkers'²⁰ were the product of an irregular education that failed to develop their faculties - particularly that of judgement.

The writer, Mrs. Anne Grant of Laggan, though considered 'absurd as a bluestocking' by Sir Walter Scott,²¹ had a similarly poor opinion of women who displayed their learning. Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) shocked her and she joked about female philosophers breastfeeding their babies in the House of Commons and putting them to sleep on the Woolsack.²²

Nevertheless, Elizabeth Hamilton, the first writer in

England or Scotland to champion Pestalozzi's educational method,²³ was the most important advocate of female education in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Scotland. Elizabeth's first book, *Letters of a Hindoo Rajah* (1796),²⁴ a satire on Hindu customs, was based on information gathered by her brother during his service with the East India Company. It is interesting as an indication of her early theories on education. Brought up in the cultural milieu of the Scottish Enlightenment and familiar with its philosophy, she was clearly influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment theory of knowledge and by the theory of the association of ideas. In *Letters of a Hindoo Rajah*, she made plain her adherence to the concept of Virtue and her belief in the importance of catching a child when young:-

...let the combination of ideas be attended to from the earliest period of life; let the mind be early taught to think; taught to form a just estimate of the objects within reach of its observation; and appreciating everything by its usefulness, led to see, that genius is less valuable than virtue...²⁵

But while the Scottish Enlightenment philosophers took it for granted that their readers would interpret their impersonal references to 'the mind' as denoting the masculine intellect only, Elizabeth's writings on education included both sexes. To her the development of female

virtue by means of education was as important as the growth of male virtue, because women's souls were equal to those of men in the sight of God. In *Hindoo Rajah* she expressed horror at the Hindu practice of suttee, whereby widows immolated themselves on their husbands' funeral pyres, and she maintained with bitter irony that Hindu men insisted upon their women remaining in 'ignorance and submission' lest 'the privilege of enquiry might have disquieted their [men's] repose'.²⁶

Failing to comment at this point on the practice of Christian men, Elizabeth defined the belief that was to be the foundation of all her later writings on women and education:-

Throughout the Christian Shaster [the Bible] they [women] are exalted to perfect equality with men. They are considered as occupying a station of equal dignity, in the intelligent creation; and as being equally accountable, for the use they make of the gift of reason, and the monitions of conscience.²⁷

In *Memoirs of Modern Philosophers* (1800), Elizabeth made her first attempt at the form of the novel. However, it was fiction with a moral purpose, as was her later *The Cottagers of Glenburnie* (1808). The satire of *The Hindoo Rajah* continued but this time its target was women who regarded the acquisition of knowledge as just one more

fashionable accomplishment and, ill-equipped with true understanding, let their hearts rule their heads.

For the first time, appears the ambiguous tension of her ideas on women, so marked in her later work. Though fierce in her defence of women's rights to an education equal with that of men, Elizabeth had no sympathy with women who put personal freedom above social convention. She agreed with Mary Wollstonecraft's attack in *Vindication* on Rousseau's ideas about female education but distrusted Mary's claim for complete equality with men:-

The inconsistency and folly of his system was, perhaps, never better exposed than in the very ingenious publication which takes the Rights of Women for its title. Pity, that the very sensible authoress has sometimes permitted her zeal to hurry her into expressions which have raised a prejudice against the whole. To superficial readers it appears to be her intention to unsex women entirely.²⁸

The plot of *Modern Philosophers* centres around showing the heroine, Bridgetina, the error of her ways. Bridgetina aspired to metaphysics and fell in love with one Henry, the brother of a friend, Maria. Undeterred by the fact that he was betrothed to another, Bridgetina pursued him to London, throwing discretion and reputation to the winds. She was under the influence of a female philosopher, Julia, and when Maria remonstrated with her, Bridgetina declared

patronisingly:-

My scheme...is too extensive for any but a mind of great powers to comprehend. It is not bounded by the narrow limits of individual happiness, but extends to embrace the grand object of general utility. Your education has been too confined to enable you to follow an energetic mind in which passions generate powers, and powers, passions, and energies germinate, to general usefulness.²⁹

Inevitably, ruin came to Bridgetina, but both she and Julia were allowed to recognise the error of their ways before their downfall was complete. A sadder but wiser Julia advised Bridgetina to: 'Go home to your mother, my Biddy, and in the sober duties of life forget the idle vagaries which our distempered brains dignified with the name of philosophy'.³⁰

Despite this recommendation of domesticity, the point Elizabeth was trying to make in *Modern Philosophers* was not that women should be confined to domestic pursuits, but that they - and men also - should beware of assuming the guise of knowledge without fully developing both their emotional and intellectual understanding. Like Jane Austen, who enjoyed *Modern Philosophers* and was pleased to hear that someone had given Elizabeth a copy of her *Sense and Sensibility*,³¹ Elizabeth believed that unleashed passions, as experienced by Bridgetina, were destructive for both

women and men.

In the two volumes of *Letters on Education* (1801-1802), a psychological analysis of the developing child, Elizabeth expanded her ideas on education for girls. She stressed that children of both sexes should have their faculties developed in accordance with the theory of the association of ideas; that is, they should learn to associate pleasure with good behavior and discomfort with bad. This could only happen properly if children received the right stimulus at the right time. Presenting them with ideas before their minds were ready to receive them could do untold harm. For example, young children should not be taught religious precepts before they could understand what they meant.

Many children of her time, according to Elizabeth, were spoiled and disobedient. Girls, as well as boys, were becoming far too independent and disregarded control. This was the result of mistaken educational and child-rearing practices. To her, the solution lay in changing existing methods of teaching children. Education should not consist of the turning out of fashionable ladies and gentlemen but, instead, should be: 'the subjection of the passions, the direction of the affections and the cultivation of the faculties that are common to the whole human race'.³²

Influenced by the ideas of John Locke on this matter, Elizabeth regarded home education as superior to school instruction. Young children should be taught by their mothers, because training of both the intellect and the emotions should begin early. Consequently, while it was important for girls to develop their moral potential through education, self-education for them was also a duty in preparation for motherhood. In writing *Letters*, Elizabeth explained that her main motive was to address women and persuade them of the need to educate themselves and, through self-analysis, achieve rationality and dispense with former prejudices. Only then, would they be fit teachers of their children. Indeed, Elizabeth felt so strongly on this point, that she maintained that if a woman were married to a man: 'who despises female intellect; whose idea of matrimonial felicity includes not the companion and friend; who merely wishes in his wife to find the qualities of the housekeeper, and the virtues of the spaniel'.³³ then she must secretly teach their children-albeit against his will. However, there is no suggestion that the man himself should reform or that his wife should leave him. Elizabeth's warning that the wife must carry out her teaching duties without showing her husband that she was of superior intellect to him, sits uneasily alongside her condemnatory description of such a man!

It was necessary, she thought, when dealing with young children, not to make any difference between the sexes. The end of education was the cultivation of the powers of human beings. Women, like men, should be physically strong and fearless. Therefore, while it was necessary to safeguard children from dangers, they should not be instilled with fear. Mothers should consider girls the equals of boys because, 'in the sight of God and man, both sexes were capable alike'.³⁴ Elizabeth pointed out that the subjugation of women by men corrupted men as well as denying women self-fulfilment. Male contempt of women led to men's dismissal of moral qualities that were associated with women. It was just as important for boys to develop such qualities as humility and generosity, normally regarded as female attributes. Both boys and girls must be brought up in the path of duty.

Elizabeth criticised existing methods of education because, in her opinion, their only aim was 'the applause and admiration of the world',³⁵ and:-

For this in our boys we cultivate the understanding while we neglect the heart. In our girls we leave both heart and understanding to the care of chance, while we assiduously endeavour to make them excel in a few superficial and useless accomplishments.³⁶

The classical education that boys received enabled them to develop their reasoning powers but the subjects taught to girls were unrelated to each other and exercised no other mental power apart from memory. Girls were taught manners, not morals. Their attention was spread between so many diverse activities that good habits were not established, 'only pride, self-will, and vanity'.³⁷

Elizabeth poured scorn on the ideas of female education suggested by Lord Kames in his *Loose Hints on Education*, which, she claimed, he had 'borrowed' from Rousseau: 'As to the specific differences betwixt the instincts of the two sexes, which his Lordship and Rousseau take for granted, I confess I am somewhat skeptical'.³⁸ She accused Kames of inconsistency in his assertion that women were influenced only by other people's opinion of them and not by moral principle. It was the type of education made available to girls that was responsible for their preoccupation with fashion rather than morality: 'A thirst for power and glory are the stimulants of a man's ambition, but we take care, by means of early association, to render vanity the sole operating principle in the mind of woman'.³⁹ She disagreed with Kames and Rousseau that girls and boys are born with different preferences for types of play. Instead, she asserted, if a girl were allowed to follow her own inclinations, she would be as

likely to bang a drum and ignore dolls as her brother. She believed, on the basis of associative learning, that girls became more fond of feminine pursuits, because they were praised, when they turned their attention to these, and discouraged from masculine pursuits.

Letters on Education was a success in both English and Scottish literary circles. One appreciative Edinburgh reader, Mrs. Jessy Harden (1776-1836), thought that 'it certainly surpasses Miss Moores and Miss Edgeworths [books] on that subject'.⁴⁰

Elizabeth's next book, *Memoirs of the Life of Agrippina: the Wife of Germanicus* (1804), characteristically eighteenth-century in its choice of a classical figure, presented 'an illustration of the principles that were...unfolded' by the educative process.⁴¹ By showing the early influences on Agrippina's mind, she hoped to account for her personality, her behaviour and progress of her life. The relationship between the individual and society was very close, she maintained. Therefore, the early socialisation of children was all-important to the well-being of society as a whole. The Roman Republic had flourished because its mothers had fostered the necessary qualities in its children. But when individuals became corrupt and women licentious, the state

degenerated and Rome began its inexorable decline.

Agrippina, though a good mother to her children, nevertheless nurtured within herself the pride and ambition that led to her exile and self-imposed death through starvation. Elizabeth hoped that her readers realised their good fortune in being brought up as Christians:-

Agrippina acted up to her ideas of virtue, but her ideas of virtue were imperfect. Let those who have an opportunity of forming theirs upon a purer model, learn to prize the inestimable privilege they enjoy, in having clearer views of moral excellence.⁴²

For six months in 1804 Elizabeth was employed as a temporary governess to a nobleman's family whose identity, so far, remains unknown. Afterwards, she published *Letters Addressed to the Daughter of a Nobleman* (1806),⁴³ dedicated to her ex-pupil. Unlike her other works on education, this book did not attempt any psychological analysis of the learning process but concentrated instead on the duties incumbent on Lady Elizabeth's elevated social position. Women of influence, such as Lady Elizabeth, stressed Elizabeth Hamilton, must not be distracted by fashionable frivolity, but instead should develop a true understanding of religious principle. If Lady Elizabeth adhered to God's teachings, then:-

You will be looked up to in sorrow, as the consoling angel, whose smiles are effectual to clear the drooping heart: you will be consulted in perplexity, as the oracle on whose dispassionate decision the doubtful may place confidence. Your relations will rejoice in you as their honour and their pride. Your brothers and sisters will love you as their dearest earthly good; their guide, their adviser, and their friend.⁴⁴

High-flown and romantic the language may be, nevertheless, this does present woman as a figure of considerable power and influence, to whose opinion men, as well as women, deferred.

The Cottagers of Glenburnie (1808),⁴⁵ is Elizabeth's best-known book and, it was claimed in the nineteenth century, 'one of the books which are to be found on the shelves of every cottage library in Scotland'.⁴⁶ Composed in the form of a novel, its purpose was didactic. By this time moral tales illustrating the virtues of thrift and industry were proliferating. Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* had been published in 1800 and the July 1808 edition of the *Edinburgh Review* greeted the publication of *Cottagers* with a comparison between the works of the two friends: 'We have not met with anything nearly so good as this, since we read *Castle Rackrent* and the *Popular Tales* of Miss Edgeworth. This contains as admissable a picture of Scottish peasantry as those works do of the Irish'.⁴⁷

Elizabeth's description of Scottish peasants was unflattering. The village of Glenburnie was, however, redeemed from its slovenly ways by a Mrs. Mason, retired from service in an English household. Here we are presented with a similar idea of woman as a civilising influence, as appeared in *Letters to a Nobleman's Daughter*. However, Mrs. Mason was a representative of the servant class and not, like Lady Elizabeth, an aristocrat, and it was her practical common sense rather than romantic 'angelic' attributes, that Elizabeth recommended Scottish women to emulate. Mrs. Mason was a doer and through her energy she gradually reformed the domestic economy and education of the whole neighbourhood - even rescuing the filthy Mrs. MacClarty from neglect of her household and children.

In Mrs. Mason's plan of action, the village school played a central part. Elizabeth's strong belief in the importance of early education led her to a compromise with her conviction that private education was superior to public. It was necessary, she stressed, for there to be some form of educational compensation for children from poor homes, in which parents were both unqualified and incapable of teaching their children properly.

This marked a major change in her educational thinking, probably related to changing social conditions in

Scotland. In *Letters on Education* she had declared Scottish peasant children, who were allowed to run free in the countryside, were better educated than their richer peers, who were stifled by tutors and governesses. But now, worried by deteriorating standards of welfare and overpopulation in the towns, Elizabeth turned to public schooling as a means of reform for the children of the poor. However, she still adhered to her contention that in ideal circumstances the mother was the best educator of the young child and that it was through the influence of such women that social reform could be best achieved.

Chapter Eighteen of *Cottagers* described the establishment of a school in Glenburnie, which aimed to teach the children more than reading and writing. Mr. Gourlay, the local minister, emphasised the need to develop both the intellect and the emotions of the children:-

If their minds are not in some degree opened, they will never use the means thus put into their hands; and if their hearts are not in some degree cultivated, the means of knowledge will lead them rather to evil than to good.⁴⁸

Elizabeth did not intend that poor children should be fobbed off with an education inferior to that of richer children. She stressed that children from all walks of life

should have the same educational opportunities. However, in *Cottagers*, despite all she had to say in *Letters on Education* about the need to provide girls with an education equal to that of boys, in the description of the Glenburnie School the girls were allocated to a different syllabus from that of the boys. While the boys were taught gardening, in addition to reading and writing, the girls were trained in domestic skills. Mrs. Mason, employed as a teacher for the girls, found them to be sluggish:-

She [Mrs. Mason] had...observed that the female children of the poor had far less appearance of intelligence and sagacity than the males of the same age; and could no otherwise account for this, than by supposing that their education had been more neglected.⁴⁹

She thought that this was possibly due to boys' activity in occupations outside the home, in contrast to their sisters, who were kept at home to spin, which involved no more than mechanical skill and did not stimulate them to think. This mental inertia soon became a habit and was therefore difficult to eradicate. Mrs. Mason, however, resolved to awaken 'the sleeping faculties',⁵⁰ and engaged her female pupils in a variety of activities that involved their own judgement of whether a piece of work was done well or not. Housework, she thought 'not merely useful, to girls in their station, as an employment to which many of them would be devoted, but as a means of

calling into action their activity and discernment'.⁵¹ and she set them to work in pairs cleaning the school, while the rest of their classmates spent each morning doing needlework and learning to read in the afternoon.

There is a contradiction evident here between Mrs. Mason's allegation that girls were held back by domestic duties at home and yet were educated by similar duties at school. And this ambivalence increases in Elizabeth's following work.

The symbiotic relationship between the individual and society was again central to Elizabeth's *Popular Essays Illustrative of Principles Essentially Connected with the Improvement of Understanding, the Imagination and the Heart* (1812). In this work, she hoped to present a 'science of mind',⁵² knowledge of which, she declared, was essential to all those concerned with education, so that they would teach children to become well-balanced citizens.

Her new view of the importance of schooling was accompanied by greater emphasis on control and authority. Religion, not nature, as suggested in *Letters on Education*, was now to be the guide in the development of the faculties. And her earlier belief that children were born good was replaced by the contention that they were born

with a variety of good and bad impulses. If these were allowed to develop naturally, the bad would smother the good. Only under the guidance of religion would good tendencies flourish. Elizabeth stipulated that a complete education must involve an improvement of intellectual faculties, cultivation of the affections, and control of the selfish principle. All of these were essential to the happiness of both the individual and society.

By 1815, Elizabeth had been favourably impressed by the work of Pestalozzi,⁵³ and in 1815 she published *Hints Addressed to the Patrons and Directors of Public Schools: Recommending a Partial Adoption of the Plan Introduced in Switzerland by Pestalozzi*. At this time the monitorial system was seen by many educators as the panacea for all social problems. Though she agreed that schooling methods had to be adjusted to social conditions, Elizabeth warned that the monitorial method developed children's intellectual faculties at the risk of neglecting the individual development of each child. She proposed that some of Pestalozzi's methods might co-exist with the monitorial system in schools, since the main advantage of his method was that it was 'in its nature universal and may be universally applied. It is neither deep nor intricate nor beyond the comprehension of the most ordinary capacity. In few words, it is simply attending to the laws of

nature'.⁵⁴

Elizabeth praised the traditional system of parochial education in Scotland but alleged it was breaking down under the strain of industrial change. Parochial schools admitted girls 'on a footing of equality with boys'⁵⁵:-

But while in the labouring classes we have innumerable instances of men advancing, in consequence of their better education, to a manifest superiority over the unlettered peasantry of a richer and more fertile region; in their school associates of the female sex, no such consequences are discernible. Destitute of the same propitious impulse, they have neither made the same acquirements, nor have they in many instances been found able to turn to any account the little they have learned. So seldom, indeed, does this happen, that to meet with a woman capable of communicating to her children a knowledge of those elementary branches of learning, in which she was herself instructed at school, is a matter of rare occurrence.⁵⁶

Educational systems that had been used successfully for boys should be adapted to cater for the needs of girls as well. The art of sewing was less important than the cultivation of girls' moral and intellectual faculties.

Elizabeth praised the efforts of women who established and endowed charity schools. She claimed that more than three-fourths of the smaller kind of such schools in England and Ireland had been instituted by 'ladies', and that the larger of the girls' schools recently opened were

exclusively superintended by women. She argued that the most successful were those under the control of one woman only, rather than run by a committee of ladies who, lacking confidence in their own judgement, often left important decisions to the teacher in charge. The latter, so taken up with the daily running of the school was likely to lose track of the wider educational aims of the school and thus ignore the development of all of the faculties of her pupils.

Elizabeth stressed the need for women to play a much more responsible role in the education of girls. Women were so used to passing off the responsibility of decision-making to men that they tried to avoid it. Fired with indignation, she posed a rhetorical question:-

Is it in these enlightened times to be supposed, that women of good sense and good education are so incompetent to judge or to act, that the choice and application of proper means for the education of their own sex cannot properly be committed to them?⁵⁷

The daughters of 'genteel families' were not all lost to a life of fashionable dissipation and, despite the claims made on such girls' time by learning trivial accomplishments, Elizabeth was sure that many wanted to be of use to the wider community. As part of her plan of school reform, Elizabeth therefore suggested that such

young ladies might volunteer their services in girls' schools and give children, who needed it, extra training of their faculties, according to Pestalozzi's method.

In *Hints* Elizabeth equated greater learning in women with increased virtue and was totally opposed to the idea that women and the poor would get out of hand if they were allowed better education: '...in proportion as the female mind has been emancipated from the fetters of ignorance, the female character has risen in respectability'.⁵⁸ And she maintained that education was even more important for poor girls than for those from better-off families, because the dull, domestic labour that occupied them provided no mental stimulus. Even if, as girls, they had been taught to read and write and spin and sew, the method by which this had been done only turned them into 'copying-machines',⁵⁹ without a mind of their own and blindly following others like sheep. Thus, it was only too easy for them to be seduced into a life of vice.

Perhaps it was her experience at the Edinburgh House of Industry that led Elizabeth to express sympathy with such 'fallen' women. Most philanthropists at this time took a more disapproving view. However, Elizabeth declared:-

...we ought to open our hearts and understandings to a consideration of the means,

by which we may increase the powers of virtuous principle in the minds of those of the sex who, of all others, are most liable to be exposed to the snares of seductions.⁶⁰

Not only was it important to educate such girls so that they themselves would avoid such misery, it was also vital for their futures as mothers and for the welfare of society in general.

Elizabeth's contribution to the development of a philosophy of education was warmly acknowledged by Maria Edgeworth:-

She has thrown open to all classes of readers, those metaphysical discoveries or observations which had been confined chiefly to the learned. To a sort of knowledge which had been considered rather as a matter of curiosity rather than use, she has given real value and actual currency. She has shown how the knowledge of metaphysical can be made serviceable to the art of education.⁶¹

To this should be added Elizabeth's contribution to the development of girls' education. Although her ideas had small immediate impact on educational practice in Scotland, like those of Susan Ferrier described below, they provided a foundation on which women of later generations could build.

Like Elizabeth, with whom she was acquainted, Susan

Ferrier pointed out the evils attendant upon a fashionable education for girls in her three novels, *Marriage* (1818), *The Inheritance* (1824) and *Destiny* (1831). Of the three works, the first, *Marriage*, outlined most clearly Susan Ferrier's ideas on girls' education and, indeed, 'might accurately have been entitled "Education" for its theme is the effect of childhood conditioning and training upon character'.⁶² The reviewer of *Marriage* in *Blackwood's Magazine* considered that Miss Ferrier 'unites some of the best qualities of Edgeworth and Burney'.⁶³

In *Marriage* Susan examined different types of eighteenth-century marriages: 'the runaway love match, the ambitious marriage of convenience, the sacrificial second-best marriage, and the authentic marriage of mutual minds'.⁶⁴ Susan's own view was that love in a marriage was all-important and she poured scorn on the commercial marriages arranged for their daughters by the aristocracy. She particularly condemned the type of education given to such girls. In *Marriage* Susan introduced her readers to the seventeen-year-old Lady Juliana Lindore thus:-

Educated for the sole purpose of forming a brilliant establishment, of catching the eye, and captivating the senses, the cultivation of her mind or the correction of her temper had formed no part of the system by which that aim was to be accomplished. Under the auspices of a fashionable mother and an obsequious governess the froward petulance of childhood, fostered and strengthened

by indulgence and submission, had gradually ripened into that selfishness and caprice which now, in youth, formed the prominent features of her character.⁶⁵

In reaction to a marriage her father had tried to arrange, Juliana ran away with a penniless army officer, Henry Douglas. The couple, with Juliana pregnant, retreated to Glenfern, Henry's father's house in the Highlands, where Juliana gave birth to twin girls, Aledaide and Mary.

Because her upbringing had suited her for no other life than London fashion and had taught her little except dancing and card-playing, Juliana was unable to settle at Glenfern, despite her father-in-law's optimism that she would soon learn the skills he considered to be necessary in a wife. With some irony, Susan outlined his traditional Scottish view of girls' education:-

If a woman can nurse her bairns, ma' their claes, and manage her hoose, what mair need she do? If she can play a tune on the spinnet, and dance a reel, and play a rubber at whist - nae doot these are accomplishments, but they're soon learnt. Edication! Pooh! - I'll be bound Leddy Jully Anie will ma' as gude a figure by-an-by as the best edicated woman in the country.⁶⁶

But it was too late to alter the influence of early training and, once Henry had regained the favour of his benefactor, General Cameron, he and Juliana returned to

London, taking with them only Adelaide. Meanwhile, Mary was put in the charge of Henry's sister-in-law, a true Christian. Thus, Susan set the scene for her fictional experiment in contrasting different environmental influences on twins with the same heredity.

Once in London, Henry fell into debt and had to seek employment in India, where he died. Juliana, left with Adelaide, and her son, Edward, were given shelter by Lord Lindore, her brother. By Volume Two, fifteen years had elapsed. Adelaide lived with her mother in England, while Mary was brought up by her Scottish aunt, Mrs. Douglas. Adelaide had the same kind of education as her mother but Mary was educated in sober, middle-class values that emphasised the development of character rather than fashionable accomplishments. Mrs. Douglas's own education had been exemplary. She too had been brought up by an aunt, who had found a governess who was 'a woman of strong understanding and enlarged mind'.⁶⁷ The latter had given Alicia Douglas a sound understanding of religious precept and by the time Alicia was seventeen, she had grown into 'a rational, cheerful, and sweet-tempered girl'.⁶⁸ Prevented from marrying her cousin, because his mother disapproved of the match, Alicia turned to intellectual companionship for comfort. Unable to find this among people of fashion in London, she went to Edinburgh, where there were:-

...others whose rich and varied powers of mind for the first time afforded her a true specimen of the exalting enjoyment produced by a communion of intellect. She felt the powers of her understanding enlarge in proportion; and, with this mental activity, she sought to solace the languor of her heart and save it from the listlessness of despair.⁶⁹

To avoid the temptation of an affair with her lover, Alicia married Archibald Douglas and thereafter her life was satisfactory but not ideal. She was careful, therefore, to imbue her niece, Mary, with the expectation of a love match, as well as with a solid educational foundation. In her plan for educating Mary, Mrs. Douglas saw that 'the fear of God was the only restraint imposed upon her dawning intellect',⁷⁰ but she avoided tedious repetition of Bible passages and Puritan grimness. In addition, Mary was taught the 'embellishments' of life and, without lessons from masters, became skilled in dancing, singing, modern languages and drawing.⁷¹ Her great-aunts at Glenfern disapproved of such a liberal education, considering the one they had received themselves the only fit upbringing for a young lady. In a particularly satiric passage, Susan described this as comprising church attendance on a Sunday:-

...to observe who was there and who was not there; and to wind up the evening with a sermon stuttered and stammered through by one of the

girls (the worst reader always piously selected, for the purpose of improving their reading) and particularly addressed to the Laird, openly and avowedly snoring in his arm-chair...this was the sum total of their religious duties.⁷²

Nor was their moral education much more ambitious, consisting as it did of knitting stockings, scolding servants, repairing china, trimming hats and lecturing the poor. In their opinion, Mary's education should concentrate on sewing and 'learning to read and write in the worst manner'.⁷³ Girls should not be allowed to read books, because, Miss Grizzy observed:-

I'm certain - indeed, I think there's no doubt of it - that reading does young people much harm. It puts things into their heads that never should have been there but for books. I declare, I think reading's a very dangerous thing.⁷⁴

The domestic education outlined above might be supplemented by lessons on the spinet but this was enough until a girl was fifteen, when she should be sent to a provincial boarding school to learn the fashionable accomplishments for two years.

Fortunately, Mrs. Douglas remained unswayed by their criticism, and Mary grew into a cultivated, virtuous and charitable young lady, who was determined not to marry unless for love. When she visited London she was shocked by

the materialism and empty-headedness of fashionable girls:-

Misses, who are mere misses, and nothing more...with pretty hair and fashionable clothes; - sans eyes for anything but lovers - sans ears for anything but flattery - sans taste for anything but balls - sans brains for anything at all.⁷⁵

Her twin sister, Adelaide, at eighteen was 'as heartless and ambitious as she was beautiful and accomplished',⁷⁶ due to Lady Juliana's determination to educate Adelaide in the fashionable accomplishments, so that, unlike Juliana's experience, Adelaide would find a socially advantageous husband. Religious and moral principles had been totally neglected. Consequently, when she did make a loveless but profitable marriage, she was unhappy, whereas Mary, who married Colonel Lennox for love, lived happily ever afterwards in Scotland.

Susan, like Elizabeth Hamilton, considered that parents had a moral duty to oversee the education of their children wisely:-

Oh, what an awful responsibility do those parents incur...who thus neglect or corrupt the whole deposit of an immortal soul! And who, alas! can tell where the mischief may end? This unfortunate will herself become a mother;⁷⁷

In *Inheritance* Gertrude St. Clair inherited the wealthy Rossville estate and was corrupted by her wealth and fashionable education. Her suitor, Colonel Delmour, abandoned her when it was discovered that she had no right to the estate after all, while the faithful Edward Lyndsay remained with her, teaching Gertrude the importance of moral and spiritual values. He was eventually rewarded by her love and hand in marriage:-

It, indeed, required no very high sense of religion, at such a time, to feel the utter insignificance of mere worldly greatness - and to acknowledge that its grandeurs are vapours - its pleasures illusions - its promises falsehoods.⁷⁸

Gertrude was thankful that loss of her temporal inheritance had brought her spiritual redemption. Nevertheless, as with Mary Douglas in *Marriage*, in the end her moral conversion was rewarded with worldly wealth. Thus the final message was that moral virtue is financially advantageous too!

Similarly, the plot of *Destiny* emphasised the education of the individual. The heroine, Edith, was taught by the example of a peasant couple that riches are not enough and that religion without sense was insufficient. Experience of London society, in which only girls with fashionable accomplishments shone, made her return to Scotland and its sober values thankfully.

Susan Ferrier, like Elizabeth Hamilton, regarded the 'bluestocking' label as disparaging, and both warned of the dangers of women displaying knowledge. What they admired in women was knowledge based on religious instruction, modestly assumed. In *Marriage* Susan quoted Hannah More's *Coelebs* (1809) with approval:-

Let such women as are disposed to be vain of their comparatively petty attainments look up with admiration to those contemporary shining examples, the venerable Elizabeth Carter and the blooming Elizabeth Smith. In them let our young ladies contemplate profound and various leaning, chastised by true Christian humility.⁷⁹

For Susan the real meaning of education was the development in individuals of sound moral and religious principles, upon which knowledge would find a solid foundation. She disliked the traditional Scottish emphasis on domestic education for girls, as much as fashionable training in the accomplishments and a showy display of intellect. Her ideal of female education was a woman who strove for self-fulfilment through both religion and intellect, yet who retained a sense of modesty. However, this does not mean that she preached subservience of women to men, for, as her novels illustrate, she advocated that women should marry for love rather than social advantage, even if their decision went against the wishes of their parents and guardians.

Indeed the scheme of education outlined by Susan for Mary in *Marriage* has been described by a feminist critic, Nancy Paxton, in 1976, as 'radical' and 'unconventional' and Susan's motive for writing it as the desire to transmit a 'subversive feminist message'.⁸⁰

Another possible candidate as 'closet feminist' was Mary Somerville. A suitor sent her a marriage proposal accompanied by a book of sermons, with a page turned over at one entitled 'Duties of a Wife'. She considered this written in 'the most illiberal and narrow-minded language',⁸¹ and sent it back with a refusal. For, although she was generally considered a virtuous wife and mother, Mary Somerville believed that women had a rightful claim to formal and well-organised education.

While not embracing the radical feminism of Frances Wright, Mary Somerville was, nevertheless, an ardent believer in social and educational reform for women. Of her own motivation in the field of science, she wrote:-

...the idea of making money had never entered my head in any of my pursuits, but I was intensely ambitious to excel in something, for I felt in my own breast that women were capable of taking a higher place in creation than that assigned to them in my early days, which was very low.⁸²

Consequently, she was careful that her own daughters should have a better education than she had been given, beginning by teaching them herself the rudiments of geometry, algebra, Latin and Greek. When they overtook her in the classics, she engaged tutors for them. A German governess was also employed. Mary wrote in support of John Stuart Mill's championship of women's rights:-

The British laws are adverse to women; and we are deeply indebted to Mr. Stuart Mill for daring to show their iniquity and injustice. The law in the United States is in some respects even worse, insulting the sex, by granting suffrage to the newly-emancipated slaves, and refusing it to the most highly-educated women of the Republic.⁸³

In later life, she corresponded with Mill, praising his book, *The Subjection of Women* (1869), and worked hard for the improvement of women's education and for votes for women. She thought it unjust for women to have been given a desire for knowledge and yet denied the opportunity to acquire it. She took part in a petition to the Senate of London University that women be granted degrees; signed many others to Parliament demanding equal voting rights; and was a member of the General Committee for Woman Suffrage in London. In addition, she fervently supported the establishment of the Ladies' College at Girton, to

which she left her scientific library.

The books of the Ayrshire writer, Grace Kennedy (1782-1824), reflect the preoccupation of nineteenth-century educators with religion in the education of girls. Her children's novel, *Anna Ross, the Orphan of Waterloo*, was perhaps the most popular of her works.⁸⁴ Published in 1823, it went into its tenth edition in 1852.⁸⁵ Similar in structure to Susan Ferrier's *Marriage*, it described the two different types of education provided for the parentless Anna by two sets of relatives.

First, the ten-year old Anna spent six months with a rich and sophisticated uncle and aunt and then six months with a poor and pious uncle and aunt in their Perthshire manse. The fashionable education comprised a governess, a board down her back for posture, piano lessons and dancing. Anna and her cousins were under constant supervision and orders but religious teaching was ignored. Although Anna got up half-an-hour earlier in the mornings to study her Bible to compensate, despite her efforts, at the end of six months, she too had become fashionable and vain. Needless to say the following six months showed her the error of her ways. Her time was taken up with 'simple household duties'⁸⁶ and religion. When the time came to make a choice between the two families, she turned down her first uncle's

offer of a fortune equal to that of his daughters and accepted the second uncle's promise to save her soul.

Unlike Elizabeth Hamilton, Grace Kennedy totally accepted that a woman's way to heaven was through pious domesticity and she is a good representative of the new wave of Victorian fiction which attempted to indoctrinate girls with domestic and religious virtues.

It is difficult to believe that Frances Wright was a contemporary of the above women, so radical were her ideas on women's education in contrast to theirs. Like the Scottish Enlightenment philosophers, particularly John Millar, Frances believed that the condition of women in a country was indicative of the state of men. Where women were used as slave labour, men were savages; where they were imprisoned in seclusion from the world outside, men were sensualists. In England women were undergoing a period of repression. Where once they had been free to enjoy innocent friendships with the other sex without prurient comment they were now brought up to consider men 'a race of seducers rather than protectors and masters rather than companions'.⁹⁷ The only exception to this was the Scottish peasant woman:-

Of the two extremes it is better to see a woman, as in Scotland, bent over the glebe,

mingling the sweat of her brow with that of her churlish husband or more churlish son, than to see her gradually sinking into the childish dependence of a Spanish donna.^{ee}

Frances stressed the importance of education in the equalisation of society and based her theory of learning firmly on the Scottish school of materialistic philosophy, maintaining that knowledge of facts derived from sensation through experience. Social institutions had to become rational if the people involved in them were to be happy. Robert Owen was also influenced by the eighteenth-century Scottish philosophers and the importance he placed on environmental influence in the development of children was sympathetic to Frances. In her lectures she preached that every human being was in control of their own destiny. and she attacked the Christian Church because it imposed presented myth as fact and engendered a feeling of fatalism. The only hope of social progress was for men to become more rational and recognise that the future of each country lay with its women. Frances stressed the importance of women in forming the New Republic. Women were vital because they were the mothers of the new generation and if they were to educate their children in the ideals of liberty and equality, then they themselves must be educated in the principles of government. Achievement of personal accomplishments must take second place to serious study.

Although Frances was impressed with the greater freedom enjoyed by American women than their English and Scottish counterparts, when she first toured America, later she saw that even American women were exploited by men. Equality depended on women being given an education, not just equivalent to that given to men, but the same. Only when women were able to achieve their full potential, would the world prosper:-

Until women assume the place in society which good sense and good feeling alike assign to them, human improvement must advance but feebly. It is in vain that we would circumscribe the power of one half of our race, and that by far the most important and influential.⁸⁹

Women had been brainwashed by men into accepting their subordination. All women should rid their minds of such propaganda by examining everything around them in a spirit of free inquiry, thus deciding for themselves where their own independent fields of action and thought lay.

Frances suggested that women might achieve more equal terms with men if they were not educated to think of themselves as inferior weaklings. Finding common ground with Elizabeth Hamilton on this point, she declared that the education of girls should include physical exercise like boys, since a healthy, energetic mind could only exist

in a healthy, energetic body.

In the pages of *The Free Enquirer*, published in New York, she and other contributors proposed that the state should supervise the education of every child from infancy to adulthood; it should monitor their health; and it should be responsible for training each child in some skill or occupation by which he or she could make a living. To ensure that parents did not pass on any pernicious influences, children were to be placed in boarding schools from the age of two. It was only by this method that a democratic society could be produced according to Frances:-

In these nurseries of a free nation no inequality must be allowed to enter. Fed at a common board, clothed in a common garb, uniting neatness with simplicity and convenience; raised in the exercise of common duties in the acquirement of the same knowledge and practice of the same industry, varied only according to the individual tastes and capabilities in the exercise of the same virtues, in the enjoyment of the same pleasures, in the study of the same nature; in pursuit of the same object - their own and each other's happiness - say, wouldn't such a race, when arrived at manhood and womanhood work out the reform of society, and perfect the free institutions of America?⁹⁰

Existing systems of education were irrational, she believed, because they taught doctrines that were based not on fact but on dogmatism. Ruling élites used knowledge to

reinforce their power and schools and churches were the medium by which they instilled in the people what they wanted them to believe. Instead, the methods formulated by Pestalozzi, whereby knowledge was the subject of experimental investigation, should replace such teaching. However, whereas Pestalozzi believed in awakening God in his pupils, Frances thought that neither religion nor morals should be taught.⁹¹

Such views led to Frances being labelled as America's foremost freethinker; the Church named her a 'Priestess of Beelzebub';⁹² the public press was vindictively hostile; and she was violently heckled at her lectures. She was disparaged as a 'red harlot', a 'fallen and degraded fair one', a 'disgusting exhibition of female impudence'.⁹³ It was shocking to many members of American society that she should combine support of atheism and free love with being a woman. In 1828 'Fidelis' in the *Louisville Focus* indicated his horror at such unfeminine behaviour:-

Miss Wright...has with ruthless violence broken loose from the restraints of decorum, which draw a circle round the life of women; and with a contemptuous disregard for the rule of society, she has leaped over the boundary of feminine modesty, and laid hold upon the avocations of man, claiming a participation in them for herself and her sex.

Miss Wright stands condemned of a violation of the unalterable laws of nature, which have created a barrier between the man and the woman.

over which neither can pass without unhinging the beneficent adjustments of society, and doing wanton injury to the happiness of each other.⁹⁴

Frances thought not only of Enlightenment Man, but also of Enlightenment Woman. Existing governments ruled in the interests of men and all of the religious and social structure was held together in men's interests by the myths into which each new generation of children was indoctrinated. Remove the myths, preached Frances, and not only would a more rational society emerge, but also one in which women, and indeed all individuals regardless of sex and class, could realise their own natural potential, instead of their talents and rights to independence and equality being suppressed by a privileged group of powerful men.

Frances' radicalism has made her particularly appealing to women today. For example, one of today's leading feminist writers, Dale Spender, considers Frances Wright to be:-

...one of the founding mothers of women's studies for, while she does not use the same terms we use today, she recognises that women are invisible in encoded knowledge, that they simply cannot be added on, that women must participate in the construction of knowledge and not be mere recipients of knowledge encoded by men and which serves men's interest. Her term was free enquiry, but the phenomenon she was describing is the one often being addressed in women's studies today.⁹⁵

However it is also important to include in women's studies women who took a more cautious approach to female equality. For they too, were part of history and demonstrate the contradiction between desire for self-enlightenment and perceived need to conform to social expectations. For instance, like the English Bluestockings (a group of women who insisted on an equal intellectual relationship with their male acquaintances, for example, Lady Wortley Montagu, Catherine Macaulay, Hester Chapone and Hannah More) many self-educated Scottish women failed to generalise the equality they desired for themselves to all women. Their attitude to woman's role in society was ambiguous and contradictory. While they were pleased to be treated as the equals of men within their own social circles, they paid lip-service to woman's inferior, domestic social role and were very careful to maintain an outward show of femininity. As M.L. Robbie pointed out in a thesis written forty years ago: 'The idea of equality of the sexes was far from the minds of the Bluestockings. Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* was as unwelcome to them as the French Revolution'.⁹⁶

That some women denied the right of independence to their own sex is more easily understood against the background of criticism, described in the next Chapter, of

independent women. Considering the obstacles put in the path of women who diverged from the traditional domestic role it is a wonder that any Scotswomen during this period sought, let alone achieved, progress in pursuits previously considered to be the monopoly of men. Even if they felt it necessary to protect themselves by an outward show of social conformity, women like Joanna Baillie, Elizabeth Hamilton, Mary Somerville and many others, deserve to be regarded as pioneers in feminist history. Another comment from Lady Murray in 1930 accurately evaluates Scotswomen of this period:-

It was an age which hated change, at least change for women; although they were not consciously rebels against convention, yet they were torch-bearers, they were women who felt the injustice of dull surroundings and empty lives, and they did something towards ushering in better days.⁹⁷

Scotswomen developed a critical awareness of their own social role and, while retreating from the radicalism of Mary Wollstonecraft, nevertheless, within the confines of what was possible for them in Scottish society, mapped out a way in which women might become the intellectual equals of men.

NOTES

1. Murray, *Scottish Women*, *op. cit.* p.169.
2. In the records of the Edinburgh Commissary Court, from 1708-1800, 347 people sued for divorce. Whereas fewer than twenty cases a decade had appeared before 1760, after 1760 the figures increased rapidly. See Marshall, *op. cit.* p.196.
3. Agress, *op. cit.* p.38.
4. Marshall, *op. cit.* p.197.
5. *ibid.* p.278.
6. Hall, P.M. in Jacobs et al. (Eds.) *op. cit.* p.140.
7. Hill, *op. cit.* p.12.
8. Quoted by Elwood, *op. cit.*
9. Marshall, *op. cit.* p.189.
10. Cott, *op. cit.* p.228.
11. Banks, J.A. & Olive. *Feminism & Family Planning in Victorian England: Studies in the Life of Women*, New York: Schoken Books, 1964, p.12. Quoted by Agress, *op. cit.* p.32.
12. Quoted by Murray, *op. cit.* p.189. Elizabeth Mure's memoirs are contained in vol.1 of Mure, William. *Selections from Family Papers at Caldwell*, 3 vols., Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1854.
13. Marshall, *op. cit.* p.220.
14. Hamilton, James, *op. cit.* pp.70-71.
15. Wilson, Mona. *Jane Austen and Some Contemporaries*, London: Cresset Press, 1938, p.60.
16. Benger, *op. cit.* p.34.
17. *ibid.* pp.34-35.

18. Hamilton, Elizabeth, *Letters on Education*, G.G. & J. Robinson, 1801; third edition, 1803, vol.i, p.151.
19. *ibid.* vol.i, 1803, p.47.
20. *ibid.* vol.i, p.385.
21. Wilson, *op. cit.* p.65.
22. *ibid.* p.62.
23. Russell, *op. cit.*
24. *Letters of a Hindoo Rajah, op. cit.*
25. *ibid.* vol.ii, p.106.
26. *ibid.* vol.i, p.30.
27. *ibid.*
28. Quoted by Wilson, *op. cit.* pp.22-23.
29. *Modern Philosophers, op. cit.* p.237.
30. *ibid.* vol.iii, p.347.
31. Wilson, *op. cit.* p.21.
32. *Letters, op. cit.* vol.i, p.11.
33. *ibid.* vol.ii, p.251.
34. *ibid.* vol.i, p.363.
35. *ibid.* vol.i, p.114.
36. *ibid.*
37. *ibid.* p.203.
38. *ibid.*
39. *ibid.* vol.i, p.367.
40. Park, W. 'Extracts from the Journal of Jessy Allan, Wife of John Harden 1801-1811', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol.30, Edinburgh: Constable, 1959.

41. Hamilton, Elizabeth. *Agrippina, op. cit.* 1811 edition, vol.i, p.ix.
42. *ibid.* vol.ii, p.444.
43. Hamilton, Elizabeth. *Letters Addressed to the Daughter of a Nobleman*, 2 vols., London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1806.
44. *ibid.* vol.i, p.267.
45. *Cottagers, op. cit.*
46. Abbotsford Series of the Scottish Poets 1891-1896, vol.ii, p.99.
47. *Edinburgh Review*. July, 1808, p.401.
48. *Cottagers, op. cit.* pp.293-294.
49. *ibid.* p.294.
50. *ibid.* p.295.
51. *ibid.*
52. *Popular Essays, op. cit.* vol.i, p.35.
53. It is possible that she heard of his work from Maria Edgeworth, whom she met in Edinburgh in 1803. The Edgeworths had just come from France, where Maria and her father had heard Pestalozzi lecture in Paris. See Colvin, Christina (Ed.) *Maria Edgeworth in France & Switzerland: Selections from the Edgeworth family letters*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979, p.86.
54. *Hints, op. cit.* p.61.
55. *ibid.* p.20.
56. *ibid.* p.21.
57. *ibid.* pp.74-75.
58. *ibid.* p.42.
59. *ibid.* p.165.
60. *ibid.* p.169.

61. 'Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton', signed 'E.', *Monthly Magazine*, 1816, lxiii, part II.
62. Colby, Vineta. *Yesterday's Woman: Domestic Realism in the English Novel*, Princeton University Press, 1974, p.102.
63. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 3, 1818, p.287.
64. Reed, John. *Victorian Conventions*, Ohio University Press, 1975.
65. *Marriage*, Sackville (Ed.) *op. cit.* vol.i, p.5.
66. *ibid.* p.91.
67. *ibid.* vol.ii, p.98.
68. *ibid.*
69. *ibid.* p.117.
70. *ibid.* vol.ii, p.208.
71. *ibid.* p.209.
72. *ibid.* vol.ii, p.210.
73. *ibid.*
74. *ibid.* p.235.
75. Quoted by Agress, *op. cit.* p.133.
76. *ibid.* p.245.
77. *Marriage*, *op. cit.* vol.i, p.129.
78. *Inheritance*, *op. cit.* vol.iii, Ch.31.
79. *Marriage*, *op. cit.* vol.iii, p.558.
80. Paxton, Nancy L. 'Subversive Feminism: A Reassessment of Susan Ferrier's "Marriage"', *Women & Literature*, 1976, Spring, 4, pp.23 & 29.
81. Somerville, Martha, *op. cit.* p.88.
82. *ibid.* pp.60-61.
83. *ibid.* p.344.

84. Murray, *Scottish Women*, *op. cit.* p.230.
85. Kennedy, Grace. *Anna Ross, the Orphan of Waterloo*, 1823; *Profession is not Principle* (1822), had its eighth edition in 1855 and *Jessy Allan, the Lane Girl* (1822) had its twelfth edition in 1853.
86. Murray, *op. cit.* p.232.
87. *Views*, *op. cit.* p.219.
88. *ibid.* pp.219-220.
89. *Popular Lectures*, *op. cit.* pp.44-45.
90. Perkins, *op. cit.* pp.253-254.
91. Waterman, *op. cit.* p.155.
92. Lane, Margaret. 'Frances Wright (1795-1852): The Great Experiment', *Contemporary Review*, 218, 1971, p.12.
93. Gurko, *op. cit.* p.33.
94. Waterman, *op. cit.* p.162.
95. Spender, *op. cit.* pp.122-123.
96. Robbie, M.L. 'Discovering the Blue-stockings: a neglected constellation of clever women', Ph.D. Edinburgh University, 1947, p.30.
97. Murray, *Scottish Women*, *op. cit.* p.244.

Chapter Five

REASONS FOR THE HISTORICAL OBSCURITY OF SCOTSWOMEN AND SUGGESTIONS FOR THEIR RESCUE

The previous four chapters have presented evidence that demonstrates the importance of Scotswomen in Scottish history. The final question to be discussed is a matter of conjecture - Why have Scotswomen been ignored by historians for so long? The first section of this Chapter discusses the question and debates whether the evidence fits a feminist interpretation of history. The second section outlines some proposals for Scotswomen's reinstatement in their own history.

Explanations for Scotswomen's Invisibility in History

In *Women of Ideas and What Men Have Done to Them* (1982), the feminist historian, Dale Spender, has explained the absence of women from history as the result of the selection process used by the value system of a patriarchal society. Men control the system and therefore it counts men as valuable.

If they [men] like what we produce they will appropriate it, if they can use what we produce (even against us) they will take it, if they do not want to know, they will lose it.¹

Other feminist writers have also investigated how knowledge is defined in masculine terms that exclude women's ideas and experience as invalid.² The artist, Judy Chicago, has shown how male historians either ignore female achievements, or else write of them as though they were isolated phenomena. Thus, women's heritage is lost from generation to generation:-

... women's achievements would be left out of recorded history, and young women could not model themselves upon struggles and accomplishments of their mothers. In each century, women had to try to make a place for themselves without the information that was their natural heritage.³

Is this process of male discrimination the cause of the present lack of accessible information about Scotswomen in history? Much of the evidence would suggest that it is. Not only did Scottish Enlightenment philosophers disapprove of knowledgeable and independent women, as detailed in Chapter Two, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century more hostile criticism of women writers was published than ever before - a reflection of the greater number of Scotswomen attempting to make a living from writing. Such censure came not just from the belief that literary

occupation lay outside women's sphere, but also from the desire, shown below, to keep the writing profession a male preserve.

Most other professions were well guarded with formal measures of exclusion. They demanded academic and technical qualifications and, since higher education was forbidden to women, there could be no question of a woman becoming a lawyer, a doctor, or a member of the clergy.⁴

Mary Somerville's success as a scientist can be attributed to the amateur status of science in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. It was a field of study entered for love of the subject and it too, like writing, demanded no professional qualifications. As her biographer, Elizabeth Patterson, has commented: 'Mary Somerville...came to her training in science in much the same way as any male in these years would enter these studies'.⁵ That is, she learnt informally through her own private studies and from exchanging ideas with others interested in similar topics. So long as women did not pose a threat to men's occupations, women who wanted to, were free to 'dabble' at self-instruction. It was a different matter for women who were dependent on a skill that men also possessed, for then they constituted competition. For example, when Mary became more than an amateur, though she

received praise and honours, it was impossible for her to become a professional scientist because, as a woman, she was barred from centres of learning, such as universities. As a woman, too, she was excluded from the Great Hall of the Royal Society, though her bust was placed therein. Even to the Victorian writer of her obituary, Richard Proctor, Mary's treatment was unfair compared to the accolades given to her male peers:-

For nearly all Mrs. Somerville's male friends and comrades in scientific pursuits there were baronies and marquises abroad, and baronetcies and Orders at home; but there does not even exist a recognised shape in which England can honour her daughters as she delights to honour her sons.⁶

And he also speculated that she might have achieved even more if she had had equal research opportunities with men:-

In mere mental grasp, few men have probably surpassed her; but the thorough training, the scholarly discipline, which alone can give to the mind the power of advancing beyond the point up to which it has followed the guidance of others, has unfortunately been denied to her.⁷

That women were able to make a living running shops and businesses and to advertise such occupations without overt criticism, suggests that male prejudice against them was less than that directed at women who attempted to keep

themselves by writing. However, when it came to any legal matters associated with their business transactions, businesswomen were unable to act for themselves and had to act through men as intermediaries. Perhaps this is why male attitudes to them were not so scornful as they were towards women writers. The limits on a businesswoman's ability to compete with male competitors were legally defined. By law she could not act for herself: therefore, there was no real fear of her threatening male dominance in business.

However, no legal restrictions were placed on the amount of knowledge a woman could accumulate and legally she was free to publish her writings. Writing did not require any of the formal qualifications, which other professions set as entry requirements - the most important being a university degree. Therefore, it was difficult to control membership. Although men could maintain that there were no women lawyers and doctors, because women did not have the appropriate qualifications, they were unable to do this where writing was concerned, since many male authors had no more qualifications than women. So, if men were to safeguard their dominance in the literary profession, they had to reinforce informal barriers against women's intrusions. This they did by criticising not only women's writings but by singling out their gender and suggesting

that women writers were either incapable or eccentric - the 'isolated phenomena' treatment described by Judy Chicago.

Comment in Scottish periodicals at the beginning of the nineteenth century on new publications by women appears to have been largely hostile. If praise was given, it was given in a grudging and patronising fashion (A notable exception was Sir Walter Scott, whose views will be presented later in this Chapter).

Male judgement of women writers appeared frequently in the pages of *The Edinburgh Review*. The principal reviewers, Henry Brougham and Francis Jeffrey, advocated freedom and justice for individual men but they believed that women should be kept at home under the authority of their male relatives. Anne Grant regarded the periodical as 'safe' reading for young girls, because it promoted: 'the reign of the domestic affections, and quiet home-born felicities of life above all that dazzles and captivates the children of this world'.⁸ And they in turn were quick to reward such praise with favourable comments on her publications.⁹ Other women writers, however, fared less well. Brougham, for example, inveighed against the use of exclamation marks by an author he was reviewing:-

Stratagems like these remind us of the emphatic remarks which females who are given to composition make under every other word, or the italics that stud each page, when their works are permitted for a season to visit the world.¹⁰

Such dismissive contempt is hard to match. He could not even bring himself to use the word 'writer' of women, but reduced all writings by them to the level of school exercises by his supercilious phrase, 'ladies who are given to composition'. Of particular note also, is the use of the word 'permitted', which corroborates the feminist view of men as gatekeepers, who decide what should be published and thus admitted into a male-defined culture and, more frequently with women, what should be excluded and labelled as silly and irrelevant. In the course of these few lines Brougham ridiculed women who wrote as mere schoolgirls; insinuated that their writing was both hysterical and unprofessional; and reinforced a recent proposal by Dale Spender that men are the ultimate arbitrators of what is considered publishable and non-publishable.¹¹

Francis Jeffrey also regarded it impossible for women to be talented writers and proclaimed his views on their inferiority in the pages of *The Edinburgh Review*, raising the hackles of women writers like Joanna Baillie. In his *Essays*, Jeffrey declaimed that women could not depict realistically:-

...the fierce and sudden passions of men - nor their coarse vices - nor even the scenes of actual business and contention - nor the mixed motives and strong and faulty characters, by which affairs of moment are usually conducted, on the great theatre of the world.¹²

This inability was due, he believed, to their inexperience of worldly matters and to their greater refinement. Since *The Edinburgh Review* approved of women who led a sheltered life, it is easy to see why its editors disapproved of women writers who displayed a knowledge of the world. Of the poetry of Anne Hunter, Jeffrey brusquely commented: 'Poetry really does not seem to be her vocation, and rather appears to have been studied as an accomplishment than pursued from any natural propensity'.¹³ When he did meet with undeniable excellence in the work of a woman, Jeffrey could not contain his surprise. The following passage is part of his review of Mary Somerville's celebrated *Mechanism of the Heavens*:-

This unquestionably is one of the most remarkable works that female intellect ever produced, in any age or country; and, with respect to the present day, we hazard little in saying that Mrs. Somerville is the only individual of her sex in the world who could have written it.¹⁴

It is to be seen that, when Jeffrey could not condemn a woman's writings as the products of a trifling

dilettantism, he resorted to the 'woman as exception' argument. In every example given here, women's writings were criticised by Jeffrey through the medium of their author's sex, for example, his use of 'female intellect' and 'the only individual of her sex in the world'. The substitution of 'male intellect' and 'of his sex' appears ridiculous. In reviews of male authors, however dismissive, their sex was not a matter of concern. Therefore, it would appear that to Jeffrey the quality of a woman's writing came second to the overwhelming nature of her sex, the general rule being that femaleness was a disqualification from the profession and any exceptions were unique. As Jeffrey himself once remarked: 'There was no objection to the blue-stocking, provided the petticoat came low enough down'.¹⁵

His attitude to his own wife was marked by the same contempt. In 1820 Frances Wright met Jeffrey in Edinburgh and described, in a letter to her friend, Harriet Garnett, how he mistook Frances, on a visit to his house, for his wife and addressed her thus: 'You great ass, what are you sitting there for? ...You great stupid brute, why don't you answer?...You great ugly beast, you great deaf fool'.¹⁶ Frances described with glee his realisation of his mistake, and it is hardly surprising that Jeffrey failed to include her *Views of Society and Manners in America* in *The*

Edinburgh Review when *Views* was published the following year.

Eliza Fletcher wrote after Jeffrey's death: '...he delighted in checking aspiring or ambitious women, as he used to call Mrs. Miller and me - women that would plague him with rational conversation'.¹⁷ Mary Somerville, whose work was praised by Jeffrey, took a kindlier view of the man, though she claimed his knowledge of science was minimal (one wonders how he was qualified to review her book): 'No one who had seen his gentle kindness in domestic life, and the warmth of attachments to his friends, could have supposed that he possessed that power of ridicule and severity which made him the terror of authors'.¹⁸

The pages of *The Edinburgh Review* did not have a monopoly on such views. The writer, 'Monk' Lewis, in reality Matthew Gregory Lewis, in a letter to Lady Charlotte Bury reported a rumour that Susan Ferrier was writing a novel:-

I hear it rumoured that Miss F....r doth write novels, or is about writing one; I wish she would let such idle nonsense alone, for, however a great respect I may entertain for her talents (which I do) I tremble lest she should fail in this bookmaking; and, as a rule, I have an aversion, a pity and contempt for all female scribblers. I must accept, however, their love letters, which are sometimes full of pleasing

conceits; but this is the only subject they should ever attempt to write about.¹⁹

Charlotte, as a 'female scribbler', must have enjoyed taking revenge when her *Diary Illustrative of The Times of George the Fourth*, containing the above letter, was published in 1838.

When Susan Ferrier's first two novels, *Marriage* and *The Inheritance*, were published in 1818 and 1824 respectively, they recieved a similar response from the poet, James Hogg.²⁰ Of *The Inheritance* Hogg wrote that he had admired it 'as weel's "Marriage", till it spunked out that it was written by a lady',²¹ and not, as had been thought previously, by Sir Walter Scott.

Hogg's co-editor on the same magazine, John Wilson, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh,²² assessed a woman's writings by her physical attributes. Like Jeffrey, he considered the actual writing of lesser importance. Here are his comments on the Irish writer, Anna Jameson (1794-1860), published in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1829:-

Is there, or is there not such a thing in nature as an ugly woman - not comparatively, but positively? We do not scruple to answer - yes. We saw her - this very day. Red hair - a mouth that - But to the surprise of Dr. Knox, let us run away from the subject...That the authoress of 'The Loves of the Poets' is a beautiful woman,

using that epithet in any one of its million meanings you choose, we lay no claims to a particular fine tact in having discovered from the nature of her volumes.²³

Although this convoluted structure seems to indicate that he quite liked her poems, nevertheless, they take up a fraction of the space, while he concentrated obsessively on whether the authoress was beautiful or not. Again, it would be interesting, but unlikely, to read a criticism of a male author couched in similar terms.

Even Robert Burns, to whom women were of major emotional importance, disliked women who had intellectual assurance. After a visit to Mrs. Scott of Wauchope, during his Border Tour of 1787, he noted dismissively: 'Mrs. Scott, all the sense, taste, intrepidity of face and bold, critical decision, which usually distinguish female authors'.²⁴ And he contrasted her unfavourably with a Mrs. Fall of Dunbar who, presumably, knew how to defer to masculine superiority. Mrs. Fall was: 'a genius in painting ... fully more clever in the fine arts and sciences than my friend Lady Wauchope, without her consummate assurance of her own abilities'.²⁵

Sir Walter Scott is something of an anomaly in the history of Scottish male attitudes to women, because he

enjoyed female company and respected their intellectual integrity. His attitude to them in real life and particularly in his novels was one of chivalry, a vast improvement on the dealings of most of his male peers with the female sex.

Many of Scott's close friends were women and included the writers, Maria Edgeworth, Joanna Baillie, Susan Ferrier, Anna Seward, Jane Porter, Charlotte Bury and Anne Grant. Not only did he encourage them to write, he defended them from the male abuse commonly directed at women intellectuals and freely acknowledged his own debt to their influence. When Lady Anne Maria Elliot was criticised for her wit, he wrote in her defence:-

It is the fashion for women and silly men to abuse her as a blue stocking...If to have wit, good sense and good humour, mix'd with a strong power of observing and an equally strong one of expressing the result be 'blue', she shall be as blue as they will. Such cant is refuge for those who fear those who, they [think], can turn into ridicule - it is a common trick to revenge supposed raillery with good substantial calumny.²⁶

He ungrudgingly called Joanna Baillie, 'the best dramatic writer' Britain has produced 'since the days of Shakespeare and Massinger',²⁷ and, when her work came under the attack of Francis Jeffrey in 1812, he wrote to her:-

Everybody who cares a farthing for poetry is delighted with your volume and well they may be. You will neither be shocked nor surprised at hearing that Mr. Jeffrey has announced himself of a contrary opinion...There is something in his mode of reasoning that leads me greatly to doubt whether notwithstanding the vivacity of his imagination, he really has any feeling of poetical genius.²⁸

Scott persuaded Robert Cadell to publish Susan Ferrier's third novel, *Destiny*, and on the death of the English poetess, Anna Seward, he acted as her literary executor. In his General Preface to the 1829 edition of *Waverley*,²⁹ he acknowledged that his ideas for the book had been influenced by Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* (1800), and especially by Jane Porter's *The Scottish Chiefs* (1810). He also referred in the same source³⁰ to Elizabeth Hamilton's *The Cottagers of Glenburnie*, and to Anne Grant's *Highland Superstitions*.³¹

Indeed, he went so far as to believe that women were often better at novel writing than men. In his *Journal*, for instance, he made a note on realism in fiction: 'The women do this better - Edgeworth, Ferrier, Austen have all their portraits of real society far superior to anything Man, vain Man, has produced of the like nature'.³²

Scott and the other men described in Chapter Three who helped women to obtain knowledge and to publish their work

provide evidence contrary to the patriarchal model of history put forward by feminists like Dale Spender. Certainly not all Scotsmen between 1750 and 1830 were intent on retaining knowledge and the profession of writing as a male monopoly. Nevertheless a sufficiently high proportion were and their hostility towards 'knowing' and literary women resulted in the adoption by women of stratagems to avoid the worst of male criticism. The first of these was the device of anonymity. Although Mary Somerville publicly acknowledged authorship, it was, according to Elizabeth Patterson, 'an unusual step at a time when most women...still preferred the anonymity of "By a Lady" or "By the Authoress of - "'³³

As noted, Susan Ferrier, was one of the women who found male rancour difficult to ignore and, after publication of her third novel, *Destiny*, in 1831, she swore that she would never write again because of her dislike of 'publicity'. Others shielded themselves behind a veil of anonymity. Of the women writers in this study, over half found it necessary to publish at least one of their works anonymously. Apart from fear of the unfavourable criticism given to female writers, another reason for the hiding of their identity was the male-generated myth that if a woman's name was 'known' publicly, it was only a small step until her body was also! Thus, publication by women became

associated with prostitution and a woman who wrote ran the chance of losing her reputation.

The adoption of a pseudonym happened occasionally, as when Elizabeth Hamilton signed herself 'Almeria' in *The Lounger* and when Caroline, Baroness Nairne, wrote under the name 'Mrs. Bogan of Bogan', but the idea of using a male pseudonym was too deceitful for most eighteenth-century women writers and was not put into practice widely until after 1840.³⁴

Married women very rarely wrote for publication, but the novelist, Mary Brunton,³⁵ was an exception. Her husband was Professor of Hebrew at Edinburgh University, and it was doubtless to maintain his reputation, as well as her own, that she published her first novel, *Self-Control* (1810), anonymously. Her next creation, *Discipline* (1814), had a similar Calvinistic title and her third novel, *Emeline* (1819), demonstrated the unhappiness that awaits a divorced wife who marries her seducer. It was published one year after her death in childbirth and was prefaced by a memoir which contains a letter by her to a friend, expressing her dislike of notoriety:-

I would rather, as you well know, glide through the world unknown, than have (I will not call it enjoy) fame, however brilliant, to be pointed at, - to be noticed and commented upon-

to be suspected of literary airs - to be shunned, as literary women are, by the more unpretending of the other! - my dear, I would sooner exhibit as a rope dancer.³⁶

In an echo of this sentiment, Lady Anne Barnard, the composer of the ballad, *Auld Robin Gray*, in a letter to Sir Walter Scott in 1823, referred to her dread of being named as an authoress.³⁷ Some managed to keep their secret better than others. For example, Carolina Baroness Nairne went in disguise to her publisher; her husband died ignorant of her authorship; and her identity was only revealed after her death. Similarly the authorship of Mary Anne Burges was made known by her brother after her death and Grace Kennedy divulged hers only on her deathbed. It is interesting to speculate whether women writers, like Mrs. Brunton, really did mean to keep their authorship secret. For if a woman were really determined, she could remain incognito as a writer as the above examples have shown. Some women writers were prevented from publishing at all by their fear of public reputation. For example, Lady Louisa Stuart (1757-1851), the granddaughter of Lady Wortley Montagu and a close friend and critic of Sir Walter Scott, wrote a great deal of poetry that was praised by Sir Walter Scott and her letters delighted her friends. But she had a horror of publication and in a letter to Walter Scott expressed indignation at a rumour that she was about to publish some verse: 'It is really too hard upon a small snail to be

dragged by the horns into the high road, when it is eating nobody's cabbages and only desires to live at peace in its own shell'.³⁸ She left instructions that none of her writing was to be published and much of it remains in private family collections.

Unfulfilled literary promise is also found in the letters of Jane Carlyle (1801-1866).³⁹ A competent stylist, as her letters show, she published nothing and was cast into shadow by her husband, the literary lion, Thomas Carlyle. Neither did Clementina Stirling Graham, awarded the Highland Society Medal for her translation of *The Bee Preserver* (1829), by the Swiss writer, Jonas de Gelieu, publish anything else but an account of her impersonations,⁴⁰ even though she had written poetry for most of her life.

Some men plagiarised the writing of their female relatives who wished to remain unidentified. For example, Christian Johnstone, the novelist, allowed her husband to publish her book under his name.⁴¹ They might also, like John Sinclair, compiler of the first *Statistical Account*, use their daughters as unpaid research assistants and scribes.

When their names did become known, women, who were forced into writing as a pecuniary necessity, tried to avert accusations of impropriety by a rigid adherence to conventional behavior in all other areas of their life. The writers mentioned below were very concerned about their reputations as 'ladies'. For example, the title of 'Mrs.', by unmarried authoresses such as Elizabeth Hamilton and Joanna Baillie, was adopted as a protection against criticism of single women writers, for married women were allowed greater latitude than those who were unmarried.

Even so, Elizabeth Hamilton felt obliged to emphasise the moral aim of literature and Susan Ferrier considered the reading of novels an inane occupation,⁴² despite the fact that she wrote them. In *Marriage* she declared: 'The only good purpose of a book is to inculcate morality and convey some sense of instruction as well as delight'.⁴³ Mary Brunton had a higher opinion of the role of novels:-

I think a fiction containing a just representation of human beings and of their actions - a connected, interesting and probable story, conducting to a useful and impressive moral lesson - might be one of the greatest efforts of human genius.⁴⁴

Though such emphasis on the morality of literature was not peculiar to women,⁴⁵ they promoted this aim of literature particularly, no doubt feeling that by writing

at all they were exposing themselves to accusations of immorality. By adopting a rigid, moral stance, they hoped to deflect such criticism from themselves.

The pressure to prove themselves 'real women', by proving their domestic skills, was keenly felt by women who had made themselves known for their writings and intellectual skills. It was as though, to offset criticism that they were masculine because of their intellectual pursuits, they had to work twice as hard as other women to prove their femininity. Praise of Mary Somerville's scientific achievements was frequently accompanied by deference to her success as a wife and mother. For example, the Scottish mathematician, David Brewster, described her as:-

...certainly the most extraordinary woman in Europe - a Mathematician of the very first rank, with the gentleness of a woman, and all the simplicity of a child...She is also a great Natural Philosopher and a great Mineralogist.⁴⁶

Susan Ferrier's novels were written at the same time as looking after her invalid father and 'writing to my sisters three, sewing my seam, improving my mind, making tea, playing whist and numberless other duties';⁴⁷ and Joanna Baillie took pride in knitting and making her own puddings.⁴⁸

The adoption of anonymity and emphasis on morality, respectability, domesticity and femininity were resorted to, either singly or in combination, by most women writers as defence mechanisms against male prejudice. But there was one device which they employed as a safety valve to express their own views about society - stylistic irony.

Satire, irony and sarcasm are weapons frequently used by those who feel that a forthright statement of their views will get them nowhere. It is remarkable how often the women writers discussed in this study made use of such literary javelins. It is perhaps because, feeling constrained to write in a style approved by the male writing profession, they nevertheless discovered a means, however understated, of attack.

Many Scottish women of this period found an outlet in writing witty and sarcastic letters to their friends, a habit which existed at an earlier period in Scotland, as the lampoons and satirical poems by Lady Anne Dick of Prestonfield (?-1741) about her acquaintances illustrate.⁴⁹ The same tone is plainly evident in the published writings of women.

The style, as well as the content, of the women prose writers is important in considering their ideas about society. Social comment in a satirical and ironic vein is a constant feature of their writings. It is in the use of such satire that we can see eighteenth-century Scottish women at their most critical of Scottish society. Commenting on the social life at Fort Augustus, Anne Grant observed:-

You have no idea how terrified folks are, in all these garrisons, and how these small circles, which necessity has driven together, ape the manners of the great world, that they have reluctantly left behind. We too, have our visits, our scandal, brought from thirty miles distant, our tittle-tattle, our jealousies, our audible whispers, and secrets that everybody knows. Not to dwell on each minute particular, believe that our handful of antiquated beaux and rusticated belles just do everything in the country that yours do in town, only with more languor and ill-humour.⁵⁰

Perhaps the most skilled technician in the use of satire was Susan Ferrier, whose pen spared no manifestation of vanity and vulgarity. She has been called by one Scottish literary historian, Francis Hart, 'a forerunner of Muriel Spark',⁵¹ and not only does she, as authoress, pin down characters she dislikes for dissection, her heroines usually share her own enjoyment in debunking pomposity and stupidity. Introducing Miss Pratt in *The Inheritance*, Susan wrote:-

She was, in fact, the very heart of the shire and gave life and energy to all the pulses of the parish. She supplied it with streams of gossip and chit-chat in others, and subject of ridicule and abuse in herself.⁵²

By such stylistic devices women writers were able to criticise social mores which they disliked.

However the effects of male disapproval of writing women were largely negative. Women writers had to be careful of their reputations in a way that men did not need to be and their dismay at publicity prevented them from writing and publishing more.

This answers the question of why more women did not write more between 1750 and 1830. But the next question is why are we ignorant of the women who did write during this period - Why isn't the name of Elizabeth Hamilton, an important writer on education, found in Scottish educational histories alongside the names of men like Lord Kames and Dr. Gregory? And why are the works of Scottish writers described in this study so difficult to obtain, when writings by their male contemporaries are much easier to find?

One starting-point is to look at those who consider what should be counted as worthy of inclusion in the history books and here it is tempting to use a patriarchal framework. Scottish academics who record Scottish history have been predominantly men and, as noted in the Preface, women play a minor role in their writings. Scottish men writers of the twentieth century have also followed in the footsteps of their literary predecessors in dismissing the historical importance of women. For instance, Hugh MacDiarmid, the poet and nationalist, wrote dismissively of the role of Scottish women in history, claiming that only one woman, the religious leader, Elspeth Buchan, was worthy of inclusion in his book, *Scottish Eccentrics* (1936):-

A long list of famous Englishwomen is easy to compile; it is impossible to draw up a corresponding list of Scotswomen. Only half a dozen or so names come to mind, but even these compare poorly with the English 'opposite numbers' whether in beauty, in social sway, or in mental or spiritual interest. For the most part our leading Scotswomen have been shrewd, forceful characters, with keen eyes to the main chance, but almost entirely destitute of exceptional endowments of any sort.⁵³

And the Scottish literary historian, J.H. Millar, mentioned in the Preface, attributed what he considered to be the lack of Scottish 'blue-stockings' to the fact that a male essayist had not written about them:-

Mackenzie seldom or never animadverts in the *Mirror* or *Lounger* on female pedants and blue-stockings. Whence we may infer, not so much that he liked them, as that they were not very numerous in general society.⁵⁴

A little more research might have presented a more accurate picture!

The view that women deserve no more than a footnote in the pages of Scottish history can still be observed today. For instance, Scottish literary critics commonly assume that Sir Walter Scott was the initiator of the genre of the historical novel but, as he explained himself, he was following the example of Maria Edgeworth and Jane Porter. Such misapprehension is clearly seen in the Introduction by Andrew Hook, Professor of English Literature at Glasgow University, to the Penguin edition of *Waverley*:-

The novel gained a new authority and prestige, and even more important perhaps, a new masculinity. After Scott the novel was no longer in danger of becoming the preserve of the woman writer and the woman reader. Instead it became the appropriate form for writers' richest and deepest imaginative explorations of human experience.⁵⁵

The implication here is that only men have 'human experience' and so only male writers can interpret it - a contention that recalls the views of Francis Jeffrey. The novel as a form is said to have been rescued from the grasp

of women and given 'a new masculinity'. Feminine influence is seen as a 'danger'. Thus Hook, with one sweep of the professional pen, wipes out the feminine influence that Scott himself considered important and provides evidence for the feminist argument that male academics hold a monopoly of literary judgement that they defend against encroachment by women.

Another example of similar treatment by a modern Scottish academic is found in the National Library Catalogue for an exhibition on Susan Ferrier held in 1982-83. Here, Dr. Ian Campbell of Edinburgh University assesses Susan Ferrier: 'Her retired Edinburgh existence, her devotion to her father, her pretended anonymity ... suggest a maiden talent for light fiction'.⁵⁶

It would appear that twentieth-century male academics are as ready to form assumptions on women's writings as were their eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century counterparts. The predisposition also extends to the field of journalism. An otherwise objectively written account of Susan Ferrier by Janet Rae in the *Times Educational Supplement*, prior to the National Library Exhibition, has been headed by a sub-editor, 'The spinster who found a champion in Scott',⁵⁷ implying that her unmarried state and

her relationship with Scott are more interesting than her novels.

Recommendations for the historical reinstatement of Scotswomen

Since Scotswomen's writings have been trivialised in such a way by serious literary historians, it is perhaps not surprising, though it is certainly disappointing, that they are so inaccessible. Even the works of women, who published under their own name and who were celebrated writers in their own time, have become difficult to find. The National Library in Edinburgh, which houses Scotland's most comprehensive collection of historical works and in which eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scottish male writers are fully represented, does not list some of the women writers in this study at all,⁵⁸ and for others does not have all their writings.⁵⁹ Similar gaps exist in Glasgow, Edinburgh and St. Andrews University Libraries and in the Mitchell Library in Glasgow. And from correspondence with librarians in public libraries in Scotland, it appears that few books by the women included in this study are among their stocks. However, despite the lack of such primary sources, it is possible to unearth material about the lives of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century

Scottish women from archives such as those in the Scottish Records Office in Edinburgh. As Linda Kerber points out in her work on eighteenth-century American women:-

...it has been common to catalogue women's letters and diaries under their husbands' names, women's manuscripts have often been submerged in family collections, and the size of the written record has often been underestimated.⁶⁰

This suggests that librarians could help to rescue women's history by cataloguing women's writings under their own names rather than including them under a reference to a male relative.

And, since many women published their writings under the title of 'Anonymous', some detective work might be done on the identity of works so authored.

The question of what material is worth preserving by librarians is important. The librarian acts as a selecting agent of the culture of a society or period of history. The interpretation of that culture by readers will reflect the librarians' own choice as to what is representative of that culture. Therefore much that is interesting and important to others may be excluded by the librarian's own preferences.

The same subjectivism is present in the choice made by publishers when they decide what books are worth publishing. Until recently, women's writings were often thought to be inferior to men's, and there are some publishers who still hold this opinion, as shown by Lynne Spender in her book *Intruders on the Rights of Men* (1983).⁶¹ This has meant that male authors have had a far better chance of getting their works published than women, just because of their sex. The writings of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scottish men have been issued in numerous editions and are still published today. But, despite the fact that some Scottish women were writing just as skilfully and interestingly, it was only in 1986 that the Virago Press, a feminist publishing house, launched their 'Scottish Classics' Series, which included Susan Ferrier's, *Marriage*. No other twentieth-century publisher until then had reissued works by eighteenth-century Scottish female writers.⁶² Thus, only a minority of the reading public has access to such books. For most people, proof that women as well as men were responsible for the ideas associated with the Scottish Enlightenment is unavailable. It is not surprising, therefore, that they ascribe women a minority role in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century history.

The principal reason then for the obscurity of women in this study appears to be their omission from records written by male historians. But another explanation that complements this lies in their Scottishness. As noted in the Preface, in the field of women's history there is a noticeable gap when it comes to the representation of women from minority cultures. This lack of representation would suggest that even feminist historians have discriminated against these women, obviously not on the grounds of their gender, but because of their nationality.⁶³ This raises the question of Scottish history as a minority interest. It too, like women's history, has been relegated to secondary importance. For example, in Scottish schools, mostly English history is taught with only a small part of the history curriculum devoted to Scottish history. And it is relatively unusual for the English Department in a Scottish school to include serious study of Scottish literature.

The subordination of Scottish history and culture to English history and culture has its origins in the eighteenth century and has gathered pace to such an extent that few Scottish people today question why Scottish newspapers should devote more of their space to English news than to Scottish. Similarly, south of the border many people are beset with the assumption that there is nothing

worth knowing about Scotland, for English newspapers feature hardly any Scottish news.

It would be a pity if feminist historians should assume a chauvinism in their rewriting of history from a woman's point of view, by according other parts of the British Isles a lesser importance than England. There is a danger that London-based feminists will adopt the same London/England orientation that is prevalent in the media.

Research for this study has indicated several measures by which Scotswomen's history might be given greater prominence. First, historians in general should pay more attention to the history of Scotland and their research should include women as well as men.⁶⁴ Second, librarians should acknowledge the key role that they could play in a rescue mission of Scotswomen's history. Even though material about women is difficult to find in secondary sources, much primary material remains unidentified in libraries, archives, local and family histories and repositories such as the Scottish Records Office. Librarians might identify items in their existing stock as written by women; build up their collections of women's writings; and make these accessible to the same extent as male writers to the general public as well as to academics.⁶⁵ Third, more publishers should follow the

example set by Virago and Pandora Presses and republish works by women that are out of print. And, fourth, history teachers in Scottish schools should incorporate the history of Scottish women in their courses, so that Scottish children will grow up with the knowledge that Scottish women, as well as men, have contributed to their cultural heritage.

N O T E S

1. Spender, *op. cit.*, p.4.
2. For example, see Smith, Dorothy, 'A Peculiar Eclipsing: Women's Exclusion from Man's Culture', *Women's Studies International Quarterly*, vol.1, no.4, pp.281-296; Miller, Jean Baker. *Toward a New Psychology of Women*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978; Boulding, Elise. *The Underside of History: A View of Women Through Time*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1976; Janeway, Elizabeth. *Powers of the Weak*, New York, 1980; Rich, Adrienne. *On Lies, Secrets & Silence*, London: Virago, 1980.
3. Chicago, Judy. *Through the Flower: My Struggle as a Woman Artist*, London: The Women's Press, 1982, p.151.
4. The first woman who graduated in medicine from Edinburgh University, Dr. James Barry, had to disguise herself as a man - See Appendix B.
5. Patterson, *op. cit.* p.246.
6. *Quarterly Review*. 1874, vol.136, p.90.
7. Proctor, Richard. Obituary of the Astronomical Society, 'Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society', February, 1873. Quoted in *Quarterly Review*, 1874, vol.136, p.93.
8. Grant, Anne. Letter to Mrs. Gorman, July 16, 1815, *Memoir & Correspondence*, *op. cit.* vol.II, p.77.
9. See *The Edinburgh Review*. No.18, pp.481-482 and pp.507-510.
10. *ibid.* no.17, pp.219-220.
11. See Spender, *op. cit.*
12. Quoted by Carhart, *op. cit.* p.48.
13. *The Edinburgh Review*. no.4, pp.421-426.
14. *ibid.* April, 1832, pp.1-25.

15. Cockburn, Henry. *Memorials of His Time*, Edinburgh, 1909, pp.259-260.
16. Quoted by Brooks, Van Wyck. *op. cit.* p.76.
17. Quoted by Wilson, Mona. *Jane Austen and Some Contemporaries*, London: Cresset Press, 1938, p.66.
18. Somerville, Martha, *op. cit.* p.274.
19. Bury, Charlotte, *op. cit.* p.117.
20. Under the pseudonym of the 'Ettrick Shepherd', he contributed to the conversation pieces, 'Noctes Ambrosianae', printed in the Tory periodical *Blackwood's Magazine* between 1822 and 1835.
21. *Blackwood's Magazine*. November, 1826. Noctes Ambrosianae, i, p.254.
22. Wilson was also a contributor to 'Noctes Ambrosianae', under the pseudonym of 'Christopher North'
23. Quoted by Spender, *op. cit.* p.156.
24. Stenhouse, *op. cit.* p.310*
25. *ibid.*
26. Scott. *Journal*, *op. cit.* Quoted by Marshall. *op. cit.* p.221.
27. Carhart, *op. cit.* p.3.
28. *ibid.* p.50.
29. Scott, Walter. *Waverley*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982, p.523.
30. See Chapter Seventy-Two, the Postscript.
31. *ibid.* Chapter 72.
32. Scott, *Journal*, *op. cit.* Entry for March 28, 1826.
33. Patterson, *op. cit.* p.82.
34. Showalter, *op. cit.*

35. Ellis, *op. cit.* refers to Mrs. Brunton as 'a well-meaning but very tiresome novelist'. See footnote to p.284, vol.1.
36. Brunton, *Emeline, op. cit.* p.xxxvi.
37. Lindsay, Lord. *Lives of the Lindsays; or A Memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Belcarres*, 3 vols, London: John Murray, 1849, vol.2, p.393.
38. *Familiar Letters of Walter Scott*, Douglas, David (Ed.) 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1894, vol.i, p.108. Quoted by Graham, Harry, *op. cit.* p.311.
39. Carlyle, Jane Welsh. *Letters & Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, Thomas Carlyle (Ed.), 2 vols., 1883; Ritchie, David G. (Ed.) *Early Letters of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1889.
40. Graham, Clementina Stirling, *op. cit.*
41. Dictionary of National Biography, *op. cit.*
42. National Library of Scotland. *Susan Ferrier, 1782-1854*, Exhibition Catalogue, H.M.S.O., 1982, p.22.
43. Ferrier, *Marriage, op. cit.* p.61.
44. Quoted by Elwood, *op. cit.* p.220.
45. In Chapter One of *Waverley*, Sir Walter Scott wrote:-'Some favourable opportunities of contrast have been afforded me, by the state of society in the northern part of the island at the period of my history, and may serve at once to vary and to illustrate the moral lessons, which I would willingly consider as the most important part of my plan...' *op. cit.* p.35.
46. Quoted by Patterson, *op. cit.* p.53.
47. NLS Catalogue, *op. cit.*
48. Carhart, *op. cit.* p.41.
49. Stenhouse, *op. cit.* pp.523-524.
50. Elwood, *op. cit.* p.87.

51. Hart, Francis Russell. *The Scottish Novel*, London: John Murray, 1978, p.62.
52. *ibid.* p.61.
53. MacDiarmid, Hugh. *Scottish Eccentrics*, New York, London: Johnson Reprint Corporation. Reprint of 1936 edition, 1972, p.60.
54. Miller, J.H., *op. cit.* p.539.
55. Scott, Sir Walter, *Waverley*, *op. cit.*
56. National Library Catalogue, *op. cit.* p.9.
57. *Times Educational Supplement (Scotland)*. 29th October 1982.
58. For example, Jean Adam, Anne Bannerman, Mary Anne Burges, Harriet Campbell, Janet Colquhoun, Jean Glover, Agnes Hall, Susannah Hawkins, Anne Hunter, Margaret Inglis, Agnes Lyon, Isobel Pagan, Lady Alicia Scott (nee Spottiswoode), Lady Caroline Lucy Scott, Lady Harriet Anne Scott, Caroline Sheridan (nee Callander), Charlotte Ann Waldie (Mrs. Eaton) and Lady Eglantine Wallace.
59. For example, Lady Charlotte Bury, Alison Cockburn, Anne Grant, Grace Kennedy, Jane and Anna Maria Porter, Catherine Sinclair, Mary Somerville. Material relating to eighteenth-century Scottish women, who engaged in occupations other than writing, for example, the painters, Catherine Read, Helen Beatson, Margaret Gillies, Jane Waldie and the Nasmyth Sisters, or the musicians, Sophia Dussek and Mary Ann Paton, is even sparser.
60. Kerber, Linda K. *Women of the Republic: Intellect & Ideology in Revolutionary America*, University of Carolina Press, 1980, p.289.
61. *ibid.*
62. Pandora Press has recently published Mary Brunton's *Self-Control*, in their 'Mothers of the Novel' Series, with an Introduction by Sara Maitland.

63. It also applies to books about women in the present. Many books and articles have been published about the rights of English women in the English legal system, but only one, Evaline Hunter's *Scottish Women and Place*, Edinburgh University Student Publications, 1978, has been published specifically on the rights of Scottish women, even though the Scottish legal system differs from the English legal system.
64. One recent initiative is the compilation now underway of a 'Women in Scotland Bibliography' run by a group of researchers based in Scottish Universities.
65. An excellent example of how this can be done has been provided by Karen Stewart, librarian at the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, who has assembled an exhibition, 'Scottish Women Writers to 1987'. An accompanying guide, available in the Language and Literature Department, lists the works of Scottish women writers.

Appendix A

STATISTICAL COMPARISON BETWEEN ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH WOMEN WRITERS FOR THE PERIOD 1750-1830

The *Dictionary of National Biography* (1885) includes 169 English, 4 Welsh, 44 Scottish and 12 Irish women, who had writings published between 1750 and 1830.¹

Using population figures from the 1801 Census - the first to give reliable statistics for all of Britain - proportions were calculated to assess the frequency of women writers in their respective national populations. Since the Census figures combined England and Wales, English and Welsh writers were added together.² Comparative proportions are shown in Table 1.1.

=====			
TABLE 1.1 WOMEN WRITERS, 1750-1830			
=====			
<u>Group of Women Writers</u>	<u>Total Pop.</u> <u>(million)</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
English and Welsh	9.061	173	0.0000191
Scottish	1.625	44	0.0000271
Irish	5.216	12	0.0000023

These proportions show that Scotland had almost one and a half times the number of recorded women writers per

head of population in England and Wales and, compared to Ireland, over one hundred times as many.

Next the figures were divided into two groups, omitting women born before 1750 and including women born between 1750 and 1800, to see if the proportions were similar for both periods.

Between 1750 and 1800 the *Dictionary of National Biography* notes the birthdays of 89 English and Welsh, 28 Scottish and 6 Irish women writers. Population statistics for this period are of questionable validity but estimates suggest a total population figure for England and Wales of 6 to 6.5 million; for Scotland a figure of 1.25 million; and for Ireland 3.2 million.³ According to these figures the Scottish population was about one-fifth that of England and Wales (a proportion still maintained in 1801 according to the Census figures of that year).

Between 1800 and 1830 the *Dictionary of National Biography* records the birthdays of 43 English and Welsh, 2 Irish and 8 Scottish women writers. Comparative proportions are shown in Table 1.2.

=====

TABLE 1.2 WOMEN WRITERS, COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS,

 1750-1800/1800-1830

=====

<u>Group of Women Writers</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>Pop.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Pop.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
English and Welsh	6.5	0.0000137	9.061	0.0000047
Scottish	1.265	0.0000221	1.625	0.0000049
Irish	3.191	0.0000019	5.216	0.0000004

The shorter time span of the later period accounts for the lower proportion of women generally in all of the countries. What is of main interest here however is that in both periods Scotland produced more women writers relative to its population size than England and Wales combined (see Tables 1.3 to 1.8).

=====

TABLE 1.3 ENGLISH AND WELSH WOMEN WRITERS BORN 1750-1800

=====

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name of Writer</u>	<u>Born</u>	<u>Died</u>
1	Acton, Eliza	1799	1859
2	Aikin, Lucy	1781	1864
3	Anspach, Elizabeth	1750	1828
4	d'Arblay, Frances (Burney)	1752	1840
5	Austen, Jane	1775	1817
6	Bache, Sarah	1771	1844
7	Baillie, Marianne	1795	1830
8	Benger, Elizabeth Ogilvy	1778	1827
9	Berry, Mary	1763	1852
10	Bowdler, Henrietta Maria	1754	1830
11	Brand, Barbarina Lady Dacre	1768	1854
12	Bray, Anna Eliza	1790	1883
13	Bulmer, Agnes	1775	1836
14	Burney, Sarah Harriet	1770	1844
15	Burrell, Lady Sophia	(?) 1750	1802
16	Cameron, Lucy Lyttleton	1781	1858
17	Cartwright, Frances Dorothy	1780	1863
18	Cobbold, Elizabeth	1767	1824
19	Collington, Catherine	1755	1832
20	Cornwallis, Caroline Frances	1786	1858
21	Davies, Catherine	1773	1841
22	Dorset, Catherine Ann	(?) 1750	(?) 1817
23	Ebsworth, Mary Emma	1794	1881
24	Edgeworth, Maria	1767	1849
25	Elliott, Charlotte	1789	1871
26	Fanshawe, Catherine Maria	1765	1834
27	Frampton, Mary	1773	1846
28	Franklin, Eleanor Anne	1797	1825
29	Gilbert (nee Taylor), Ann	1782	1866
30	Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft	1759	1797
31	Gore (nee Moody), Catherine Grace Frances	1799	1861
32	* Griffiths, Ann	1780	1805
33	Gore, Harriet	1792	1878
34	Gurney, Anna	1795	1857
35	Harrison, Susannah	1752	1784
36	Harvey, Margaret	1768	1858
37	Hemans, Felicia Dorothea	1793	1835
38	Hodson (nee Holford), Margaret	1778	1852
39	Hofland, Barbara	1770	1884
40	Howitt, Mary	1799	1888
41	Hunter, Rachel	1754	1813
42	Hutton, Catherine	1756	1846
43	Inchbald, Elizabeth	1753	1821
44	Jevons. Mary Anne	1795	1854
45	Kelty, Mary Anne	1789	1873

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name of Writer</u>	<u>Born</u>	<u>Died</u>
46	Kilham, Hannah	1774	1832
47	King, Frances Elizabeth	1757	1821
48	Lamb, Lady Caroline	1785	1828
49	Lee, Harriet	1757	1851
50	Lee, Sarah	1791	1856
51	Lee, Sophia	1750	1824
52	Le Fanu, Alicia	1753	1817
53	Le Noir, Elizabeth Anne	1755	1841
54	Marsh-Caldwell, Anne	1791	1874
55	Mitford, Mary Russell	1787	1855
56	Ogborne, Elizabeth	1759	1835
57	Opie, Amelia	1769	1853
58	Palmer, Charlotte	(fl) 1780	1797
59	Penrose (pseud. Mrs. Markham), Elizabeth	1780	1837
60	Plumptree, Anna or Anne	1760	1818
61	Porter, Anna Maria	1780	1832
62	Porter, Jane	1776	1850
63	Porter, Sarah	1791	1862
64	Rathbone, Hannah Mary	1798	1878
65	Richardson, Charlotte Caroline	1775	1850
66	Roberts, Mary	1788	1864
67	Robinson ('Perdita'), Mary	1758	1800
68	Saffery, Maria Grace	1772	1858
69	Schimmelpenninck, Mary Anne	1778	1856
70	Sewell, Mary	1797	1884
71	Shelley, Mary Wollstonecraft	1797	1851
72	Sherwood, Maria Martha	1775	1851
73	Starke, Mariana	(?) 1762	1838
74	Strickland, Agnes	1796	1874
75	Taylor, Ann	1757	1830
76	Taylor, Jane	1783	1824
77	Taylor, Susannah	1755	1823
78	Thomson, Katharine	1797	1862
79	Tonna, Charlotte Elizabeth	1790	1846
80	Trench, Melesina	1768	1827
81	Trollope, Frances	1780	1863
82	Umpfelby, Fanny	1788	1852
83	Wakefield, Priscilla	1751	1832
84	Williams, Helen Maria	1762	1827
85 *	Williams, (Maria) Jane	1795	1873
86	Wilson, Caroline	1787	1846
87	Wilson (nee Margaret Harries), Mrs. Cornwell Baron Wilson	1797	1846
88	Woodrooffe, Anne	1766	1830
89	Yearsley, Anne	1756	1806

(*) Welsh

=====

TABLE 1.4 ENGLISH AND WELSH WOMEN WRITERS BORN 1800-1830

=====

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name of Writer</u>	<u>Born</u>	<u>Died</u>
1	Adams, Sarah Flower	1805	1848
2	Aguilar, Grace	1816	1847
3	Balfour, Clara Lucas	1808	1878
4	Brightwell, Cecilia Lucy	1811	1875
5	Bronte, Charlotte	1816	1855
6	Bronte, Emily Jane	1818	1848
7	Browning, Elizabeth Barrett	1806	1861
8	Bulwer-Lytton, Lady Rosina	1802	1882
9	Carne, Elizabeth Catherine Thomas	1817	1873
10	Charlesworth, Maria Louisa	1819	1880
11	Chatelain, Clara	1807	1876
12	Chatterton, Lady Henrietta	1806	1876
	Georgina Marcia Lascelles		
13	Clive, Caroline	1801	1873
14	Coleridge, Sarah	1802	1852
15	Crewdson, Sarah	1808	1863
16	Cross, Mary Ann/Marian (George Elliot)	1819	1880
17	Crowe, Catherine	1800	1876
18	Fox, Caroline	1819	1871
19	Gaskell, Elizabeth	1810	1865
20	Gatty, Margaret	1809	1873
21	Gosse, Emily	1806	1857
22	Green (nee Craven), Eliza, S.	1803	1866
23	Hennell, Mary	1802	1843
24	Hope (nee Fulton), Anne	1809	1877
25	Jewsbury, Geraldine Endsor	1812	1880
26	Jewsbury, Maria Jane (Mrs. Fletcher)	1800	1833
27	Landon, Letitia Elizabeth	1802	1838
28	Leakey, Caroline Woolmer	1827	1881
29	Le Breton, Anna Letitia	1808	1885
30	Lewis, Lady Maria Theresa	1803	1865
31	Loudon, Jane	1807	1858
32	Lovell, Maria Anne	1803	1877
33	Lynch, Theodora Elizabeth	1812	1885
34	Martineau, Harriet	1802	1876
35	Miles, Sibella Elizabeth	1800	1822
36	Mozley, Anne	1809	1891
37	Norton, Caroline	1808	1877
38	Pardoe, Julia	1806	1862
39	Peters, Mary	1813	1856
40	Poole, Sophia	1804	1891
41	Taylor, Helen	1818	1885
42	Toulmin (later Crosland), Camilla Dufour	1812	1895
43 *	Williams, Jane	1806	1885

(*) Welsh

=====

TABLE 1.5 IRISH WOMEN WRITERS BORN 1750-1800

=====

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name of Writer</u>	<u>Born</u>	<u>Died</u>
1	Hardy, Elizabeth	1794	1854
2	Jameson (nee Murphy), Anna Brownell	1794	1860
3	Leadbeater, Mary	1758	1826
4	Roche, Regina Maria	(?)1764	1845
5	Ryves, Elizabeth	1750	1797
6	Tighe, Mary	1772	1810

=====

TABLE 1.6 IRISH WOMEN WRITERS BORN 1800-1830

=====

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name of Writer</u>	<u>Born</u>	<u>Died</u>
1	Hall, Anna Maria	1800	1881
2	Maberley, Catherine Charlotte	1805	1875

=====

TABLE 1.7 SCOTTISH WOMEN WRITERS BORN 1750-1800

=====

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name of Writer</u>	<u>Born</u>	<u>Died</u>
1	Bannerman, Anne	fl.1816	
2	Barnard, Anne	1750	1825
3	Baillie, Joanna	1762	1851
4	Brunton, Mary	1778	1818
5	Burges, Mary Anne	1763	1813
6	Bury, Lady Charlotte Susan Maria	1775	1861
7	Callcott, Lady Maria	1785	1842
8	Colquhoun, Lady Janet	1781	1846
9	Darusmont (Wright), Frances	1795	1852
10	Davies, Lady Lucy Clementina	1795	1879
11	Ferrier, Susan	1782	1854
12	Fletcher, Eliza	1770	1858
13	Glover, Jean	1758	1801
14	Godwin (nee Garnett), Catherine Grace	1798	(?)1845
15	Graham, Clementina Stirling	1782	1877
16	Grant, Anne	1755	1838
17	Hall, Agnes C.	1777	1846
18	Hamilton, Elizabeth	1758	1816
19	Hawkins, Susanna	1787	1868
20	Inglis (nee Murray), Margaret Maxwell	1774	1843
21	Kennedy, Grace	1782	1825
22	Lyon, Agnes	1762	1840
23	Nairne, Carolina Baroness	1766	1845
24	Pagan, Isobel	1742	1821
25	Scott, Caroline Lucy	1784	1857
26	Sheridan, Caroline Henrietta	1779	1851
27	Waldie, Charlotte Ann	1788	1859
28	Wallace, Lady Eglantine	(?)	1803

=====

TABLE 1.8 SCOTTISH WOMEN WRITERS BORN 1800-1830

=====

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name of Writer</u>	<u>Born</u>	<u>Died</u>
1	Campbell, Harriette	1817	1841
2	Carlyle, Jane Baillie Welsh	1801	1866
3	Fleming, Margaret	1803	1811
4	Miller, Lydia Falconer	1811	1876
5	Scott, Harriet Anne	1819	1894
6	Simpson, Jane Cross	1811	1886
7	Sinclair, Catherine	1800	1864
8	Wilson, Henrietta	(?)	1863

NOTES

1. Classification of writers and other women in this study was carried out primarily by place of birth. If, however, a subject was born outwith a country and yet thought of herself as belonging to it by virtue of parentage, upbringing and education, she was counted within that national category. For example, Elizabeth Hamilton, writer on education, though born in Ireland was of Scottish parentage, lived in Scotland from the age of eight and thought of herself as Scottish. Therefore she was included in the category of Scottish writers. But Jane and Anna Maria Porter, the novelists, though they lived and went to school in Edinburgh for four years, thought of themselves as English and spent most of their lives in England. They were therefore assessed as English.
2. 1801 Census population figures from Mitchell, B.R. *Abstracts of British Historical Statistics*, Cambridge University Press, 1962, p.8.
3. *ibid.* p.5.

Appendix B

B I O G R A P H I E S

The following descriptions of 120 Scotswomen, who lived between 1750 and 1830, are offered in the hope that they will form the starting-point for future research. Many entries are scant and incomplete, reflecting the lack of information available so far.

The basis for these women's selection has been a combination of their connection with Scotland, their own achievements and their interest value for the history of Scotswomen. Both rich and poor, educated and uneducated, well-known and hardly-known women are included. Length of entry does not reflect importance or unimportance but only indicates the amount of historical material discovered by the writer.

At least one further reference is suggested for each woman, so that interested readers may pursue their own research. The *Dictionary of National Biography* is used whenever possible as a main source, since this reference work is held by most libraries and is easily accessible. When a woman does not appear in the DNB, an alternative reference is suggested.

Adam, Jean (of Cartsdyke) (1710-1765)

Poetess, born in Greenock. Daughter of a sea captain and orphaned at an early age, she became governess in a minister's family, educated herself from his library and wrote many religious poems (a volume of which was published in 1734). She started a girls' school which subsequently failed and she was reduced to making a living as a street hawker. She died in the poorhouse. She is sometimes credited with 'Song of the Mariner's Wife', better known as 'There's nae luck about the house', often attributed to Meikle (See Browning).

Alexander, Janet (Mrs.)

Highly respected Edinburgh midwife who visited Boston at the invitation of Bostonian physicians and practised there between 1818 and 1845 (See Dexter).

Baillie (nee Hume of Jerviswood), Lady Grisell (1665-1767)

Songwriter and poetess. Daughter of the Jacobite, Sir Patrick Hume, whom she helped hide from English soldiers. At the same time, she visited Baillie of Jerviswood and his son, held prisoner in Edinburgh's Tolbooth, smuggling them letters and food. The Humes escaped to Holland where they lived for a number of years in exile at Utrecht. Grisell travelled back to Scotland alone and escorted members of her family to Holland. When the family were allowed to return to live in Scotland, Grisell married the son of Baillie of Jerviswood (1692). Her best known song is 'And werena my heart licht, I wad dee'. In her *Metrical Legends*, Joanna Baillie included the legend of Lady Grisell (See DNB).

Baillie, Joanna (1762-1851)

Poetess and dramatist. Born in Bothwell, Lanarkshire, the daughter of a Presbyterian minister, Rev. James Baillie. Her childhood was one of strict repression with the parents showing little affection towards their three children: Agnes (1760-1860?), Matthew (1761-1823) and Joanna (1762-1851). As a child, Joanna was reputed to be 'bright in mind but slow in her studies' (Kunitz) and when she was ten she was sent to a boarding school in Glasgow run by a Miss McDonald. She was particularly interested in music, drawing composition and, 'rather strangely' (Kunitz) mathematics. James Baillie was appointed Professor of Divinity at Glasgow University in 1776 and the family moved

to Glasgow. After his death in 1778, Mrs. Dorothea Baillie's brother, Dr. William Hunter, gave the family a home at Long Calderwood. In 1779 Matthew went to London to study medicine at the school run by Dr. Hunter, who died six years later leaving him the Hunter School of Anatomy as well as his house and collections. Mrs. Baillie, Agnes and Joanna lived with Matthew until his marriage in 1791 when they moved to Hampstead. By this time Joanna had written a few poems and in 1790 she started to write plays seriously. *Plays on the Passions* caused a literary furore (Kunitz). They were published anonymously and many people thought them the work of Sir Walter Scott. This led to correspondence between them and they became close friends. James Kemble and his sister, Mrs. Siddons, produced *De Montford* at Drury Lane in 1800 and *Constantine and Valeria* was staged in London, Liverpool, Edinburgh and Dublin. Also, *The Separation* was staged at Covent Garden, *Henriquez* at Drury Lane and, in 1810, *The Family Legend* in Edinburgh (with a prologue by Sir Walter Scott). At the same time, plays published for reading only continued to appear along with the poetry, half the earnings from which were given to charity. Mrs. Baillie died in 1806 and the sisters rented a house on Hampstead Heath, where they stayed for the rest of their lives. But they did make several visits to Scotland and corresponded with many Scottish personalities apart from Scott, for example, Anne Grant, Elizabeth Hamilton, Sir William and Lady Maxwell, General Dirom, Miss Millar, Susan Ferrier, Eliza Fletcher and Sir John Sinclair. In 1808 they visited Scott at Abbotsford and stayed in the Lake District. In 1814 they were in Wales and in 1816 in Switzerland. In 1817 they were in Edinburgh once again. At Hampstead the sisters kept open house and their friends and correspondents included: Maria Edgeworth, Samuel Rogers, William Ellery Channing, Mrs. Sigourney, Lucy Aikin, William Sotheby, the Byrons, John Richardson (husband of Mary Fletcher), Mrs. Hemans, George Crabbe, Henry Reeve, Henry Crabbe Robinson, Anna Jameson, Mrs. Siddons, George Ticknor, Harriet Martineau, William Erskine and Daniel Terry. Joanna was a close friend of Mary Somerville. As was the custom for unmarried, respectable ladies at the time, she became known as Mrs. Baillie from 1814 onwards. At the height of her fame she was thought of as a second Shakespeare and Scott called her 'immortal' in *The Bride of Lannernoor*. In *Harnion* (Introduction to Canto III, p.97-110) he referred to her again in glowing terms. She has been called Scotland's greatest playwright (Carhart). She also championed equal education for girls (See DNB).

Balcarres (née Dalrymple), Lady

Mother of Anne Barnard. Strict disciplinarian. Daughter of Sir Robert Dalrymple of Castleton. She punished her children's 'little misdemeanors...as crimes', 'structured everything...by authority and correction', made her household 'a sort of little Bastille, in every closet of which was to be found a culprit, - some sobbing and repeating verbs, others eating their bread and water - some preparing themselves to be whipped' and by these methods freed her husband to play the more benevolent despot' (See Lindsay, 1849, vol.2, p.303-4, 307).

Bannerman, Anne (fl.1816)

Scottish poetical writer. In 1803 her mother and only brother died leaving her destitute. Friends arranged for her poems to be published by subscription and a post was obtained for her in Exeter as governess to the daughter of Lady Frances Beresford (See DNB).

Barnard (née Lindsay), Lady Anne (1750-1825)

Poetess, diarist and letter-writer. Eldest daughter of James Lindsay, fifth Earl of Balcarres, Fife and his wife, Anne. Sister of Lady Margaret Fordyce and of Elizabeth, Lady Hardwicke. The family spent winters in Edinburgh and there she met David Hume, Henry Mackenzie, Lord Monboddo and Dr. Johnson when he visited Edinburgh in 1773. Later that year she went to live in London with her sister, Margaret, whose husband, Alexander, had died after a financial scandal (He was the brother of David and James Fordyce of Aberdeen). It was rumoured in 1775 that Anne would marry James Bruce or Neil, third Earl of Roseberry or Richard Atkinson M.P. (who died in 1775 leaving a large amount of property to her). Instead, she married Andrew, son of Dr. Thomas Barnard, Bishop of Limerick in 1793. Barnard was appointed colonial secretary at the Cape of Good Hope by Lord Macartney. When he died in 1807, Anne returned to London to live with Margaret until the latter remarried in 1812 (to Sir James Bland Bruges). During those five years their house in Berkeley Square was a literary centre and Burke, Sheridan, Windham, Dundas and the Prince of Wales were frequent visitors (DNB states that the Prince Regent formed a lifelong attachment to her). After the publication of Scott's *Pirate* in 1823, in which he made reference to her famous ballad, 'Auld Robin Gray', the two began a correspondence (See DNB).

Barry, Dr. James (1795-1865)

Born Miranda Stuart, she was probably the daughter of General Miranda. Although her origins are obscure it is likely that she was illegitimate. So that she could study medicine at Edinburgh University, she disguised herself as a man (a disguise that she successfully maintained for the rest of her life). After qualifying in 1811, she joined the Army where she had a long career in the colonies and worked with lepers in Africa. Eventually she rose to the rank of Inspector-General of the Army and Medical department. Her true sex was only revealed after her death (See Racster and Grove).

Beatson (later Oakley), Helena 'Nelly'

Niece of Catherine Read, the painter. Daughter of Robert Beatson (1742-1818) of Killeric in Fifeshire. In 1777 she married Charles Oakley, who held several important offices in the East India Company's service. He was made baronet in 1790 and Governor of Madras in 1794. Like her aunt, she also painted (See Greer).

Brisbane, Maria

Daughter of Thomas Brisbane of Ayrshire. Married Hon. George Cranstoun. Children included: Helen Dugald Stewart, the Countess Purgstall and George Cranstoun, Lord Corehouse. Described as 'A woman of cultivated intellect and great social charm' (See DNB entry for Dugald Stewart).

Brown, Mrs.

Scottish midwife. Emigrated to Charleston in 1791. Claimed to have diploma from Edinburgh University (See Dexter).

Brunton (nee Balfour), Mrs. Mary (1778-1818)

Novelist. Born Orkney, the only daughter of Colonel Thomas Balfour. After her marriage to the Rev. Alexander Brunton of Bolton, Haddingtonshire in 1798, she moved to East Lothian. Five years later, in 1803, she and her husband moved to Edinburgh where he took up the appointment of Professor of Hebrew at Edinburgh University (See Murray) and she published three novels, *Self Control* (1810), *Discipline* (1814), *Emeline* (1819) (See DNB).

Buchan (née Stewart), Lady Agnes

Sister of Margaret Calderwood. Married Henry David, tenth Earl of Buchan, in 1739 and had two sons: Henry Erskine, later Lord Advocate of Scotland, and Thomas Erskine, later Lord High Chancellor of Britain. Studied mathematics under Colin Maclaurin. Possibly the Countess of Buchan, 'an amiable old lady' who chaperoned Mary Somerville as a girl in Edinburgh (See Calderwood).

Buchan (née Simpson), Elspeth (1738-1796)

Founder of a Scottish religious sect, the Buchanites. Daughter of John Simpson, a publican of Fetney-Can (between Banff and Portsoy), she went to Glasgow and entered domestic service. There she married Robert Buchan, a workman in her employer's pottery, and had three children. Robert set up his own pottery in Banff, but it failed and he deserted his family and returned to Glasgow leaving her to fend as best she could. She began by opening an infants' school, where she taught needlework and the rudiments of spelling. Her growing religious obsession worried parents so that her venture failed and she was reduced to seeking out her husband in Glasgow. There she went to 'Fellowship Meetings' and visited local ministers, trying to persuade them to her beliefs and met the Rev. Hugh White, minister of the Relief Church at Irvine, who, she thought, was her spiritual 'man-child'. White was accused of heresy and dismissed from the ministry by Glasgow Presbytery. Finally, both were forced to flee Irvine and they left taking forty-six townspeople with them. Together they set up house on communitarian principles in a farmhouse at New Cample in Nithsdale. All commune members wore green clothes made by themselves and children belonged to everyone. On Christmas Eve 1784, about one hundred local men attacked the commune and destroyed it and three years later local magistrates ordered the Buchanites out of the district. They resettled in Auchengibbert in Kirkcudbright. Soon afterwards, Elspeth Buchan died and the sect faded into obscurity. Hugh White sailed for America and was never heard of in Scotland again (See Harry Graham).

Buchanan, Harriet Flora Macdonald

Diarist. Friend of Augusta Clavering and of the Buchanans of Balloch (See DNB).

Bucknall, Mrs

Ran a seminary for young ladies in Albany Street, Edinburgh in 1824 (See Marshall).

Burgess, Mary Anne (1763-1813)

Authoress. Youngest daughter of George Burgess, Comptroller-General of Customs, by his wife, the Hon. Anne Whicknour Somerville. A gifted linguist with knowledge of Greek, Latin, French, Italian and Spanish, as well as a lesser knowledge of German and Swedish. Interested in geology, botany and music. Her authorship was only revealed after her death by her brother, Sir James Bland Lamb (See DNB).

Bury (née Campbell), Lady Charlotte Susan Maria (1775-1861)

Diarist and novelist. The youngest daughter of John Campbell, fifth Duke of Argyll, she spent much of her girlhood at Inverary Castle and encouraged her niece, Charlotte Clavering, and Susan Ferrier to work on a satirical novel of manners, which Susan Ferrier later published as *Marriage*. At twenty-one she married Col. John Campbell, M.P. for Ayr (1796), who died thirteen years later leaving her with nine children. Her second husband was Rev. Edward John Bury, rector of Lichfield in Hampshire, by whom she had two more children (married 1818). In the nine-year period between marriages she was lady-in-waiting to the Princess of Wales, later Queen Caroline. Her diary of the royal household was 'intimate and unflattering' (Kunitz) and was only published anonymously after the Queen's death. She was a close friend of Susan Ferrier's sister, Jane, and of Scott, who encouraged her writing. She was also a friend of Hester Stanhope and correspondent of Anne Grant (See DNB).

Calderwood of Polton (née Steuart), Mrs. Margaret

Letter writer and diarist. Eldest daughter of Sir James Steuart, M.P. for Edinburgh, merchant, banker and strict Presbyterian, and Anne Dalrymple, daughter of Sir Hew Dalrymple, Lord President of the Court of Session. Her father was known as 'Provost Steuart'. Margaret married Thomas Calderwood, the son of Sir William Calderwood, Lord Polton in 1735. The Calderwoods had two sons, William and James, and a daughter, Anne, who married at the age of nineteen James Durham of Largo, a friend of the Lindsays at

Balcarres (1753). Margaret ran her husband's estates and increased his revenues (See DNB).

Callander, Caroline Henrietta

Born in Craigforth, Scotland. Married Thomas Sheridan, son of the playwright. The English writer, Caroline Norton, was their second daughter (See Perkins).

Callcott (née Dundas), Lady Maria Graham (1788-1842)

Painter, writer and translator. Daughter of Rear-Admiral George Dundas. In 1808 she went to India with her father. She married the following year, Captain Thomas Graham, R.N., whom she accompanied to India and South America. After the death of Graham in 1822, she became governess to Donna Maria in Valparaiso (1822-23). In 1827 she was married for the second time, to Sir Augustus Callcott, R.A. Known for her liberal teaching methods, she was described as 'Brazil's first and last Imperial Governess' (Howe, p.136). Her other interests included botany and history, and she numbered Maria Edgeworth among her friends.

Campbell (née Meredith), Lady Frederick (d.1807)

Widow of Laurence Shirley, fourth Earl Ferrers, hanged for killing his steward in 1760. Aunt of Charlotte Clavering. Married Lord Frederick Campbell, Lord Clerk Register, third son of John, fourth Duke of Argyll, in 1769. He was M.P. for Glasgow (1761-80) and for Argyll (1780-99). Lady Frederick (Mary) died in a fire at their home, Comb Bank, Kent in 1807. Her husband survived her by nine years (1729-1816). She is said to have been the model for Lady MacLaughlan in Susan Ferrier's novel *Marriage* (See DNB entry for Susan Ferrier).

Campbell, Harriette (1817-1841)

Novelist. Born Stirling, daughter of Robert Campbell. Said to have known many English, French and Italian authors by the time she was twelve (DNB). Published articles in *Bentley's Miscellany* and *Monthly Magazine*. Fell ill in 1841 and was taken to the Continent for the winter, where she wrote her third novel. After a second illness she died on 15th February aged twenty-three.

Carlyle, Jane Welsh (1801-1866)

Descendant of John Knox. 'An intelligent, attractive and somewhat temperamental daughter of a well-to-do doctor in Haddington' (Encyclopaedia Britannica) and 'one of the liveliest letter-writers in the English language (Raven and Weir). Pupil of Edward Irving, preacher and mystic, who taught at Kirkcaldy at the same time as Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881). Jane wanted to marry Irving but his affections were fixed elsewhere and in 1826 she married Carlyle (who had been introduced to her by Irving). They lived in Dumfriesshire until 1834 when they moved to London. Their marriage was unhappy (it is possible that Carlyle was impotent). She wrote: 'I married for ambition...Carlyle has exceeded all that my wildest hopes ever imagined of him, and I am miserable' (Raven and Weir, p.124). Geraldine Endor Jewsbury (1812-1880), novelist and amanuensis to Lady Sidney Morgan, was an intimate friend of the Carlyles.

Carnegie, Susan (1744-1821)

Philanthropist and friend of James Beattie, the philosopher. At twenty-five she married a wealthy Jacobite merchant, George Carnegie, who divided his time between Gothenburg in Sweden and the North-East of Scotland. Lunatic asylums had been founded in the 1730s at Edinburgh and Aberdeen, but in Montrose the mentally sick were kept in an ordinary prison. Susan resolved that Montrose should have its own lunatic asylum and thanks to her efforts the Montrose Asylum opened in 1781. In 1808 she established a Female Friendly Society, controlling all its financial business and later, in 1814, she founded one of the first savings banks in Britain for the people of Montrose (See Cormack).

Chisholm, Mary

Daughter of Alexander, the twenty-third Chief of the Chisholm Clan of Strathglass. Tempted, like other Chiefs, to lease his land for sheep enclosures, he was dissuaded by his daughter and his clansmen. Mary and her mother protected their people from eviction after Chisholm's death in 1793 (See Prebble).

Clavering, Lady Augusta

Daughter of the fifth Duke of Argyll and sister of Lady Charlotte Campbell (later Bury). Mother of Charlotte Clavering. She and her daughter stayed frequently at

Inverary Castle where they met Susan Ferrier (See DNB entry for Charlotte Clavering).

Clavering, Lady Charlotte

Daughter of Lady Augusta Clavering and granddaughter of the fifth Duke of Argyll. Niece of Charlotte Campbell (later Bury) and of Lady Frederick Campbell. Cousin of Anne Damer, the sculptress. Friend of Susan Ferrier, with whom she developed the idea of *Marriage*. Wrote just a small section of the final version. According to one source (Doubleday, p.75) she wrote the interpolated 'History of Mrs. Douglas' and some of the poems included in Susan Ferrier's *Marriage*. Married Miles Fletcher, son of Archibald and Eliza Fletcher (See DNB).

Clelland, Elizabeth

Kept a pastry school in Edinburgh (mid-18th century). Authoress of *A New and Easy Method of Cookery...chiefly intended for the benefit of Young Ladies who attend her school*, Edinburgh, 1755.

Cockburn (née Rutherford), Alicia (Alison) (c.1712-1794)

Poetess whose fame rested upon a single poem: 'I've seen the smiling of fortune beguiling', one of the sets of the 'Flowers of the Forest', yet she wrote poetry all through her life. Daughter of Robert Rutherford of Fairnalee, Selkirkshire, she married Patrick Cockburn, advocate and commissioner of the Duke of Hamilton, in 1731. They moved to Edinburgh where she held a salon frequented by David Hume, John Horne, Mombroddo and Burns. She was an intimate friend of Scott's mother and was a favorite with him. He wrote warmly about her and described her as resembling Queen Elizabeth. She was a staunch Whig and during the '45 she strongly supported the government, writing a song based on the manifesto of Charles Edward to the tune 'Clout the Caldron'. Only a few of her poems were ever published. Her husband, Patrick Cockburn, died on 29th April 1753. They had one son, a Captain of Dragoons, who died in 1780 (See DNB).

Colquhoun (née Sinclair), Lady Janet (1781-1846)

Religious writer. Daughter of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, wife of Sir James Colquhoun of Rossdhu, Luss, and sister of Hannah Sinclair. Born in London but spent most of

her childhood at Thurso Castle with her grandmother, Lady Jane Sinclair. Lady Janet took a great interest in the Luss and Arrochar Bible Society and was a close friend of the evangelist, Thomas Chalmers. She sided with the Free Kirk in the Disruption of 1843 (See DNB).

Cranstoun, Helen D'Arcy (second Mrs. Dugald Stewart) (1765-1838)

Third daughter of the Hon. George Cranstoun and sister of Scott's friend, the Countess Purgstall, and of George Cranstoun, Lord Corehouse. Her mother was Maria Brisbane. She married Dugald Stewart on 26th July 1790. A son, George, died in 1809. Their daughter, Maria D'Arcy, died a spinster in 1846. John W. Ward, later first Earl of Dudley, who boarded with Dugald Stewart as a pupil, corresponded with her afterwards. She has been described as 'a brilliant, well-educated woman, who acted as critic of all his [Dugald Stewart's] writings' (Kunitz).

Cumming, Henrietta

Anne, Margaret and Elizabeth Lindsay were taught at the family home at Balcarres by a 'decayed gentlewoman' (Harry Graham, p.263), Miss Henrietta Cumming who had formerly earned her living by painting butterflies on gauze. As well as needlework, she taught the girls Italian, French and singing. Miss Cumming carried her career higher up the social scale by marrying Dr. James Fordyce, a Presbyterian preacher and author of *Sermons for Young Women*, thus becoming sister-in-law to one of her charges, Margaret, who married James' brother, Alexander Fordyce, the banker. Henrietta spent much of her time at Balcarres locked in bitter combat with another member of the Lindsay household, Sophia Johnstone.

Dalrymple, Ann (Lady James Steuart)

Daughter of Sir Hew Dalrymple, Lord President of the Court of Session. Married Sir James Steuart, M.P. for Edinburgh, merchant and banker, known to his contemporaries as 'Provost Steuart'. Niece of Janet Dalrymple. Five children: Margaret (married Thomas Calderwood in 1735), Agnes (married Henry David, tenth Earl of Buchan in 1739), Elizabeth Steuart of Coltness, Marianne (Mrs. Murray of Cringletie, mother of Lord Cringletie, Court of Session Judge), and Sir James Steuart (Solicitor-General Coltness, who married Frances Wemyss in 1743) (See Calderwood).

Dalrymple, Christian (of Newhailes)

Diarist of years 1765-1811 (See D. and F. Irwin).

Dalrymple, Grace (1758-1823)

Daughter of Edinburgh advocate, Hew Dalrymple. Married Sir John Elliot (1736-86) in 1771 and he divorced her in 1774. Mistress of Lord Valentia, Lord Chormondley, the Prince of Wales, Philippe Egalité, etc. Died at Ville d'Avray, Sèvres, France. Kept a journal of the French Revolution (See DNB).

Dalrymple, Janet

Daughter of first Viscount Stair. Great-aunt of Margaret Calderwood. Model for heroine of Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* (See Calderwood).

Davies (née Drummond), Lady Lucy Clementina (1795-1879)

Authoress. Born in France. Daughter of Lord Leon Drummond de Melfort. Her brother, George Drummond, became Duke of Perth in 1848. Partly educated in Scotland under Miss Playfair (sister of Professor Playfair). Married Francis Henry Davies, registrar of the Court of Chancery, in London in 1823 (See DNB).

Davy (née Kerr), Lady Jane (Mrs. Apreece) (1780-1855)

Only daughter and heiress of Charles Kerr of Kelso. She married Shuckburgh Ashby Apreece who died in 1807. She retired to Edinburgh where she held a salon. Knew Mme. de Stael and was reputed to be the model for 'Corinne'. Married Sir Humphrey Davy in 1812, with whom she was allegedly bad-tempered (died 1829). Friend of Mary Somerville and shared her interest in mathematics (See Martha Somerville, p.252).

Dick (née Mackenzie), Lady Anne

Daughter of Lord Royston and granddaughter of the Earl of Cromarty. Used to dress herself and her maid in male attire and walk around Edinburgh looking for adventure. Often ended the night in the company of drunken aristocrats in the Old Guard House in the High Street. Married Sir William Dick of Prestonfield (See Harry Graham).

Douglas, Jane (d.1789)

Cousin of Adam Smith. Lived with him and his mother in Kirkcaldy and afterwards in Edinburgh. Smith's mother died in 1784 aged ninety and Jane continued to act as housekeeper until her death five years later (See DNB entry for Adam Smith).

Douglas, Lady Jane (1698-1753)

Only daughter of James, Marquis of Douglas, and Lady Mary Keir, her childhood was spent at Merchiston Castle. After her mother's death in 1736 she lived at Drumsheugh House. Secretly married to Colonel John Stewart of Grandtully in 1746, by whom she had twin sons in Paris. These circumstances led to a dispute over an inheritance. She and her children returned to Edinburgh in 1752. One of them, Sholto, predeceased her. The other, Archibald, survived her (See Harry Graham).

Drummond, Lady

Wife of Henry Home, Lord Kames, Judge of Court of Session. A wealthy woman in her own right, it was her money that bought their estate at Blairdrummond near Stirling (See Lehmann).

Drysdale, Miss

Ran boarding school in Edinburgh in 1798 (See Marshall, p.213).

Dumfries (Countess of), Margaret

Managed her husband's estate. Correspondent of Henry Home, Lord Kames (See her letters).

Duncan, Miss

Ran boarding school for young ladies in Picardy Place, Edinburgh in 1824 (See Marshall, p.237).

Dussek, Sophia (1775-1830)

Musician. Daughter of Domenico Corri. Born in Edinburgh. Married a pianist, Dussek, and under his tuition

became an accomplished pianist and harpist. playing in Ireland and Scotland. But in 1880 Dussek fled his creditors and deserted her. She retired from public life and took to teaching. After Dussek's death in 1812, she married a viola player, John Alvis Moralt, and lived at No.8 Winchester Road, Paddington. There she established an academy for teaching the piano. During her lifetime she wrote a great deal of music. Her daughter, Olivia Buckley (1799-1847), was also a musician (See DNB).

Easton, Esther

Mentioned by Robert Burns in his tour of the Borders A private teacher and fortune teller, she lived in a cottage with a beautiful garden on the outskirts of Jedburgh. She wrote not very good verse but could repeat Pope's *Homer* from first to last. She studied Euclid by herself (See Glaister).

Eglinton (Countess of)(nee Kennedy), Susannah (d.1780)

Daughter of Sir Archibald Kennedy of Culzean, granddaughter of the first Lord Newark. Having spurned the advances of Sir John Clerk of Pennycuik, she married the elderly Lord Eglinton, ninth Earl. She was his third wife and bore him seven daughters and three sons, to whose education she devoted herself after his death (she was aged forty). The family lived at Auchans, the family seat, and in the High Street, Edinburgh, where her daughters, the 'Montgomerie girls' were celebrated belles. One, Lady Margaret, wife of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Skye, assisted Flora Macdonald in helping Bonnie Prince Charlie to escape. Susannah, also a Jacobite, was a patroness of the arts who avoided Whig poets. Samuel Johnson, who visited her at Auchans in 1773, praised her. Daughters, Christie and Peggy, were sent to boarding school in England (See Harry Graham).

Elliot of Minto, Lady Jean (1727-1805)

Lyricist. Writer of second version of 'The Flowers of the Forest'. Daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto House, Teviotdale. Lived in Edinburgh, 1756-1804. Her eldest brother was Sir Gilbert Elliot (1722-1777), himself a songwriter. John, the third brother, was a distinguished admiral. Sir Gilbert Elliot's eldest son became the first Earl of Minto. Mary Somerville was a friend of the family (See Dyce).

Elphinstone, Margaret Mercer (1788-1867)

Other titles include: Countess de Flahault, Viscountess Keith and Baroness Nairne. Only child of George Keith Elphinstone, Viscount Keith, Admiral, by his first wife, Jane. After mother's death in 1789, she succeeded to Barony of Nairne. Confidante of Princess Charlotte of Wales. In 1817 she married Comte de Flahault, aide-de-camp to Napoleon Bonaparte. Two daughters, Dowager Marchioness of Landsdowne and Mlle. de Flahault (unmarried). Stepdaughter of Hester Maria Elphinstone nee Thrale, Viscount Keith's second wife (See DNB).

Ferrier, Susan Edmonstone (1782-1854)

Writer of didactic novels. Youngest of ten children born to James Ferrier, law agent and close friend of the fifth Duke of Argyll, and Helen Coutts. Susan attended James Stalker's Academy at No.13 George Street, where Henry Brougham was also a pupil. She accompanied her father on visits to Duke of Argyll at Inverary and Rosneath and became a close friend of Charlotte Clavering, the Duke's niece. Together, Susan Ferrier and Charlotte Clavering developed the idea of her first novel, *Marriage*, which, though written in 1810, was not published until 1818. It attracted a wide readership because of Susan's depiction of real people such as: Mrs. Seymour Damer (sculptress and cousin of Charlotte Clavering); Lady Frederick Campbell (widow of Lord Ferrers, hanged in 1760); Mrs. Davidson (sister of Lord Braxfield); the Misses Edmonstone (neighbours of the Ferriers); and Lady Mary Clerk (a well-known Edinburgh character). The character, Uncle Adam, was widely supposed to be a portrayal of her father. Susan followed it up with two more novels: *Inheritance* (1824) and *Destiny* (1831). Admirers of her work included: Joanna Baillie, Sydney Smith, Macaulay, Sir James Mackintosh, John Leyden, Curran, John Wilson, Mrs. Piozzi, Anne Grant and Elizabeth Hamilton (See DNB).

Fleming, Margaret (Marjorie) (1803-1811)

Born and brought up in Kirkcaldy. From the age of six she kept a diary and wrote verse. Her father knew Scott and other Scottish literati. Scott referred to her as his 'Pet Marjorie'. Her work was published after her death, from measles, as 'The Complete Marjorie Fleming'. Described as 'Probably the youngest writer ever to have won a lasting reputation' (Kunitz, p.25).

Fletcher (nee Dawson), Eliza (1770-1858)

Born and brought up in Tadcaster, Yorkshire. Married Archibald Fletcher, Edinburgh advocate and reformer, in 1791. Thereafter resided in Edinburgh, where she entertained a broad circle of literary notables including Susan Ferrier, Wordsworth, Thomas Arnold, Anne Grant, Elizabeth Hamilton and Mrs. Barbauld. Her daughter, Mary, married Sir John Richardson, Scottish naturalist and Arctic explorer. Her son, Miles, married Charlotte Clavering, granddaughter of the Duke of Argyll and friend of Susan Ferrier (See DNB).

Fletcher, Mary (Lady Richardson) (b.1802)

Daughter of Eliza and Archibald Fletcher. Married Sir John Richardson (1787-1865), Scottish naturalist and Arctic explorer. She was his third wife. Her sister-in-law, Charlotte Clavering, was a close friend of Susan Ferrier and an old friend of the Fletcher family. In later years, when Susan Ferrier's sight was failing, Lady Mary used to read to her in Walter Ferrier's house at No.38 Albany Street, Edinburgh. The Richardson family was also acquainted with Joanna Baillie and visited her in London (See Autobiography of Mrs. Fletcher).

Forbes, Anne (1745-1834)

Painter. Granddaughter of William Aikman, celebrated Scottish portrait painter. She studied painting in Rome before moving to London with her sister to launch her painting career. However, her career was cut short when her patrons learnt that she was in London for business rather than social reasons and she was ignored and lost commissions. She moved back to Edinburgh, established herself as a drawing teacher and undertook occasional commissions (See D. and F. Irwin).

Forbes, Luckie

Described as 'A poor woman of unusual intelligence' (See DNB entry for Jane Porter). Luckie Forbes is said to have been the source of the tales of William Wallace, the Scottish patriot, told to Jane Porter upon which she based her second novel, *The Scottish Chiefs*. She lived close to the Porter family in Edinburgh.

Fordyce (née Lindsay), Lady Margaret

Sister of Lady Anne Barnard and Lady Elizabeth Hardwicke. Married the banker, Alexander Fordyce, brother of David, James and William Fordyce of Aberdeen. He was involved in a financial scandal from which his brothers tried to rescue him. Lady Margaret had a reputation as a beauty (Sheridan wrote about her). She married twice, the second time to Sir James Bland Burges. Their house became a literary centre, frequented by such notables as the Prince of Wales, Burke, Sheridan, Windham and Dundas (See DNB entry for Alexander Fordyce).

Gillies, Margaret (1803-1887)

Miniaturist and watercolourist. Second daughter of William Gillies, a Scottish merchant resident in London. After her mother's death she was placed in the care of Adam Gillies, Judge of the Court of Session, together with Mary her sister, in Edinburgh. Mary later became an authoress and was the friend of Scott, Erskine and Jeffrey. Before Margaret was twenty she returned to London, where she studied painting with Frederick Cruikshank, before moving to Paris to further her studies (See DNB).

Glenorchy (née Maxwell), Viscountess Willielma (1741-1786)

Younger daughter of William Maxwell and Elizabeth Hainstanes. After her father's death in 1741, she lived in the house of her stepfather, Lord Alva. In 1761 she married John, Lord Viscount Glenorchy, eldest son of the third Earl of Breadalbane and became very religious, under the influence of Sir Rowland Hill's family. She was widowed in 1771, without children, and she built a number of chapels on Breadalbane property at Edinburgh, Carlisle, Matlock and Strathfillan. In her will she left a considerable sum to the SPCK for the maintenance of schools (See DNB).

Glover, Jean (1758-1801)

Ayrshire poetess, born in Kilmarnock. Daughter of a handloom weaver. Married the leader of a band of strolling players, Richard Glover, and had the reputation of being the best singer and actor. Died in Donegal (See Tytler and Watson).

Gordon (Duchess of) (née Brodie), Elizabeth (1794-1864)

Born in London, daughter of Alexander Brodie, younger son of Brodie of Brodie in northern Scotland. Married George Gordon, Marquis of Huntly, fifth Duke of Gordon, in 1813. Lived at Huntly Lodge, Strathbogie. Joined the Free Church after the disruption and was a personal friend of the leaders. Reputedly a very religious woman (See DNB).

Gordon (Duchess of) (née Maxwell), Jane (1749-1812)

Famous beauty painted by Reynolds in 1775. Born in Edinburgh, the second daughter of Sir William Maxwell of Wigtownshire and sister of Eglantine, Lady Wallace. Their girlhood days were spent in Hynford's Close near the Netherbow at the foot of the High Street, where they were often seen riding a neighbour's pig. She married Alexander Gordon in 1767 and had two sons and five daughters. She acquired a great deal of personal power promoting her husband's career and between 1787 and 1801 conducted an influential Tory salon in Pall Mall, London. Described as 'unconventional and determined' (See DNB) she arranged successful marriages for her daughters and became a confidante of Pitt. In 1773 she raised an entire Highland Regiment, kissing every man who enlisted. She was a patron and correspondent of the philosopher, James Beattie, and of Robert Burns (See DNB).

Graham, Miss Clementina Stirling (1782-1877)

Whig writer and translator. Friend of Jeffrey and Cockburn. Lived in Edinburgh and at Duntrune, near Dundee. Awarded Highland Society Medal for her translation of *The Bee Preserver* (1829). Daughter of Patrick Stirling of Pittendreich and Amelia Graham of Duntrune, Forfar. Known for her impersonations described in *Hystifications* (1865).

Graham, Isabella Marshall (1742-1814)

Teacher and early charity worker. Daughter of landowner, John Marshall, whose estate was at Elderslie near Paisley. She attended a boarding school run by Mrs. Betty Morehead. In 1765 she married Dr. John Graham of Paisley, physician to a regiment stationed in Canada. On his death in 1773, she was left without any money and four children to support. She returned to Scotland, opened a girls' boarding school at Paisley and, in 1780, a boarding school in Edinburgh. In 1789 she returned to New York and established another girls' school. When her daughters

married, she retired from teaching and took up philanthropy, becoming the first Directress of the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children. She also ran two Sabbath schools and, in 1810, became a trustee of the Orphan Asylum Society that ran a Lancasterian school. In Edinburgh she founded the Penny Society, a mutual relief sickness fund which developed into the Society of the Destitute Sick (See James).

Graham, Janet (1723-1805)

Poetess born near Lockerbie, Dumfriesshire (See DNB).

Grant of Carron, Elizabeth (1745-1814)

Song-writer. Daughter of Lieutenant Joseph Grant. Born near Aberlour on the River Spey, Banffshire. Married her cousin, Captain James Grant of Carron in 1763 (?). After her husband's death in 1790, she remarried a Dr. Murray and moved to Bath where she died. Known chiefly as the writer of one song, 'Roy's Wife of Aldivalloch' (See Stenhouse).

Grant of Laggan (née Macvicar), Mrs. Anne (1755-1838)

Scottish essayist and poet. Reputed 'blue-stocking'. Daughter of Duncan Macvicar, who obtained an Army Commission and went to America in 1757, where he was joined by his family. In 1768 they returned to Glasgow and five years later moved to Fort Augustus where Duncan Macvicar had been appointed barrack-master. In 1779 Anne married Mr. Grant, the garrison chaplain and minister of Laggan. In 1801 he died leaving her with eight children and no means of financial support. So she turned to writing. The family moved to Stirling in 1803 and to Edinburgh in 1810, where Mrs. Grant supplemented her income from writing by receiving young ladies as boarders and, with the help of various masters, trained them in the 'accomplishments'. She was a friend of Lockhart, Mackenzie, Elizabeth Hamilton, Sir William Grant, Charlotte Bury and Bishop Porteus. She also knew Sir Walter Scott (See DNB).

Grant of Rothiemurchus, Elizabeth

One of a number of daughters educated at home while their brothers were educated at Eton and Edinburgh University. Details of her upbringing and education at Rothiemurchus are contained in her *Memoirs*, which describe lessons and books used, as well as details of a governess's

life. Later, when the family moved to Edinburgh, the sisters were taught by a succession of tutors who, at one time, numbered seven. For a time, Elizabeth's father taught her mathematics, which was unusual. With the family at Rothiemurchus lived a girl named Anne Grant, who may possibly have been her (illegitimate) half-sister. The Lady Logie, a neighbor, sent Anne to school in Forres for a 'good plain education and music' as she was unable to attend the local Parish school at Coylam since it was restricted to boys. The local minister doubled as schoolmaster. Elizabeth's summing up of her education was that it was sporadic and unorganized (See DNB).

Gregory, Dorothea (Mrs. Alison) (d.1830)

Daughter of John Gregory (1724-73), author of *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters*. Friend of Fanny Burney. In 1781 she lived in London with Mrs. Montagu. In 1784 she married Rev. Archibald Alison and was the mother of Sir Archibald Alison. Friend of Elizabeth Hamilton (See DNB entry for Archibald Alison).

Hall, Mrs. Agnes C. (1777-1846)

Miscellaneous writer. Born Roxburghshire. Wife of Robert Hall, M.D. Contributor on literary and scientific topics to Gregory's, Nicolson's and Rees's *Cyclopaedias*, Aikin's *Old Monthly*, Knight's *Printing Machine* and annotator of Helm's *Buenos Ayres* (1806) (See DNB).

Elizabeth Hamilton (1756-1816)

Educational and didactic writer. She was born in Belfast to a Scottish father and an Irish mother, the youngest of three children. The eldest was Katherine and in between there was a brother, Charles, who in 1772 went as a cadet in the East India Company to Bengal and later became a well-known Orientalist. Their father died in 1759 and, unable to care for all of her children, Mrs. Hamilton sent Elizabeth to her sister and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. Marshall, who lived four miles outside Stirling. It appears that Katherine and Charles stayed in Belfast with Mrs. Hamilton under the care of her eldest brother, the Rev. Mr. Mackay, who continued to look after them after her death in 1767. When Elizabeth was eight, she was sent to board in Stirling during the week so that she could attend schools there - one was run by Daniel Manson. In 1772 the Marshalls and Elizabeth moved to another house on the other side of Stirling called 'Ingram's Crook'. After her aunt's death

she stayed there to look after her uncle but when he died in 1788 she spent the following two years in London living with her brother who had been sent home to work on a book on Hindu customs, *The Hedaya*. Charles Hamilton died suddenly in 1792 and from then on she and her sister, now Mrs. Blake (but either separated or widowed since Mr. Blake is never referred to in writings about her), lived together - first at Bath (1800-1804) and then at Edinburgh, where Elizabeth enjoyed a literary reputation. She was a close friend of Dugald Stewart, Henry Mackenzie, Thomas Somerville, Joanna Baillie, Anne Grant, Eliza Fletcher, et. al. (See DNB).

Hamilton (née Erskine), Lady Belle (Isabella)

Friend of Janet Schaw. Daughter of the tenth Earl of Buchan and sister of David Stuart, Lord Erskine, later the eleventh Earl, patron of the arts, letters and antiquities. Her other brothers were Henry, Lord Advocate, and Thomas, Lord Chancellor. She married in 1770 William Leslie Hamilton, a planter and attorney of St. Christopher, West Indies. Because of the American War they returned to England - she in 1779 and he in 1780 (only to die four days later). She married again in 1785, the Right Hon. and Rev. John, last Earl of Boulogne in 1824.

Hamilton, Lady Mary (1739-1816)

Novelist. Born in Edinburgh, the youngest daughter of Alexander Leslie, fifth earl of Leven and Melville, by his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of David Monypenny. Married first Dr. James Walter of Innerdovat in 1762 and second Robert Hamilton of Jamaica. They settled in France just before the Revolution (See DNB).

Hawkins, Susanna (1787-1868)

Scottish poetess, daughter of a blacksmith near Ecclefechan. She had a meagre education (a herd and a domestic servant) but gained some knowledge and became an author in middle-age. The proprietor of *The Dumfries Courier* published her poems free and she wandered the Borders selling them, even venturing into England. Sir F.W. Johnstone gave her ground for a cottage at Relief, near her brother at Ecclefechan, where she died (See DNB).

Hunter (née Hume), Anne (1742-1821)

Writer and poet. Granddaughter of Robert Home of Greenlaw, Berwickshire, Army surgeon. Wife of Dr. John Hunter, uncle of Joanna Baillie. Member of London literary scene to which she introduced the Baillies. Contributed a poem to Joanna Baillie's *Collection of Poems*. Published a volume of poems, several of which were set to music (for example to Haydn). She wrote a third set of verses to 'The Flowers of the Forest' (Stenhouse, p.66).

Inglis (née Murray), Mrs. Margaret Maxwell (1774-1843)

Scottish poetess, born Sanquhar, Dumfriesshire. Daughter of Dr. Alexander Murray. When young, she married a Mr. Finlay, a naval man, who died in the West Indies soon afterwards. In 1803 she married John Inglis, son of a minister of Kirkmabreck in East Galloway and an excise officer. He died in 1826 leaving a small annuity for her and her children. She studied hard and wrote much to support them (See DNB).

Johnstone, Christian

Novelist. Wrote articles for her husband's journal-
for which he took most of the credit (See DNB).

Johnstone, Sophia (Sophy)

Her father, the Laird of Hilton, brought her up according to Rousseau's ideas. Lady Anne Barnard, a particular friend of Sophia, wrote that this meant that he gave her no education whatsoever (Calderwood, p.137) and Cockburn endorsed this. It was not until she was an adult that she taught herself to read and write but then she read voraciously. Cockburn liked her: 'Her talk was intelligent and racy; all her opinions free, and freely expressed' (Memorials, pp.60-61). For thirteen years Sophia lived with the Lindsays at Balcarres, where she turned her bedroom into a smithy, carried out carpentry and wrestled with the stable boys. She played the fiddle well and sang in a man's voice. According to Alexander Fergusson, Mrs. Calderwood's editor, many people thought she was a man and even her friend, Anne Barnard, commented that 'Nature seemed to have in jest hesitated to the last whether to make her a boy or a girl'. Despite this ambivalence and her habit of wearing men's clothes constantly, Sophy Johnstone was regarded with affection by the Lindsays and by Edinburgh society in general (See DNB).

Kennedy, Grace (1782-1824)

Writer of Victorian fiction - novels of faith and doubt. Daughter of Robert Kennedy, Penmore, County of Ayr. She moved in infancy to Edinburgh where she lived the rest of her life. Her authorship was only acknowledged after her death. Was very interested in the education of children (See DNB).

Lockhart (née Lady Montgomerie), Euphemia

Daughter of the ninth Earl of Eglinton by his first wife. Married 'Union' Lockhart (Jacobite). Dressed as a man, she visited the taverns and coffee houses of Edinburgh obtaining political information for her husband (See Harry Graham).

Lumisden, Isabella (later Mrs. Robert Strange) (1719-1806)

Granddaughter of 'a pious and persecuted Scotch Bishop' (Ellis, ii, p.27). Daughter of William Lumisden, who refused the oaths and was 'out' in 1715. Sister of Andrew Lumisden, lawyer and secretary at one time to the Old Chevalier. He was also a friend of Robert Strange, whom Isabella married. Before she would agree to marry him, Isabella, an ardent Jacobite, insisted that he fight for Prince Charles. Consequently they had to live abroad for most of the time after the Rebellion. Robert Strange (1721-1792) was a Scottish engraver. Ellis suggests that it was his support for the Prince that stopped his election to the Royal Academy. Their oldest son, James, was godson of the Old Chevalier. Other children were: Mary Bruce Strange (died 1784); Isabella Katharine Strange (1759-1849) who never married; Andrew, second son, later Sir Thomas Andrew Strange, was successively Chief-Justice of Nova Scotia and of Madras and author of the work *Elements of Hindu Law*. He died 1841 aged eighty-five (See Dennistoun).

Lyon, Mrs. Agnes (1762-1840)

Scottish poetess. The eldest daughter of John Ramsay L'Amy of Dunkenny, Forfarshire. Born in Dundee. Married Rev. Dr. James Lyon of Glamis (See DNB).

MacDonald, Miss

In partnership with Miss Drummond, ran boarding school in Glasgow attended by Joanna Baillie (Murray, p.177).

MacDonald, Flora (1722-1790)

Scottish Jacobite heroine. Aided Prince Charles to escape after Culloden (1746). In 1750 she married Allan MacDonald. Resident in North Carolina (1774-79) before returning to settle in Scotland (See Graham).

Maclehose (née Craig), Agnes (1759-1841)

Cousin of Lord Craig and grandniece of Colin Maclaurin. Met Burns in 1787 and corresponded with him under the pseudonym of 'Clarinda', sending him verses until 1794. Their last meeting in 1791 was celebrated by Burns in his 'Ae fond kiss and then we sever' (See Stenhouse).

Macpherson of Skye, Mary (Mairi Mhor nan Oran)

Most popular poet of the Clearances (See Daiches, Companion).

Macpherson, Miss B.

Sister of James Macpherson, poet of 'Ossian'. Proprietrix of school in Edinburgh (1789-1805) (See Letters).

Maxwell, Lady Darcy (1742-1810)

Of Pollock. Methodist (See Diary).

Millar (née Cullen), Mrs. Robina Craig

Daughter of William Cullen. Married eldest son of Professor John and Mrs. Margaret Millar, also called John. Sister-in-law of Professor James Mylne. Her husband was a strong Whig and went to America as a political refugee in 1794 with her. He died of sunstroke in 1795 and she returned to live at Whitburn, near Glasgow, where Frances and Camilla Wright joined her in 1816. It was she who encouraged the sisters to go to America in 1818. When they returned in 1820, she and her sister were living in Allonby on the Cumberland coast. Frances and Camilla lived with her again for a while (See DNB entry for John Millar).

Monroe, Mrs.

Scottish midwife - emigrated to Charleston, South Carolina in 1796. Claimed to have diploma from Edinburgh University and to have studied for six years (See Dexter).

Mure (of Caldwell), Elizabeth

Eighteenth-century Scottish letter-writer (See Mure).

Murray, Lady Elliot

Eighteenth-century Scottish letter-writer. Quoted by Alexander Fergusson in his Preface to Mrs. Calderwood's *Letters and Journal*. Disapproval for Edinburgh 'misses' (p.xxvi). To explain her disapproval, Fergusson writes that her education had depended on nature, a few standard books, 'much laborious needlework and silent communing with her own thoughts'. Thus she had come to adopt 'a stand-point higher than that of the city-folks'.

Murray, Miss 'Nicky' (d.1777)

'Woman of fashion' (Harry Graham, p.xi). Directress of Edinburgh Assemblies. Daughter of Lord Stormonth. Ardent Jacobite.

Nairne (née Oliphant), Carolina Baroness (1766-1845)

Scottish ballad writer. Daughter of Lawrence Oliphant. As a girl, she was known as 'pretty Miss Car' and 'the Flower of Strathearn'. Her husband, Major William Murray Nairne (a cousin), was stationed in Edinburgh. Her sister was Mrs. Keith. She wrote under the pseudonym 'Mrs. Bogan of Bogan' and neither her husband nor her editors knew her true identity. After her husband's death, Baroness Nairne settled in 1829 with relatives at Clifton, Bristol. On a trip abroad her only child, William Murray, died at Brussels in 1837. She wrote about ninety songs, knew Latin and Greek, and was considered very erudite. She revised some songs that she considered discriminatory against women (keeping women at home and in bed) and anti-Jacobite. An early feminist and Jacobite, she was restrained by her position as the wife of an officer in the army of George IV. She considered it a disgrace for a woman 'to have ink on her thumb when her hand was kissed' (p.119, Agress; C.J. Hamilton, 1971 edition, p.137). Maurice Lindsay wrote of her that she was 'after Burns, by far Scotland's most

enduring popular song-writer' (Daiches, p.266). After the death of her husband she travelled widely on the Continent.

Nasmyth, Anne Gibson (Mrs. Bennet) (b.1798)

Painter in oils and water-colourist. Fond of Highland scenery and storm scenes. Sixth child and fifth daughter of the painter, Alexander Nasmyth. With her sisters she helped her father in the instruction of his art classes in York Place, Edinburgh. She was described as being 'as good a craftsman as either [her father, Alexander, and her brother, James] and a truer artist than either' (Grant). Between 1829 and 1838 she exhibited sixteen paintings in the London galleries. In 1834 she married William Bennett, a Manchester engineer. They honeymooned in Italy, where she painted. She continued to paint until late in life (See Rosalind Sydie; M.H. Grant; and Money).

Nasmyth, Barbara (1790-1870)

Painter in oils and water-colourist. Exhibited in London until just before her death (See Money).

Nasmyth, Charlotte (1804-1884)

Painter in oils and water-colourist. Painted in England a great deal. Andrew Geddes (1783-1844) painted her portrait (See D. and F. Irwin and Money).

Nasmyth, Elizabeth (Mrs. Terry, Mrs. Richardson) (b.1793)

Painter in oils and water-colourist. Exhibited under the name of Mrs. Terry at the British Institution, 1816-1829 (See Money).

Nasmyth, Jane (1788-1867)

Painter in oils and water-colourist. Eldest of six daughters of the painter, Alexander Nasmyth. Called 'Old Solid' by her family. She looked after them while her mother was otherwise occupied. All of Alexander Nasmyth's later paintings were 'painted' by her with some of her father's painting 'on top'. Jane accompanied her father on painting tours of the Highlands and elsewhere. Alexander consulted her on business and finance (Johnson and Money, p.46). According to Francina Irwin she was the most prolific exhibitor of the Nasmyth girls. Her style was

similar to her father's and many of her paintings have been attributed to him (Johnson and Money, p.47). She stayed at home in Edinburgh until her father's death in 1840 when, together with her sisters Barbara and Charlotte, she moved to Manchester with their mother. There they stayed for about ten years. After Mrs. Nasmyth's death they moved to London where, between 1826 and 1866, she exhibited widely. She continued to paint until her death. Jane was referred to by Jessie Allan as 'a fine girl but rather backward' (W. Park). According to Jessie, her father, Alexander, was pleased when the Allans' asked Jane out - presumably because she had small opportunity for amusement between her domestic and painting duties.

Nasmyth, Margaret (1791-1869)

Painter in oils and water-colourist. Specialised in loch scenes. Frequently painted the West Coast of Scotland. In 1836 she went to Lancashire to keep house for her brother, James (See Money).

Neilson, Miss

Kept one of the three girls' boarding schools at Inveresk (See Marshall, p.243-4).

Pagan, Isobel (1742-1821)

Poetess. Native of New Cumnock, Ayrshire. A cripple, she lived mostly near Muirkirk, in a hut, where she sold spirits. Her hut was built on Lord Dundonald's land and was popular with both the local peasants and the local gentry. Her songs satirised those who laughed at her deformity. She dictated verses to a friend and a book of her songs, *Ca'the Yowes to the Knowes*, was published in 1803. Deserted by her parents as a child, she was brought up by 'a good religious wife who lived a quiet, sober life' (Graham, pp.226-7). Although she couldn't write, she learnt to read the Bible and knew much of it by heart. Her gravestone is in Muirkirk Churchyard (See DNB).

Paton, Mary Ann (Mrs. Woods) (1802-1864).

Singer. Eldest daughter of George Paton, a writing master in Edinburgh. Mother a Miss Crawford of Cameron Bank, grandmother of Ann Nichol, a violinist. Family settled in London (1811-1822). Joined Haymarket Company. Married Lord William Pitt Lennox in 1824 and

divorced him in the Scottish courts seven years later in 1831. In the same year she married Joseph Woods, a tenor singer. Her sisters, Isabella and Eliza, were also singers (See DNB).

Pirie, Jane (b.1784)

Daughter of an Edinburgh religious writer, she became governess to the family of General Dirom. In 1802 she met Marianne Woods in the art class of Mr. Dallaway and seven years later they opened a small girls' boarding school in Edinburgh. After rumours circulated of a lesbian affair between them most of their pupils were withdrawn and they sued Dame Helen Cumming (the grandmother of an ex-pupil) for slander. They lost the first hearing of their case, held in the Court of Session in 1811, but on appeal the case was referred to the House of Lords which, in 1812, upheld that they had been slandered and awarded them damages. Nonetheless, their reputations were ruined and, although Jane subsequently sought teaching positions, she was unable to find employment (See Faderman).

Read, Catherine (d.1777)

Catherine Read, the daughter of a Scottish laird, was regarded as almost the equal of many male portraitists of her time and was referred to as the 'English Rosalba'. Her father, a Jacobite, had been forced into exile in Paris after the '45. This was fortunate for Catherine's career as she was able to study painting in the studio of Quentin de la Tour. Later, in 1751, she went to Rome to study oil painting with Louis Blanchet. Back in England she became a celebrated portrait painter, exhibiting frequently and competing on an equal basis with Allan Ramsay, Francis Cotes and Joshua Reynolds. Germaine Greer claims that at the end of the 1760s she was 'the best-known portraitist in England' (Greer, p.278). Her niece, Helena 'Nelly' Beatson, daughter of the Fife agriculturist, Robert Beatson, was taught drawing by Catherine and in 1775 they travelled to India together. There Helena met and married Sir Charles Oakley, Governor of Madras. In the year of her niece's marriage, 1777, Catherine died there.

Rutherford, Elizabeth (Mrs. Scott of Wauchope) (1729-1789)

Poetess and linguist, proficient in Latin, French and belles lettres. Born in Edinburgh, the daughter of David Rutherford of Capehope, advocate. Niece of Alison Cockburn.

Rutherford, Fanny (Frances)

Daughter of a Scotsman, John Rutherford. Her mother, Frances, had been the widow of Governor Gabriel Johnston of North Carolina before marrying Rutherford in 1754, and Fanny and her two younger brothers, John and William Gordon, were all born there. When their mother died in 1768, their father sent them back to Scotland to be educated under the care of his partner and friend, Alexander Duncan. The children were aged ten, five and two years, and they were looked after in Edinburgh by Janet Schaw (see below) and other relatives. They remained in Edinburgh until 1774, when their father sent for them. During this time Fanny attended a boarding school (probably in Edinburgh). Under the chaperonage of Janet Schaw the children made the voyage to North Carolina - only to be forced to return to Scotland with Janet by the American Revolution. They arrived back in Scotland in February 1776. The boys, now aged thirteen and ten years, were sent to an English boarding school. Fanny was married only five months afterwards to Archibald Menzies of Culdairs, a commissioner of the customs of Scotland. They had a daughter, Elizabeth McKenzie Menzies, before Archibald died in October 1777. Ten years later, in 1787, Fanny was married for the second time, to Alexander Schaw, a storekeeper at Plymouth and brother of Janet. In 1801 they moved to a similar position at Dublin. Alexander retired in 1803 and returned to Scotland some time before 1810, settling at Inveresk. They had at least one more child and possibly more. In his will Alexander refers to John Sauchie Schaw, an artillery lieutenant in Dublin in 1819 (the husband of Catherine Louisa Sirr of Dublin Castle, daughter of the Rev. Joseph Darcy Sirr) as 'my son and only surviving child'. It appears from his will that by the time of his death in 1818, Fanny had already died (See Schaw).

Schaw, Janet

Born in Lauriston on the outskirts of Edinburgh. Related to the Rutherford family, she was a distant cousin of Sir Walter Scott. Her father died in 1772, thus freeing her to travel. On the 25th October 1774 she set sail from the Firth of Forth in an emigrant ship, the 'Jamaica Packet', for the West Indies and North Carolina. She was possibly thirty-five to forty years old at the time. With her were her brother, Alexander, who was about thirty years old, and their relations, the three Rutherford children - Fanny, who was eighteen or nineteen years old, and her brothers, John and William Gordon, aged about eleven and nine years respectively. During the stormy, seven-week voyage to Antigua, Janet recorded their experiences in the

letters she wrote in her journal for a friend who remained behind in Scotland and she continued her commentary on colonial life until her return via Portugal in the Winter of 1775-76. On her return to Edinburgh, she took up residence in the New Town (See Introduction to her Journal by Evangeline and Charles Andrews).

Scott (née Douglas), Lady Caroline Lucy (1784-1857)

Novelist. Second daughter of Archibald, first Baron Douglas, and Frances, sister of Henry, third Duke of Buccleuch. Married in 1810 Admiral Sir George Scott (d.1841). Relative of Charlotte Bury (See DNB).

Somerville (née Fairfax), Mary (1780-1872)

Writer on science, mathematician and astronomer. She gave her name to Somerville College, Oxford. Daughter of Vice-Admiral Sir William George Fairfax. She was born at the manse of Jedburgh, the house of her uncle and aunt and future parents-in-law, Thomas and Martha Somerville. She was brought up in Burntisland and attended a fashionable school in Musselburgh for a short time. Her first marriage, to Captain Samuel Greig, Russia's minister to London, ended with his death in 1807. Five years later, in 1812, she married her cousin, Dr. William Somerville, an army doctor, and they lived in Edinburgh where she was encouraged in her work by her husband and many of the Edinburgh literati. In 1816 they moved to London where Mary became friends with Ada Lovelace, Macaulay, Rogers, Moore, Maria Edgeworth and Sir James Mackintosh. In 1835, she and Caroline Herschel were the first women to be elected to the Royal Astronomical Society. She also became an honorary member of the Whittington Club (f.1846). The last forty years of her life were spent in Italy. In 1869 she was awarded the Victoria Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society (See DNB).

Strange, Mary Bruce (1749-1784)

Second child of Isabella and Robert Strange. Inherited some of her father's artistic talents and (according to Dennistoun) her father encouraged her and sent her to the best masters in London and Paris. However, other sources claim that he opposed her artistic interests. In 1764-65 she competed for the prize in drawing offered by the Society of Arts in London - though she disliked the idea of her works being on public exhibition. After her early death at thirty-five her family discovered many poems and prose

compositions that she had written secretly (See Dennistoun, vol.ii, p.199).

Stuart, Lady Louisa (1757-1851)

The granddaughter of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and one of eleven children of John, Earl of Bute, Prime Minister to George III. One of eleven children, she inherited her grandmother's gift of writing - letters, journals and poetry. A close friend and critic of Sir Walter Scott, she knew most of the famous men of her time. Believing that one should only marry for love, Louisa never married. Inhibitions were placed on her writing (See Graham, p.311) and she wished to remain anonymous. Most of her work is today in private collections.

Waldie, Charlotte Ann (Mrs. Eaton) (1788-1859)

Historical writer. Second daughter of George Waldie of Roxburghshire and sister of John Waldie of Hendersyde Park near Newcastle and of the writer, Jane Waldie. In 1815 she visited Brussels with Jane and John and wrote an account of the Battle of Waterloo. Married Mr. Eaton of Stanford, a banker, in 1822 (See DNB).

Waldie, Jane (1791-1826)

Landscape painter and writer. Sister of Charlotte and John Waldie. Married Captain Watts, R.N. in 1823 (See DNB).

Walkinshaw, Clementina (c.1726-1802)

Mistress of Prince Charles Edward Stewart. Youngest of ten daughters of John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield and Camlachie, Glasgow and of Catherine Paterson. She met Prince Charles either at her father's house in Glasgow or at Bannockburn House, seat of her Jacobite uncle, Sir Hugh Paterson, where Charles spent January 1746. She followed him abroad after the '45 and bore him a daughter, Charlotte, who was later legitimised as the Duchess of Albany. She spent the last of his years with Charles and died herself twenty months afterwards in 1789 (See Dennistoun).

Wallace (nee Maxwell), Lady Eglantine (d.1803)

Authoress. Youngest daughter of Sir William Maxwell of Monreith, Wigtonshire (d.1771) and sister of Jane, Duchess of Gordon. Described as 'A boisterous hoyden in her youth, and a woman of violent temper in her mature years' (DNB). C.1770 she married Thomas Dunlop, whose mother, Frances Anna, was the daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Wallace (1702-1770) of Craigie, the last of his line. Thomas inherited the title and took the name of Wallace on his grandfather's death but had to sell the property in 1783. Shortly afterwards his wife obtained a legal separation on the grounds of alleged cruelty (the DNB hints that the dispute was over money). Eglantine left Edinburgh for London after appearing before the magistrates for assault of a woman companion. But she left London too in disgust after her play, *The Whim* (1795) had been banned from the stage by the licenser (censor). In 1789 she was arrested in Paris as an English spy and only just avoided execution. She left two sons, the eldest, General Sir John Wallace.

Woods, Marianne (b.1783)

Daughter of an English-born clerk. From the age of fifteen she lived with her uncle, William Woods, and his wife, Ann Quelch Woods, who trained her in elocution, rhetoric and literature so that she could earn her own living as a teacher. For a few months Marianne was a governess - possibly with the family of Professor Dalzell (See Faderman, p.199). On her uncle's retirement from the stage, she helped him to give lessons in elocution. Wood died at the end of 1802 and Marianne took up a post as assistant mistress at Camden House Academy, London. After only a year she returned to Edinburgh to live with her aunt. In 1802 she met Jane Pirie. In 1809 they opened Miss Pirie's and Miss Woods' School for Young Ladies in Edinburgh. After a celebrated court case (see Jane Pirie above) she and Mrs. Woods went to London, where Marianne was given a part-time post, teaching literature at her old school, Camden House Academy (See Faderman).

Wright, Camilla (b.1796)

Sister of Frances Wright (see below). Daughter of James Wright, a wealthy Dundee merchant and radical who helped publicise Paine's *Rights of Man*. Orphaned as a child, she stayed in Dundee for some years before joining her sister, Frances (see below), in England under the charge of General Campbell. In 1816 both sisters went to live in Scotland. The sisters' great-uncle, Professor James

Mylne, and great-aunt, Mrs. Robina Millar, were fonder of Camilla than of Frances and thought she was 'coerced by the more independent and masculine character of Frances' (Waterman, p.29). In 1818 she and Frances went to America. There they set up their own experimental settlement, Nashoba. In 1827 she was left behind at Nashoba, 'the only white woman' (Van Wyck Brooks), when Frances went to France and England. A sick woman, she was unable to hold the community together. She married Richardson Whitby, but after the failure of Nashoba went to live in New York with her sister in 1829 taking her baby with her. She never saw Whitby again (Van Wyck Brooks) and died in Paris c.1930, where she had gone with Frances and Frances' husband, D'Arusmont.

Wright, Frances (1795-1852)

Political and social radical. Sister of Camilla Wright (see above). Orphaned when only two, she was separated from Camilla and her brother, Richard, and sent to English relatives. She rebelled against the education thought suitable for a young lady and cut her hair in emulation of Lord Byron. When she was sixteen she became fascinated by America after reading Botta's *History of the American Revolution*. Two years later she and Camilla ran away and went to live with their great-uncle, James Mylne, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University. Frances was allowed free range of the University Library, where she avidly read about America. She met many of the later Scottish Enlightenment philosophers, for example, Dugald Stewart, who were friends of her great-uncle. In 1818 Frances and Camilla toured America and Frances published her good opinion in *Views of Society & Manners in America* (1821). In 1824 the sisters returned to America and established a commune, called Nashoba, for the resettlement of freed slaves. In 1827 Frances left for England (where she encouraged the Trollope family to emigrate). Camilla was unable to cope without her sister and Nashoba collapsed among scandalous rumour. Frances, Camilla, Robert Dale Owen (the son of Robert Owen whose settlement of New Harmony was near Nashoba) and Phikepal D'Arusmont, a former member of both communes, went to New York. Despite her proclaimed views against marriage, Frances, when she discovered she was pregnant by D'Arusmont, married him in 1831. They later divorced. Frances lectured all over America on abolition of slavery, women's education and reform of property laws and was an initiator of the American Labour Movement. Frances has been described as 'one of the earliest campaigners for human rights in America' (Raven and Weir, p.91) and as an 'American socialist, feminist and reformer...the first woman to speak

publicly in America' (*McGraw Hill Encyclopaedia of World Biography*, vol.11, p.44) (See also Lane).

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

Adam, Jean. 'Miscellany Poems, by Mrs. Jane Adams, in Crawfordsdyke', Glasgow: James Duncan, 1734. Published by subscription and dedicated to 'Thomas Crawford of Crawfordsburn Esq.'

Alison, Archibald. *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste*, Edinburgh, 1790.

Appleton, Elizabeth. *Private Education: Or a Plan for the Studies of Young Ladies, with An Address to Parents, Private Governesses and Young Ladies*, London: Henry Colburn, 1813.

Baillie, Joanna. *Fugitive Verses*, 1790 (new series 1840).

Baillie, Joanna. *A Series of Plays: in which it is attempted to delineate the stronger passions of the mind, each passion being the subject of a tragedy and a comedy*, 3 vols., London, 1798-1812. Vol.1 published anon.

Baillie, Joanna. *Miscellaneous Plays*, 1804 (3 new volumes 1836).

Baillie, Joanna. *The Family Legend: a tragedy (in five acts and in verse)*, Edinburgh: Ballantyne, 1810.

Baillie, Joanna. *Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters*, London, 1821.

Baillie, Joanna. *The Martyr: a drama in three acts*, London, 1826.

Baillie, Joanna. *The Bride: a drama in three acts*, London, 1826.

Baillie, Joanna. *A view of the general tenour of the New Testament, regarding the nature and dignity of Jesus Christ: including a collection of the various passages of the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles which refer to that subject*, London, 1831.

Bald, Robert. *A General View of the Coal Trade of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1812.

Bannerman, Anne. *Poems*, 1800.

Bannerman, Anne. *Tales of Superstition and Chivalry*, 1802.

Barnard, Lady Anne. *Auld Robin Gray*, 1771.

Beattie, James. *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth in opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism*, Edinburgh, 1770.

Beattie, James. *Elements of Moral Science*, 1790-1793.

Benger, Elizabeth (Ed.) *Memoirs of the Late Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton with a Selection from her Correspondence and Other Unpublished Writings*, 2 vols., London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1818.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.

Boruwłaski, Count. *Memoirs of Count Boruwłaski: Containing a Sketch of His Travels, With An Account of His Reception at the Different Courts of Europe. Written by Himself*, Durham: Francis Humble & Co., 1820.

British Critic. Review of Anne Hunter's *Poems*. October 1802, IV.

Browning, D.C. *Dictionary of Literary Biography, English and American*, Revised edition. Compiled after John W. Cousin by D.C. Browning. London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1960.

Brunton, Mary. *Self-Control*, 3 vols., 1810. Published anon.

Brunton, Mary. *Discipline*, 3 vols., 1814. Second edition, 3 vols., 1815. (1832 & 1837 editions include Memoir of Life and Writings).

Brunton, Mary. *Emmeline, With some other pieces...To which is prefixed a memoir of her life, including some abstracts from her correspondence [by her husband, Alexander Brunton] [With a portrait]*. Manners & Miller, Edinburgh, 1819.

Buchan, Elspeth. 'The Western Delusion! Or, an account of the Buchanites, who have lately raised an uproar in the West of Scotland, showing how one Mrs. Buchan in the town of Irvine, has deluded a number of people [in and] about that town, and amongst others, she has deluded one Mr. White, a relief minister in that place' (circa 1785). National Library of Scotland manuscript.

Buchanan (Harriett Floa Macdonald). *Diary*, 1817.

Burgess, Mary Anne. *The Progress of the Pilgrim Good Intent*, 1800.

Burney, Fanny (Mme. d'Arblay). *The Early Diary of Frances Burney, 1768-1778*, 2 vols., Annie Raine Ellis (Ed.) London: G. Bell & Sons, 1913.

Bury, Lady Charlotte. *Diary Illustrative of the Times of George IV Interspersed with Original Letters from the Late Queen Caroline & From Various Other Distinguished Persons*, 4 vols., London: Henry Colburn, 1838. Vols. 3 and 4, 1839, John Galt (Ed.) Published anon.

Byron, Lord George Gordon. *Letters & Journals*, Rowland E. Prothero (Ed.) 3 vols., New York, 1901.

Calderwood (of Polton), Mrs. (Margaret Steuart). *Letters between Sir James Steuart, Mrs. Calderwood and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, Sir James Steuart-Denham (Ed.) Greenock: 1818.

Calderwood (of Polton), Mrs. (Margaret Steuart). *Letters and Journals from England, Holland and the Low Countries in 1756*, Alexander Fergusson (Ed.) Edinburgh, 1884.

Campbell, Harriette. *The Only Daughter*, 1839. Reissued G.R. Gleig (Ed.) in 'Railway Library', 1859.

Campbell, Harriette. *The Cardinal Virtues, or Morals and Manners Corrected*, 2 vols., 1841.

Campbell, Harriette. *Katherine Randolph, or Self-Devotion*, 1842.

Carlyle, Jane Welsh. *Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle.*, Thomas Carlyle (Ed.) 2 vols., 1883.

Carlyle, Jane Welsh. *Early Letters of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, David G. Ritchie (Ed.) London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1889.

Chapman, George. *A Treatise on Education*, London, 1773.

Cleland, James. *Annals of Glasgow comprising an Account of the Public Buildings, Chantries and the Rise of Progress in the City*, 2 vols., Glasgow: James Hedderwick, 1816.

Clelland, Elizabeth. *A New and Easy Method of Cookery...chiefly intended for the benefit of the Young Ladies who attend her school*, Edinburgh, 1755.

Cockburn née Rutherford, Mrs. Alicia (or Alison). *Letters and memoir of her ain life by Mrs. Alison Rutherford or Cockburn*, Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1900.

Cockburn, Lord Henry Thomas. *Memorials of His Times*, Edinburgh, 1909.

Dalrymple (of Newhailes), Christian. *Private Annals of my own times*, 1765-1811.

Dalrymple, Grace. *Journey of My Life during the Revolution*, published by Miss Bentinck (granddaughter), London: C. Matthews, 1858.

Davies, Lady Lucy Clementina. *Recollections of Society in France and England*, 2 vols., 1872.

Duff, William. *Letters on the Intellectual and Moral Character of Women. On the Station for which they are destined: On the Characters they are qualified to sustain. And on the duties they are required to discharge, Both in private and social life. Addressed to the Ladies of Great Britain*, Aberdeen: J. Chalmers & Co., 1807. (Dedication to Duchess of Gordon).

Dumfries, Lady Margaret. 'Letters to Lord Kaims [sic] at Blair Drummond'. Scottish Records Office, Abercairny [GD24][1/589].

Edgeworth, Maria. 'Memoir of Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton', *Monthly Magazine*, lxii, pt.ii (Signed 'E').

Edinburgh Evening Courant.

Edinburgh Monthly Review, 'Quarterly List of New Publications, Jan-April 1808'.

Ferrier, Susan. *Marriage*, Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1818. Published anon.

Ferrier, Susan. *The Inheritance*, Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1824.

Ferrier, Susan. *Destiny*, London: Cadell, 1831.

Fletcher, Eliza. *Autobiography of Mrs. Fletcher*, Edinburgh: Constable, 1875.

Fordyce, David. *Dialogues Concerning Education*, London, 1745-8.

Fordyce, David. *The Elements of Moral Philosophy*, London, 1754.

Fordyce, James. *Sermons to Young Women*, 2 vols., London, 1765.

Gerard, Alexander. *Plan of Education in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen*, 1755.

Gerard, Alexander. *An Essay on Taste: with three dissertations on the same subject by Mr. de Voltaire, Mr. d' Alembert, Mr. de Montesquieu*, Edinburgh, 1764.

Glasgow, Lady. 'Suggestions [by Lady Glasgow] for various aspects of social reform including schools', 1789. Scottish Records Office. Melville Castle [GD51]

Gordon, Jane Duchess of. *An Autobiographical Sketch of Jane Maxwell, Duchess of Gordon*, [with portrait], Glasgow, 1864.

Graham, Clementina Stirling. *The Bee Preserver*, translated from the French, 1829.

Graham, Clementina Stirling. *Mystifications* (private edition, 1859), Dr. John Brown (Ed.), 1865.

Grant, Mrs. Anne. *The Highlands & Other Poems*, Edinburgh, 1803.

Grant, Mrs. Anne. *Letters from the Mountains; being her correspondence with her friends, 1773-1803*, 2 vols., London, 1806. Sixth edition, edited with Notes and Additions, by her son, J. P. Grant.

Grant, Mrs. Anne. *Memoirs of an American Lady; with Sketches of Manners and Scenery in America, as they existed previous to the Revolution*, 2 vols., 1808 (1876 edition has Memoir of Anne Grant).

Grant, Mrs. Anne. *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland. To which are added Translations from the Gaelic and Letters connected with those formerly published*, 2 vols., 1811.

Grant, Mrs. Anne. *Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan*, J. P. Grant (Ed.) 3 vols., London, 1844.

Grant of Rothiemurchus, Elizabeth. *Memoirs of a Highland Lady. The Autobiography of Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus afterwards Mrs. Smith of Baltiboys 1797-1830*, Lady Strachey (Ed.), London: John Murray, 1899.

Gray. Accounts for education of Helen and Anne Gray at Musselburgh, 1788-96. Scottish Records Office, Murray of Lintrose [GD68].

Gregory, John. *A Comprehensive View of the State and Faculties of Man, with those of the Animal World*, London, 1765.

Gregory, John. *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters*, London, 1774.

Hall, Mrs. Agnes C. Many literary and scientific articles. Translations: *Travels* of Depons (1807); Vittoris Alfieri's *Autobiography* (1810); *La Duchesse de La Vallière*, and other works by Mme. de Genlis; and some tales by August Heinrich Lafontaine.

Hamilton, Charles. *The Hedaya...translated by C.H.*, 4 vols., 1791.

Hamilton, Elizabeth. Essay signed 'Almeria' in *The Lounger*, No.46 (December 1785).

Hamilton, Elizabeth. *Letters of a Hindoo Rajah*, 2 vols., London, 1796.

Hamilton, Elizabeth. *Memoirs of the Modern Philosophers*, 3 vols., Bath, 1800.

Hamilton, Elizabeth. *Letters on the Elementary Principles of Education*, 2 vols., London: G.G.& J. Robinson, 1801-2.

Hamilton, Elizabeth. *Memoirs of the Life of Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus*, 3 vols., Bath, 1804.

Hamilton, Elizabeth. *Letters Addressed to the Daughter of a Nobleman*, 2 vols., London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1806.

Hamilton, Elizabeth. *The Cottagers of Glenburnie*, Edinburgh: Manners & Miller, 1808.

Hamilton, Elizabeth. *Exercises in Religious Knowledge*, Edinburgh: Ballantyne, 1809.

Hamilton, Elizabeth. *Popular Essays: illustrative of principles connected with the improvement of understanding*, 2 vols., Glasgow, 1812.

Hamilton, Elizabeth. *Hints Addressed to Patrons and Directors of Schools*, London: Longman, 1815.

Hamilton, Lady Mary. *Letters from the Duchesse de Crony*, 1777.

Hamilton, Lady Mary. *Munster Village*, 1778.

Hamilton, Lady Mary. *The Life of Mrs. Justman*, 1782.

Hamilton, Lady Mary. *The Duc de Popoli*, 1810.

Hawkins, Susanna. *The Poems and Songs of Susanna Hawkins*, 1838.

Home, Henry Lord Kames. *An Introduction to the Art of Thinking: To which is prefixed an original life of the author*, fifth edition, Edinburgh: Mackay, 1810.

Home, Henry Lord Kames. *The Elements of Criticism*, Edinburgh, 1762.

Home, Henry Lord Kames. *Sketches of the History of Man*, 1774.

Home, Henry Lord Kames. *Loose Hints upon Education*, Edinburgh: J. Bell, 1781.

Howell, Harriet. Letters from Miss Harriet Howell, Edinburgh, on a girls' school for Stornaway, 1826. Scottish Records Office, Seaforth [GD46] [17/70-1].

Howell, Harriet. Notes and plan of proposed girls' school at Stornaway, 1825. Scottish Records Office, Seaforth [GD46] [17/68].

Hume, David. *A Treatise of Human Nature*, London: J. Noon, 1739. Edition used here Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969.

Hume, David. *The History of England*, 10 vols., London, 1808-1810.

Hume, David. 'Of the rise and progress of the arts and sciences', *The Philosophical Works of David Hume*, T.H. Green & T.H. Grose (Eds.), London, 1874-1875, iii, p.193,.

Hunter, Anne. *Poems by Mrs. John Hunter*, London, 1802.

Hutcheson, Francis. *Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, 1725.

Hutcheson, Francis. *A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy in Three Books Containing the Elements of Ethics & the Law of Nature*, translated from the Latin, fourth edition, Glasgow: Robert & Andrew Foulis, 1772.

Inglis, Mrs. Margaret Maxwell. *Miscellaneous Collection of Poems, chiefly Scriptural Pieces*, 1828.

Jeffrey, Francis. Review of Joanna Baillie's *Plays on the Passions*, *Edinburgh Review*, July 1803.

Johnson, Samuel. *Johnson. Prose & Poetry, Selected by Mona Wilson*, London: Hart Davis, 1950.

Kennedy, Grace. *Jesse Allan, the Lamé Girl*, 1822.

Kennedy, Grace. *Profession is not Principle*, 1822.

Kennedy, Grace. *Anna Ross, the Orphan of Waterloo*, 1823.

Locke, John. *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, London, 1690.

Locke, John. *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, London, 1693.

London Literary Gazette. Review of Frances Wright's *Views of Society*, 1821, p.513; *A Few Days in Athens*, 1822, p.259.

MacIver, Mrs. *Cookery and Pastry As Taught and Practised By Mrs. MacIver, Teacher of Those Arts in Edinburgh. A New Edition, with Additions. To Which Are Added Figures of Dinner and Supper Courses, From Five to Fifteen Dishes. Also a Correct List of Every Thing in Season for Every Month of the Year*, London and Edinburgh: C. Elliot & T. Kay, 1783.

Macpherson, Miss B. Letters from Miss B. Macpherson, proprietrix of a school in Edinburgh, 1789-1805. Scottish Records Office, Macpherson and Cluny, [GD80927]].

Maxwell, Lady Darcy. *Methodist diary*, April 1768-March 1810.

Millar, John. *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks, or an Enquiry into the circumstances which gave rise to influence and authenticity in the different members of Society*, London, 1771.

Mure, Elizabeth. 'Some remarks on the change of manners in my own time 1700-1790', in William Mure (Ed.) *Selections from Family Papers Preserved at Caldwell*, 3 vols., Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1854.

Pagan, Isobel. *A Collection of Songs and Poems*, Glasgow: Niven, Napier & Khull, Trongate, 1805.

Park, William. 'Extracts from the Journal of Jessy Allan, Wife of John Harden 1801-1811', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 30 (1959).

Pennant, Thomas. *Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides*, 1774.

Porter, Anna Maria. *The Hungarian Brothers*, 3 vols., 1807.

Porter, Jane. *Thaddeus of Warsaw*, 4 vols., Longman & Co., 1803.

Porter, Jane. *The Scottish Chiefs*, 5 vols., 1810.

Proctor, Richard. 'Obituary of Mary Somerville, Astronomical Society', *Monthly Notices of the Royal Review*, vol. 136, 1874, p.93.

Quarterly Review. Obituary of Mary Somerville, January 1874. vol. 136.

Reid, Thomas. *An Inquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense*, Edinburgh: A. Miller, 1764.

Robertson, William. *History of America*, 3 vols., 1778.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Émilius and Sophia; or a New System of Education*, Trans. by William Kenrick, London, 1762.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, Amsterdam, 1760.

Schaw, Janet. *Journal of a Lady of Quality: Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina and Portugal, in the years 1774 to 1776*, Evangeline Walker Andrews (Ed.) New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1923.

Scots Magazine, Criticism of girls' boarding schools, xxviii (1766), p.372; xxxv (1783), p.621.

Scott, Lady Caroline, Lucy. *A Marriage in High Life*, 2 vols., 1828.

Scott, Lady Caroline, Lucy. *Trevelyan*, 1837 (Standard Novels, No.58), reprinted in 'Railway Library', 1860.

Scott, Lady Caroline, Lucy. *The Old Grey Church*, 1856.

Scott, Mary & Margaret. Correspondence between Mary and

Margaret Scott about their studies. Scottish Records Office, Scott of Harden Papers [GD157/2831/1,2].

Scott, Sir Walter. *Waverley* (1814), Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1982.

Scott, Sir Walter. *Familiar Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, Ed. David Douglas, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1894.

Scott, Sir Walter. *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, Ed. W.E.K. Anderson, Oxford, 1972.

Sinclair, Sir John. *Appendix to the General Report of the Agricultural State and Political Circumstances of Scotland*, London, 1814.

Smellie, William. *Literary and Characteristical Lives of John Gregory, M.D., Henry Home, Lord Kames, David Hume Esq., and Adam Smith, L.L.D.*, Edinburgh, 1800.

Smith, Adam. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, London: A. Millar, 1759.

Smith, Adam. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 2 vols., London, 1776.

Somerville, Martha. *Personal Recollections of Mary Somerville with Selections from her Correspondence. By her Daughter, Martha Somerville*. London: John Murray, 1873.

Somerville, Mary. *The Magnetic Properties of the Violet Rays of the Solar Spectrum*, 1826.

Somerville, Mary. *The Celestial Mechanism of the Heavens*, London, 1831.

Somerville, Mary. *On the Connection of the Physical Sciences*, London, 1834.

Somerville, Mary. *Physical Geography*, 2 vols., London, 1848.

Somerville, Mary. *On Molecular and Microscopic Science*, 2 vols., London, 1869.

Somerville, Dr. Thomas. *My Own Life and Times 1741-1814*, Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1861.

Stewart, Dugald. 'Some account of a boy born blind and deaf collected from authentic sources of information', National Library of Scotland manuscript, n.d.

Stewart, Dugald. *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1792-1827.

Stewart, Dugald. *Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Reid*, Edinburgh, 1802.

Stewart, Dugald. *The Collected Works*, Sir W. Hamilton (Ed.) 10 vols., Edinburgh, 1854-60.

Topham, Captain Edward. *Letters from Edinburgh, 1774-1775*, Edinburgh: Dublin, 1776.

Turnbull, George. *A Philosophical Inquiry concerning the Connection between the Doctrines and Miracles of Jesus Christ*, 1726.

Turnbull, George. *Observations Upon Liberal Education*, London, 1742.

Waldie, Charlotte A. *The Days of Battle, or Quatre-Bras and Waterloo; by an Englishwoman resident in Brussels in June 1815*, London, 1817.

Wallace, Lady Eglantine. *An Address to the People on Peace and Reform*, 1798.

Wodrow, Robert. *Analecta, or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences 1842-3 mostly relating to Scotch ministers and Christians*, 4 vols., Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1842.

Wollstonecraft, Mary. *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978.

Wordsworth, Dorothy. *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland AD 1803*, J.C. Shairp (Ed.) Edinburgh: James Thin, Mercat Press, 1974.

Wright, Frances. *A few days in Athens; being a translation of a Greek manuscript discovered in Herculaneum*, London, 1822.

Wright, Frances. *Views of Society and Manners in America; in a series of letters from that country to a friend in England, during the years 1818, 1819 and 1820. By an Englishwoman* [Frances Wright], London & New York, 1821.

Wright, Frances. *Course of Popular Lectures; with three addresses on various public occasions, and a reply to the charges against the French Reformers of 1789*, New York, 1829.

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

Abbotsford Series of the Scottish Poets, 1891-96. Vol.7-
Scottish Poetry of the Eighteenth Century. Vol. 2-
Elizabeth Hamilton, Jean Glover, Lady Jane Lindsay.

Adburgham, Alison. **Women in Print**, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1972.

Agress, Lynne. **The Feminine Irony: Women on Women in Early Nineteenth Century Literature**, London: Associated University Presses, 1978.

Aitken, W.P. **A History of the Public Library Movement in Scotland to 1955**, Introduction by W.B. Paton. Glasgow: Scottish Library Association, 1971.

Alic, Margaret. **Hypatia's Heritage: A History of Women in Science from Antiquity to the Late Nineteenth Century**, London: The Women's Press, 1986.

Allardyce, John. **Bygone Days in Aberdeenshire**, Aberdeen: Milne, 1913.

Allibone, Austin S. **A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors Living and deceased from the Earliest Accounts to the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century**, 3 vols., Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Co., 1858-1871. Reprinted Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1965.

Banks, J.A., & Olive. **Feminism and Family Planning in Victorian England: Studies in the Life of Women**, New York: Schocken Books, 1964.

Barclay, W. **The Schools and Schoolmasters of Banffshire**, Banff, 1925.

Bate, Walter Jackson. **From Classic to Romantic: The Premises of Taste in Eighteenth Century England**, New York: Harper & Row. 1961.

Beale, J.M. **Education in Fife from the Reformation to 1872**, Scottish Council for Research in Education, 1984.

Boulding, Elise. *The Underside of History: A View of Women Through Time*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1976.

Boyd, William. *Education in Ayrshire through Seven Centuries*, SCRE, University of London Press, 1961.

Breitenbach, Esther. *Women Workers in Scotland: a study of women's employment and trade unionism*, Glasgow: Pressgang, 1982.

Brooks, Van Wyck. *Fenollosa and his Circle, with other essays in biography*, New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1962.

Bryson, Gladys. *Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century*, Princeton University Press, 1945.

Camic, Charles. *Experience and Enlightenment: Socialisation for Cultural Change in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Carhart, Margaret S. *The Life and Work of Joanna Baillie*, New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1923.

Cassirer, Ernst. *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, Princeton University Press, 1951.

Chicago, Judy. *Through the Flower: My Struggle as a Woman Artist*, New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1975; London: The Women's Press, 1982.

Clark, Alice. *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*, 1919. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982.

Colby, Vineta. *The Singular Anomaly: Women Novelists of the Nineteenth Century*, New York University Press, 1970.

Colby, Vineta. *Yesterday's Women: Realism in the English Novel*, Princeton University Press, 1974.

Colvin, Christina (Ed.) *Maria Edgeworth in France and Switzerland: Selections from the Edgeworth family letters*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.

Cormack, Alexander. *Susan Carnegie, 1744-1821: Her Life of Service*, Aberdeen University Press, 1966.

Coser, Rose L. *The Family: Its Structure and Functions*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1964.

Cott, Nancy F. 'Passionless: An Interpretation of Victorian Sexual Ideology, 1790-1850', *Signs*, Vol.IV., Winter, 1978.

- Craig, David. *Scottish Literature and the Scottish People, 1680-1830*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1961.
- Craik, Henry A. *A Century of Scottish History*, Edinburgh & London: Blackwood, 1911.
- Cunnington, C.W. *Feminine Attitudes in the Nineteenth Century*, London: Heinemann, 1935.
- Daiches, David. *The Paradox of Scottish Culture: The Eighteenth-Century Experience*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1964.
- Daiches, David. *A Companion to Scottish Culture*, London: Arnold, 1981.
- Daiches, David. *Literature and Gentility in Scotland*, Edinburgh University Press, 1982.
- Dean, Irene F.M. *Scottish Spinning Schools*, University of London Press Ltd., 1930.
- Dennistoun, James. *Memoirs of Sir R. Strange and A. Lumisden*, 2 vols., London: Longman, 1855.
- Dexter, Elizabeth. *Career Women of America*, 1950.
- Dickie, William. Article on Innerpeffray Library, *Library Association Record*, n.s. Vol.VI, 1928.
- Dickson, Tony (Ed.) *Scottish Capitalism: Class, State and Nation from before the Union to the Present*, London: Lawrence & Wishart Ltd., 1980.
- Doubleday, Neal Frank. *British and American Fiction in the Early Nineteenth Century*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1976.
- Durie, Alastair J. *The Scottish Linen Industry in the Eighteenth Century*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979.
- Dutch, Robert A. (Ed.) *Roget's Thesaurus*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966.
- Dwyer, John, Mason, Roger A. and Murdoch, Alexander. *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982.
- Dyce, Alexander. *Specimens of British Poetesses; Selected and Chronologically Arranged*, London: T. Rodd, 1827.

Edwards, Phyllis. 'The contribution of British women to educational thought in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century (with special reference to the ideas and the teaching of English', M.Ed., Leeds University, 1955.

Ellis, P. Beresford and MacGhobhainn, Seumas. *The Scottish Insurrection of 1820*, London: Victor Gollanz, 1970.

Elwood, A.K. *Memoirs of the Literary Ladies of England from the Commencement of the Last Century*, 2 vols., London: Henry Colburn, 1843.

Faderman, Lillian. *Scotch Verdict: Miss Pirie and Miss Woods v. Dame Cumming Gordon*, New York: Quill, 1983.

Fergusson, Alexander. *Henry Erskine and his Kinsfolk*, Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1884.

Gay, Peter. *The Enlightenment: an interpretation*, 2 vols., London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1967.

Glaister, R.T.D., 'Education in the Presbytery of Jedburgh in the Eighteenth Century', Ph.D., Open University, 1984.

Graham, Harry. *A Group of Scottish Women*, London, 1908.

Graham, Henry Grey. *Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century*, London: Adam & Charles Black, 1901.

Grant, M.H. *A Chronological History of the Old English Landscape Painters: From the XVIth. Century to the XIXth. Century*, Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis, 1926.

Grave, S.A. *The Scottish Philosophy of Common Sense*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.

Greer, Germaine. *The Obstacle Race: Fortunes of Women Painters and Their Work*, London: Secker & Warburg, 1979.

Gurko, Miriam. *The Ladies of Seneca Falls: The Birth of the Woman's Rights Movement*, New York: Schocken Books, 1976.

Hamilton, Catherine J. *Women Writers: Their Works and Ways*, First Series, London, 1892.

Hamilton, David. 'Classroom Research and the Evolution of the Classroom System', 1978 (mimeo).

Hamilton, David. 'Adam Smith and the moral economy of the classroom system', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 12, 1980, pp.181-291.

Hamilton, David. *The Healers: A history of medicine in Scotland*, Edinburgh: Canongate Press, 1981.

Hamilton, James. *Life of Lady Janet Colquhoun*, Inverness: Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 1969.

Hampson, Norman. *The Enlightenment*, Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1968.

Hanson, Lawrence and Elizabeth. *Necessary Evil: The Life of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, London: Constable, 1952.

Hart, Francis Russell. *The Scottish Novel*, London: John Murray, 1978.

Hill, Bridget. *Eighteenth Century Women: An Anthology*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1984.

Holtby, Winifred. *The Crowded Street*, London: Virago, 1981.

Hont, Istvan and Ignatieff, Michael. *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of the Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment*, Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Howe, Bea. *A Galaxy of Governesses*, Verschoyle, 1954.

Howie, James. *An historical account of the town of Ayr for the last fifty years*, Kilmarnock, 1861.

Hunter, Eveline. *Scottish Woman's Place*, Edinburgh University Student Publications, 1978.

Hunter, J. *The Making of the Crofting Community*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1976.

Hutchison, Henry. *Scottish Public Educational Documents, 1560-1960*, Edinburgh: SCRE, 1973.

Hutton, James (Ed.) *Selections from the Letters and Correspondence of Sir J.B. Burgess...With notices of his life*, London: John Murray, 1885.

Irving, Joseph. *The Book of Eminent Scotsmen*, Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1881.

Irwin, David and Francina. *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900*, London: Faber & Faber, 1975.

Irwin, Francina. 'Lady Amateurs and their Masters in Scott's Edinburgh', *The Connoisseur*, December, 1974, pp.230-237.

Jacobs, Eva; Barber, W.H.; Bloch, Jean H.; Leakey, F.W.; and Le Breton, Eileen. 'Women and Society in Eighteenth Century France', *Essays in Honour of John Stephenson Spink*, London: The Athlone Press, 1979.

James, Edward T. and Janet W. (Eds.) *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Bibliographical Dictionary*, 3 vols., Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971.

Janeway, Elizabeth. *Powers of the Weak*, New York: Knopf, 1980.

Jeffreys, M.V.C. *John Locke - Prophet of Common Sense*, London: Methuen, 1967.

Jeffreys, Shelia. 'Does it matter if they did it?', *Trouble and Strife*, 3, Summer, 1984.

Johnson, Peter and Money, Ernle. *The Nasmyth Family of Painters*, Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis, 1977.

Jones, T.S. *The Life of the Right Honourable Willielma Viscountess Glenorchy containing extracts from her diary and correspondence*, Edinburgh: William Whyte; London: Longman, 1822.

Kamm, Josephine. *Hope Deferred: Girl's Education in English History*, London: Methuen, 1965.

Kaplan, Fred. *Thomas Carlyle: a biography*, Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Keller, Evelyn Fox. *Reflections on Gender and Science*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1985.

Kelly, Alison. *The Missing Half: Girls and Science Education*, Manchester University Press, 1981.

Kelly, Thomas. *Early Public Libraries: a history of public libraries before 1850*, London: Library Association, 1966.

Kerber, Linda. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*, University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Kunitz, Stanley and Haycraft, Howard (Eds.) *British Authors Before 1800*, New York: H.W. Wilson, 1952.

Lane, Margaret. 'Frances Wright (1795-1852): The Great Experiment', *Contemporary Review*, 218, 1971, pp.7-14.

Lane, Margaret. *Frances Wright and the Great Experiment*, Manchester University Press, Rowman & Littlefield, Totowa, N.J., 1972.

Laurie, Henry. *Scottish Philosophy in its National Development*, Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1902.

Law, Alexander. *Education in Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century*, University of London Press, 1965.

Lawrence, Elizabeth. *Origins and Growth of Modern Education*, Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1970.

Lehmann, William C. *John Millar of Glasgow, 1735-1801*, Cambridge University Press, 1960.

Lehmann, William C. *Henry Home, Lord Kames, and the Scottish Enlightenment: A study in national character and in the history of ideas*, International Archives of the History of Ideas, The Hague, 1971.

Lenman, Bruce. *Integration, Enlightenment and Industrialisation: Scotland 1746-1832*, London: Batsford, 1981.

Lindsay, A.W.C. *Lives of the Lindsays; or A Memoir of the House of Crawford and Balcarres*, London: John Murray, 1849.

Logue, Kenneth. *Popular Disturbances in Scotland: 1780-1815*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979.

Lovejoy, Arthur O. *Essays in the History of Ideas*, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1948.

McCafferty, John F. 'Thomas Chalmers and Social Change', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol.LX., 1, No.169, April 1981, pp.32-60.

McCosh, James. *The Scottish Philosophy, from Hutcheson to Balfour*, New York: R. Carter & Bros., 1875; London: Macmillan, 1875.

MacDiarmid, Hugh. *Scottish Eccentrics*, New York; London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1972 (Reprint of 1936 Edition).

Macdonald, D.F. *Scotland's Shifting Population, 1770-1850*, Glasgow University Press, 1937.

MacDougall, Warren. 'Gavin Hamilton, John Balfour & Patrick Neill: A Study of Publishing in Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century', Ph.D., Edinburgh University, 1974.

McGuinness, Arthur E. *Henry Home, Lord Kames*, New York: Twayne Publishers Inc., 1970.

Mackie, J.D. *A History of Scotland*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964.

Maclean, Donald. 'Highland Libraries in the Eighteenth Century', *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society*, Vol.VII, Sessions 1918-19 and 1919-20, Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson & Co., 1923.

Mahowald, Mary Briody (Ed.) *Philosophy of Woman: Classical to Current Concepts*, Indianapolis: Hacket Publishing Co., 1978.

Manners, Victoria. 'Catherine Read', *The Connoisseur*, LXXXVIII, 1931, pp.364 ff.

Marshall, Rosalind K. *Virgins and Viragos: a History of Women in Scotland from 1080-1980*, London: Collins, 1983.

Mathieson, William Law. *Church and Reform in Scotland*, Glasgow: Maclehose, 1916.

Maynes, Mary Jo. *Schooling in Western Europe*, Albany: SUNY Press, 1985.

Meikle, Henry W. *Scotland and the French Revolution*, Glasgow, 1912.

Millar, J.H. *A Literary History of Scotland*, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903.

Miller, Frank. 'Newspaper cuttings of some unpublished letters of Joanna Baillie, collected by Frank Miller and read at a meeting of Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, 20th November 1931', National Library of Scotland manuscript.

Miller, Jean Baker. *Towards a New Psychology of Women*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978.

Miller, Peter John. 'Women's Education: Self-Improvement and Social Mobility - A Late Eighteenth Century Debate', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 29th October 1972, pp.302-314.

Moore, Lindy. 'Invisible Scholars: Girls learning Latin and mathematics in the elementary public schools of Scotland before 1872', *History of Education*, vol.13, no.2, 1984, pp.121-137.

Murray, Eunice G. *Scottish Women in Bygone Days*, Glasgow & London: Gowans & Gray Ltd., 1930.

Murray, Eunice G. *Scottish Homespun*, Glasgow & London: Blackie, 1947.

Murray, Eunice G. *A Gallery of Scottish Women*, Glasgow & London: Gowans & Gray Ltd., 1935.

National Library of Scotland, Exhibition Catalogue No.22, 'Susan Ferrier', Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1982.

Nicolson, Harold. *The Age of Reason*, London: Constable, 1960.

Osen, Lynn M. *Women in Mathematics*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1974.

Paton, G. Campbell H. 'Property Rights and Relationships', *An Introduction to Scottish Legal History*, The Stair Society, Edinburgh: Robert Cunningham & Sons Ltd., Alva, 1958.

Paton, G. Campbell H. *Baron David Humes's Lectures 1786-1822*, Edinburgh: J. Skinner & Co., 1939.

Patterson, Elizabeth Chambers. *Mary Somerville and the Cultivation of Science, 1815-1840*, The Hague: International Archives of the History of Ideas, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1983.

Paxton, Nancy L. 'Subversive Feminism: A Reassessment of Susan Ferrier's *Marriage*', *Women and Literature*, 4, Spring, 1976, pp.18-29.

Perkins, A.J.G. and Wolfson, Theresa. *Frances Wright, Free Enquirer: A Study of a Temperament*, New York: Harper & Bros., 1939. Edition used here Philadelphia: Porcupine Press Inc., 1972.

Petersen, Karen & Wilson, J.J. *Women Artists: recognition and reappraisal from the early Middle Ages to the twentieth century*, London: The Women's Press, 1978.

Pevsner, Nikolaus. *Academics of Art Past and Present*, New York: Da Capo Press, 1973.

Phillipson, N.T. and Mitchison, R. *Scotland in the Age of Improvement: Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century*, Edinburgh University Press, 1970.

Prebble, John. *The Highland Clearances*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982.

Racster, Olga and Grove, Jessica. *Dr. James Barry* [with a portrait], London: Gerald Howe Ltd., 1932.

Raven, Susan and Weir, Alison. *Women of Achievement*, New York: Harmony Books, 1981.

Reed, John. *Victorian Conventions*, Ohio University Press, 1975.

Rendall, Jane. *The Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment*, London: Macmillan, 1978.

Rendall, Jane. *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States 1780-1860*, London: Macmillan, 1985.

Rice, C. Duncan. 'Archibald Dalziel, the Scottish Intelligentsia and the Problem of Slavery', *Scottish Historical Review*, 62, 1983, p.121.

Rich, Adrienne. *On Lies, Secrets and Silence*, London: Virago, 1977.

Robbie, M.L. 'Discovering the blue-stockings: a neglected constellation of clever women', Ph.D., Edinburgh University, 1947.

Robson, Michael. Article on Mary Somerville, *Hawick Express*, February 11, 1981, p.5.

Rogers, Charles (Ed.) *Life and Songs of the Baroness Nairne, with a memoir and poems of C. Oliphant the younger*, London, 1869.

Rowton, Frederick. *Female Poets of Great Britain, Chronologically Arranged: With Copious Selections and Critical Remarks*, London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longman, 1848.

Russell, Rosalind. 'From Enlightenment Philosophy to Utilitarian Pedagogy: A Study of Elizabeth Hamilton's Philosophical Ideas and an Appraisal of her Contribution to the development of Nineteenth Century Educational Theory', M.Ed., Glasgow University, 1982.

Russell, Rosalind. 'Elizabeth Hamilton: Enlightenment Educator', *Scottish Educational Review*, Vol.18, No.1, May 1986.

Scott, William R. *Francis Hutcheson: his life, teaching and position in the history of philosophy*, Cambridge University Press, 1900.

Selby-Bigge, L.A. (Ed.) *Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding and Concerning the Principles of Morals*, Third Edition, Oxford, 1975.

Showalter, Elaine. *A Literature of their Own: British Women Novelists from Bronte to Lessing*, Princeton University Press, 1977; London: Virago, 1978.

Simpson, Ian J. *Education in Aberdeenshire Before 1872*, Edinburgh: SCRE, 1947.

Sinclair, Sir John. *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, 15 vols., Vol.5 (Lanark), pp.180-183.

Smith, Dorothy E. 'A peculiar eclipsing: women's exclusion from man's culture', *Women's Studies International Quarterly*, 1978, 1, 4, pp.281-295.

Smout, T.C. *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, London: Fontana, 1972.

Spender, Dale. *Women of Ideas and What Men Have Done to Them*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982.

Spender, Lynne. *Intruders on the Rights of Men: Women's unpublished heritage*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983.

Squire, J.C. (Ed.) *A Book of Women's Verse*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921.

Stenhouse, William. *Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland*, Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood, 1853.

Stephen, Leslie (Ed.) *Dictionary of National Biography*, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1885.

Stewart, Ian Halley. *The Scottish Coinage*, London: Spink & Son, 1967.

Stewart-Robertson, J.C. 'The Fixing of the Scottish Mind, or the Sad Tale of Scottish Enlightenment Philosophy', *Scotia*, Vol.2, No.1, April 1978, pp.43-60.

Stewart-Robertson, J.C. 'The Well-Principled Savage, or the Child of the Scottish Enlightenment', *Journal of the*

History of Ideas, Vol.42, 1981.

Stirling, Amelia Hutchison. *A Sketch of Scottish Industrial and Social History in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, London, 1906.

Sydie, Rosalind. 'Women Painters in Britain 1768-1848', *Atlantis*, 5, Spring, 1980.

Tayler, Alastair and Henrietta. *Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in the Forty-Five*, Second Edition, Aberdeen, 1928.

Taylor, Barbara. *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century*, London: Virago, 1983.

Teichgraeber, Richard Frederick. 'Politics and Morals in the Scottish Enlightenment', Ph.D. Brandeis University, 1978.

Thackeray, William. *Vanity Fair*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980, J.I.M. Stewart, (Ed.) First edition published 1848.

Thomas, John. *Nollekens and his Times*, 1920.

Thomas, Keith. 'The Double Standard', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 20, 1959, 210.

Thompson, Alastair, R. 'The Use of Libraries by the Working Class in Scotland in the early Nineteenth Century', *Scottish Historical Review*, 42, 1963 (No.133), April 1963.

Thomson, Alastair G. 'The Paper Industry in Scotland 1700-1861', Ph.D., Edinburgh University, 1965.

Towill, Rev. Edwin S. 'The Minutes of the Trades Maiden Hospital', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 28 (1953).

Towill, Rev. Edwin S. 'The Minutes of the Merchant Maiden Hospital', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 29 (1956).

Tytler, Alexander Fraser. *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Henry Home of Kames*, Edinburgh, 1807.

Tytler, Sarah & Watson, J.L. *The Songstresses of Scotland*, 2 vols., London: Strahan & Co., 1871.

Van Den Steinen, Karl. 'The Discovery of Women in Eighteenth Century English Political Life', Barbara Kanner (Ed.) *The Women of England from Anglo-Saxon Times to the Present: Interpretive Bibliographical Essays*, London: Mansell, 1980.

Waterman, William Randall. *Frances Wright*, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, New York: Columbia University, 1924.

Webb, Robert Kiefer. 'Literacy among the working classes in nineteenth-century Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, 33, No.116, October 1954.

White, Cynthia L. *Women's Magazines 1693-1968*, Michael Joseph, 1970.

Whitney, Lois. *Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the Eighteenth Century*, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1934.

Wills, Gary. *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence*, London: Athlone Press, 1980.

Wilson, Daniel. *Memorials of Edinburgh in the olden time*, 2 vols., Edinburgh: Paton, 1848.

Wilson, Mona. *Jane Austen and Some Contemporaries*, London: Cresset Press, 1938.

Young, James D. *Women's Popular Struggles*, Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1985.

