

**International Federation for Research in Women's History, Sydney Conference
8-9 July 2005**

**Women's History Revisited: Historiographical Reflections on Women and
Gender in a Global Context**

Session: National Historiographies 2

**Paper: No longer curiously rare but only just within bounds: women in Scottish
history**

Jane McDermid (UK)

The IFRWH's first conference (1989) resulted in the publication of *Writing Women's History: International Perspectives* (1991), edited by Karen Offen, Ruth Roach Pierson and Jane Rendall. In that collection, there was no separate chapter on Scottish women's history, but instead in the then aptly titled chapter 'uneven developments: women's history, feminist history and gender history in Great Britain', Jane Rendall recorded the acknowledgement of a distinguished historian of Scottish social history (in fact an Englishman) that the neglect of women's history in Scotland was 'a historiographical disgrace'. As Rendall acknowledged in a footnote, that was 'just beginning to be remedied'.¹ Indeed, Rendall herself has played no small part in the development of Scottish women's history through her contributions to two projects nearing completion: a *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* and a collection of essays on *Gender in Scottish History: 1700-Present*.²

Yet as late as 1991, the collection *Why Scottish History Matters* failed to consider why it mattered to Scottish women, or indeed why women should matter to Scottish history.³ Two years later, speakers at a conference considering the future of Scottish historical studies acknowledged that women were still not central to the discussion.⁴ Indeed, work published on Scottish women over the previous three years revealed that they had been excluded from history largely by the nature of the debate on Scottish national identity which has been conceived as a masculine construct.⁵ In both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there was much soul-searching over threats to, and loss of national identity, notably under pressure of anglicisation, reflected in works on the 'democratic intellect' in the national educational tradition.⁶ Such works never considered the absence of women from this tradition, which had been framed around men. Since the Reformation, a great deal of national sentiment had been invested in the figure of the talented boy, the 'lad of parts', from humble

social origins and remote villages, being empowered by parish schooling to climb into the professions through the universities. The parish school over which the dominie presided was believed to develop a common culture for the whole nation. Though girls as well as boys were taught in the parish school, the former were generally excluded from the democratic intellect, since women in Scotland were precluded from university until the 1890s.⁷ The dominie was the stern task-master who dedicated his life to the school, as if book-learning and book-loving was a masculine trait. In practice, Victorian dominies often depended on their wives to run the school, and increasingly from the 1860s, on their daughters rather than their sons to follow their footsteps into the profession. The construction of a masculinity based on the dominie - that dogged, disciplined father figure who presided over packed classrooms in co-educational schools - contributed enormously to the shaping of national identity. Yet, it was a construction flexible enough to allow the wider tradition from which it emerged to incorporate women, while even by the 1790s, the parish school was only part of a network of schools. The dominie alone could not serve the needs of a growing population, while many teachers outside the parish system (in voluntary, private, and charitable schools) were female.

Here was the beginning of a gendered division of labour in the teaching profession, particularly in the Lowlands where private schools often catered for younger children and girls, with the schoolmistress teaching basic literacy (especially reading) as well as sewing and knitting to the girls. She thereby took some of the pressure off the parish school, allowing the dominie to concentrate on teaching the older children, especially boys, more advanced subjects. Early Victorian Scotland, however, felt the strains of industrialisation, urbanisation, immigration, growing divisions within Presbyterianism and English influences. Such pressures threatened the traditionally high status of the dominie. Anglicisation was presumed to include lower standards in terms of curriculum and teaching, both associated with the numerical domination of elementary schooling in England by women. Hence, the sharp increase in Scotland of female teachers after the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act was seen as undermining not only the dominie but also national harmony by narrowing the education of the poor to the elementary branches.

Education was, and is, seen as integral to Scottish distinctiveness but until recently the educational tradition was gender-blind. The collection of essays *Girls in their Prime: Scottish Education Revisited* (1990) included a mixture of historical and

contemporary studies which challenged the comfortable stereotypes of the lad of parts and the dominie. The contributors saw the Victorian ideal of domesticity as gendering education in Scotland, just as in England and Wales, and argued that the Scottish tradition of co-education (more accurately, mixed sex schooling) discriminated against women. 8 The situation, however, has been shown to be more complex than this suggested, as parents and some teachers resisted the teaching of sewing and domestic economy because of a belief that intellectual discipline was the best means of developing an intelligent, moral and cultured individual. 9 The gender specific curriculum was class based, directed at working-class girls, and regarded by many of their mothers as an implied insult and by educational authorities as a distraction from book-learning. Indeed, upper and middle-class women, including feminists, criticised the educational establishment for its opposition to domestic training. 10

The majority of women into the first half of the twentieth century would have had a primary (or elementary) education at best. 11 It has been shown, however, that working-class women were not simply passive recipients of institutional ideologies of domesticity and femininity. 12 Nevertheless such ideas were relentlessly directed at them wherever they were schooled, including Industrial Schools and Ragged Schools established as reformatories, or to provide for potential vagrants. In such punitive institutions, girls were specifically prepared for domestic service. Moreover, female delinquents were treated more harshly than boys, because girls were seen as especially vulnerable and in need of protection from the temptations of the street, leading them into prostitution. 13 There were similar interventionist responses to the sexual morality of the working classes in the early twentieth century, but while some women's organisations were prepared to support local initiatives, for example on controls to prevent the spread of venereal diseases, others were opposed on the grounds that prostitutes and other female patients of public clinics were targeted when it was men who were the majority of defaulters, failing to complete their course of treatment. 14 Studies of lower class girls deemed to be 'in moral danger' tend to focus on the city, and Glasgow in particular; but research on illegitimacy in the nineteenth century has revealed that there were higher rates in rural areas, particularly in the south-west and north-east of Scotland, confirming the importance of the local context. 15

Indeed, alongside the gendered division of labour in the teaching profession, there was a geographical division. In the Highlands and Islands, generalised poverty

meant that few lads of parts took the low road to the universities. The Highlands were considered to be less civilised than the Lowlands, even when tamed and incorporated into the British state. Even before the union of Scotland with England and Wales in 1707, Scottish soldiers were grossly over-represented in the armed forces – from the mid 18th century, they retained a quarter of all officers. 16 This heroic figure came to prominence as the dominie faded, except perhaps as an ideal, during the surge of imperialism in the later Victorian period. In contrast, or perhaps as a complement, to the domestic manliness of the book-loving Lowland dominie, there was the image of the Highland soldier as the warrior of the British Empire: courageous, loyal, steady under fire and adaptable. 17 This warrior manliness reflects only one aspect of the attractions of the British Empire for Scottish men – indeed, for British men, as by the Victorian period, Highland regiments were comprised of only a minority of Highlanders. 18 The soldier was held in higher esteem in Scotland than in England, but he is only the most evocative of imperial images, since professional men were central to the Scottish imperial enterprise, at home and in the colonies. Not surprisingly, Scottish imperialism has been conceived as above all a masculine enterprise, with women in background, supportive roles. Yet women were not entirely absent from the imperial story: in particular, they played a significant role as missionaries, both at home and in the colonies. 19

Besides the educational and martial traditions, a major focus of Scottish history has been labour history, which, in an economy that favoured the male-dominated sector of heavy industry, helps explain the neglect of women's history at least until the 1980s. In that decade, studies of urban employment in the nineteenth century revealed how the varied economic structures influenced patterns of female employment. Thus, for example, in 1901, while under 40 per cent of women in three of the main cities (Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow) were in paid employment, in Dundee it was nearly 52 per cent. The categories of female employment also differed substantially. Thus while the biggest employer of women in Dundee was textiles, with almost 80 per cent of women workers in the textile industry and only eight per cent in domestic service, in Edinburgh the majority (42.43 per cent) of women workers was in domestic service, which also accounted for around a fifth of women workers in Glasgow and a quarter of those in Aberdeen. Certainly, the percentage of female employment in Dundee was exceptionally high, while Aberdeen, with the lowest

percentage of the four cities, had a more diverse and balanced pattern, with nearly 50 per cent in the service sector, and 40 per cent in manufacturing. 20 Yet even in Edinburgh by the beginning of the twentieth century, the most common sector of female employment was industrial. 21 Despite a widening of job and educational opportunities, and 'equal pay' legislation from the 1970s, women's work throughout the twentieth century remained low status and lowly paid. 22

These studies of urban employment were not specifically devoted to women's history, and tended to categorise women as mostly unskilled, not surprisingly given the limited educational and employment opportunities on offer. Much work still has to be done on women and the professions in Scotland, though it has been shown that the progress made by middle-class women in the late nineteenth century in terms of educational and professional opportunities was, to a considerable degree, gained at the expense of working-class girls who were exhorted by their social superiors to accept their domestic destiny. 23 The development in Scotland of teacher training from the 1820s, and the introduction from England of the pupil-teacher system in 1846 provided Scottish women with points of entry into publicly funded education and what had been an exclusively male profession. The pupil-teacher system was greatly resented by dominies as undermining the traditional link between universities and schools, and narrowing the scope of education in the latter, and in 1847 the Educational Institute of Scotland [EIS] was set up in an attempt to protect and enhance their professional status. The 1872 Education (Scotland) Act resulted in a huge demand for teachers, however, opening up a respectable means of becoming self-supporting in a key male profession for the daughters of skilled workers and the lower middle-class. The result was the feminisation of the teaching profession: by 1911, 70 per cent of teachers were female, and within two years a woman was elected president of the EIS. Still, only a minority of female teachers could achieve a university education, and since this was a means of ensuring teaching retained its professional status in keeping with the educational tradition, schoolmasters monopolised headships and commanded better pay. 24

Thus, the profession remained dominated by men, putting Scottish women teachers at a disadvantage. Moreover, Scottish schoolmistresses have been unfavourably compared to their more feminist English counterparts for apparently accepting a subordinate place in a masculine profession, and so being complicit in the

Scottish patriarchal tradition. 25 That argument, however, overlooks the relative lack of professional careers open to women in Scotland compared to England, and underestimates the ways in which women manoeuvred within a patriarchal system, and did not simply passively submit. 26

Hence, on the one hand, the history of the Scottish teaching profession reflects the patriarchal nature of Scottish society. On the other, it reveals a much more complex situation than simply concluding that Scotland was peculiarly patriarchal, in thrall to John Knox's infamous remarks about the 'monstrous regiment' of women. Knox did not aim his 'first blast of the trumpet' against women in general. It was Knox who insisted on the spiritual equality between women and men, and that education for all - regardless of gender as well as social class - was essential. As Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair have observed, Presbyterianism imbued values of independence, moral responsibility and the dignity of work. 27 Certainly, the male parish schoolteacher continued to be seen as the epitome of the democratic intellect. Nevertheless, as the state school system expanded, women made career gains and gradually, if grudgingly, were recognised as junior partners in preserving the educational tradition, so central to national identity.

Teaching, however, was a poorly paid profession. It was much more difficult for women to penetrate the more lucrative professions such as medicine. 28 The First World War gave women great opportunities to practise medicine denied them in peacetime, notably through the Scottish Women's Hospitals [SWH]. 29 The SWH was founded, supported and run by feminists. Not only were these women acting out of patriotism and determination to prove women's worth as citizens, they were also so near to the front in key areas of combat that their actions put a different slant on the notion of 'no man's land'. Yet even the success of the SWH did not lead to easier acceptance of women in the profession.

Outside of the professions, however, it has been argued that women's and children's labour was significant, if not crucial for Scotland's early economic transformation. 30 There has also been significant revision which has challenged certain assumptions, notably concerning the concept of 'skill' as above all a masculine construct, with women at best semi-skilled and then only at the expense of dilution of male skills. 31 In addition, Eleanor Gordon's seminal work, *Women and the Labour Movement in Scotland*, challenged earlier labour historians who equated lack of

formal trade union organisation among women with passivity, and highlighted the importance of female labour in a particular region, upsetting broad generalisations by demonstrating the need to consider locality and industry, and not just the labour market as a whole. 32 As noted above, Dundee and its textile industry were dominated by female labour, including skilled workers, as early as the middle of the nineteenth century, so that skilled men tended to leave to find work elsewhere, notably in Glasgow's heavy industry and shipbuilding. Thus a gender segregated work force was confirmed, but the assumption that paid employment was necessarily a negative experience for women was questioned, showing that they often took pride in and got pleasure from waged work. Certainly, women's work was inferior to men's in terms of status, skills and pay, and men were seen as the breadwinners, but it was accepted that women's wages were often crucial to family survival, while women workers themselves often viewed any work that was specific to them (such as domestic service) to have its own skills. 33 Women also remained important in the agricultural labour force, more so than in England. 34 Often working on farms was a family affair, with daughters being taken on because of the father, and female wages a proportion of men's. The growing practice of employing low-paid seasonal workers on farms, common throughout the UK into the twentieth century, ensured that women's (and children's) wages in the countryside were especially low. However, improved education and job opportunities outside of farming led to the migration of female farm labourers to the towns in the later nineteenth century. Moreover, the mechanisation of harvesting as well as changes in women's employment patterns, notably from the 1960s with married women increasingly entering full-time jobs, led them to withdraw from casual agricultural work. 35

Scottish political history has also been male-dominated, but again that has been challenged since the mid 1990s, as has the definition of 'political' to give a fuller and fairer assessment of women's role, rather than remain within the narrow orbit of parliamentary politics. 36 Ironically, even in terms of the movement for female suffrage, Scottish women were largely absent from a mainly English, and especially Pankhurst-dominated story, until the pioneering work of Elspeth King on the west of Scotland suffrage movement. 37 Leah Leneman's longer study of the national movement confirmed that it differed in significant respects from the English movement, in the independence of the Scottish WSPU from London, the left-wing politics of many of the leading Scottish suffragists, the successful cooperation of all

the suffrage organisations in Scotland, and the part played by male supporters. 38 Leneman also convincingly disputes the facile distinction made between the suffrage issue as being seen in terms of social class in Scotland, but in terms of women as a whole in England. 39 Jim Smyth's case study of Glasgow has also placed the suffrage campaign in the wider political context. 40

In another study of Glasgow, this time of a middle-class area of the Victorian city, Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair have engaged with the historiography of 'separate spheres' so influenced by the 1987 work of Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes*, which focused on Birmingham. Gordon and Nair convincingly demonstrate that the powerful discourse of separate spheres 'is not sufficient to explain how middle-class women's experience was shaped and their identities structured'. 41 Still, outside of philanthropy, men continued to dominate civic life, in Glasgow as in all Victorian cities, despite the acceleration of female engagement in the public sphere.

The focus on heroic male figures in the educational, military, political and labour histories of Scotland is reflected in the history of Scottish literature. 42 However, in 1997 *A History of Scottish Women's Writing* challenged the 'male generated and male fixated' Scottish tradition in literature in general, and Hugh MacDiarmid's particular dismissal of Scottish women's writing. 43 Many writers in this collection link the inferior status of women in Scottish society to the Reformation and Calvinism, but it has been shown that Presbyterian women also manoeuvred within the patriarchal church to establish an influential, if still subordinate, place for themselves. 44 Indeed, it can be argued that parallel to the feminisation of the teaching profession, there was a feminisation of Presbyterianism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which saw women increasingly engaged with social and public issues such as temperance, education and suffrage. 45 Even the male officials of the Orange Order in Scotland recognised that there was a role for women when they agreed to the establishment of the first women's lodges in 1909; by 1934 there were 191 female lodges with the women soon proving to be 'expert organisers, indefatigable workers for charity, in particular local hospitals' and confirmed conservatives in their politics. 46 The Catholic Church in Scotland, another deeply patriarchal institution, also saw women as playing a key role in preserving their minority community and culture within a hostile environment. 47 That role was primarily domestic, though crucially it involved teaching, in which the trainees were

told that they stood 'between the priest and the parent and like them derive authority from Almighty God'. 48 This was another case of manipulating patriarchy (and being manipulated by it) which forces us to confront the rather patronising assumption of female passivity in Scottish history, and confirms the need to widen our concept of 'political'.

As Esther Breitenbach has pointed out, however, the struggle to escape marginalisation is on three fronts: not only within Scottish history and within the debates on nationalism, but also within British feminist history. 49 That is a considerable task, but one which is being undertaken with energy and determination. It has been spearheaded by the Scottish Women's History Network [SWHN], which was established in 1998 following the annual (UK) Women's History Network conference held that year in Glasgow. In 2005 the SWHN decided to re-launch itself as the Women's History Network Scotland, 'with the aim of publicising more effectively the work we are doing and engaging many more historians of women and gender in Scotland'. 50 This reflected the fact that the SWHN had never intended to be exclusively an organisation for historians of Scottish women's and gender history, and that there was much to be learned from a comparative perspective. 51 In addition, as women's history has developed in Scotland, more male historians have acknowledged the extent to which women are missing from histories of Scotland. Some have perhaps overcompensated for their absence by emphasising the extent of oppression they experienced. 52 An article in the national newspaper, *The Scotsman*, acknowledged the efforts of the SWHN, notably through the forthcoming *Biographical Dictionary*, of 'writing women back into the history books'. It quoted Tom Devine, one of Scotland's leading historians, who has himself written about women, as both claiming that women's history in Scotland is 'relatively under-developed' and that it is 'passé'. He warned against 'the danger of continuing to ghettoise the female experience if you produce books which are concerned almost exclusively with the historical role of women alone', yet acknowledged that 'there is bound to be a certain degree of concentration on men in any history of a country that was dominated by them until the mid twentieth century'. 53 Thus, the male historical establishment will ensure that those who write about Scottish women's and gender history will not become complacent. The place of women in Scottish history has

certainly being asserted since *Writing Women's History* was published, but it is only slowly being integrated into mainstream studies.

Notes

- 1 Karen Offen, Ruth Roach Pierson and Jane Rendall, (eds), *Writing Women's History: International Perspectives* (Basingstoke, 1991), p.56, n.28 for T.C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People 1830-1950* (London, 1986), p.292. See also Joy Hendry, 'Snug in the asylum of taciturnity: women's history in Scotland', pp.125-42 in Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whately (eds), *The Manufacture of Scottish* (Edinburgh, 1992).
- 2 Elizabeth Ewan, Sue Innes, Siân Reynolds and Rose Pipes (eds), *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* (Edinburgh, forthcoming); Lynn Abrams, Eleanor Gordon, Debbi Simonton and Eileen Yeo (eds), *Gender in Scottish History: 1700-Present* (Edinburgh, forthcoming). See also Sue Innes, 'Reputations and remembering: work on the first biographical dictionary of Scottish women', *Études Écossaises*, 2003-04, no.9, pp.11-26.
- 3 Rosalind Mitchison (ed.), *Why Scottish History Matters* (Edinburgh, 1991).
- 4 *The Scottish Historical Review*, April 1994, Special Issue: 'Whither Scottish History?', vol.LXXIII, no.195.
- 5 See F.M.S. Paterson & J. Fewell (eds.), *Girls in their Prime: Scottish Education Revisited* (Edinburgh, 1990); E. Gordon & E. Breitenbach (eds.), *The World is Ill Divided: Women's Work in Scotland in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Edinburgh, 1990); E. Breitenbach & E. Gordon (eds.), *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society 1800-1945* (Edinburgh, 1992).
- 6 See especially George Davie, *The Democratic Intellect* (Edinburgh, 1961) and C. Beveridge and R. Turnbull, *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture: Inferiorism and the Intellectuals* (Edinburgh., 1989).
- 7 Women were not formally admitted into Scottish universities until the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1889 and the Ordinance 18 of February 1892, both of which were enabling rather than compulsory, allowing each university to decide whether to admit women to graduation in any of its faculties. However, from the 1860s, Scottish women were obtaining 'the substance of higher education'. See Lindy Moore, 'Women and Education', ch.5 in Heather Holmes (ed.), *Scottish Life and Society. A*

- Compendium of Scottish Ethnology. Volume 11: Education* (East Linton, 2000), p.321.
- 8 See Helen Corr, 'An Exploration into Scottish Education' chapter 10 in W.H. Fraser & R.J. Morris (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland, Volume 2, 1830-1914* (Edinburgh, 1989).
- 9 Lindy Moore, 'Educating for the "woman's sphere": domestic training versus intellectual discipline' chapter 2 in *Out of Bounds*.
- 10 See Helen Corr, "'Home Rule" in Scotland: the teaching of housework in Scottish schools 1872-1914' chapter 3 in *Girls in their Prime*; Tom Begg, *The Excellent Women: The Origins and History of Queen Margaret College* (Edinburgh, 1994); E. Millar, *Century of Change 1875-1975: One Hundred Years of Training Home Economics Students in Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1975).
- 11 See J. McDermid, 'Women and Education' chapter 5 in June Purvis (ed.), *Women's History in Britain, 1850-1945* (London, 1995); Lindy Moore, 'Invisible Scholars: Girls learning Latin and mathematics in the elementary public schools of Scotland before 1872', *History of Education*, June 1984, Vol.13, No.2, pp.121-137.
- 12 For the class connotations of the ideology of domesticity see Eleanor Gordon, 'Women's Spheres, chapter 7 in *People and Society in Scotland. Volume 2*.
- 13 Linda Mahood, *The Magdalenes: Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Scotland* (London, 1990); Barbara Littlejohn & Linda Mahood, 'Prostitutes, Magdalenes and Wayward Girls: Dangerous Sexualities of Working-Class Women in Victorian Scotland', *Gender and History*, Summer 1991, vol.3, no.2, pp.160-175.
- 14 Roger Davidson, "'A Scourge to be firmly gripped?": the Campaign for V.D. Controls in Inter-War Scotland', *Social History of Medicine*, August 1993, vol.6, no.2, pp.213-235.
- 15 See Andrew Blackie, *Illegitimacy, Sex and Society: Northeast Scotland, 1750-1900* (Oxford, 1994); T.C. Smout, 'Aspects of sexual behaviour in nineteenth-century Scotland' in P. Laslett, K. Oosterveen & R.M. Smith, *Bastardy and its Comparative History* (London, 1980). See also Rosalind Mitchison and Leah Leneman, *Sexuality and Social Control: Scotland 1660-1780* (Oxford, 1989).
- 16 Tom Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815* (London, 2003), pp.297.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p.305.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p.308.

- 19 See Esther Breitenbach, 'Empire, religion and national identity: Scottish Christian imperialism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries'. PhD, Edinburgh University, 2005. See also Megan Smitley, 'Woman's Mission: The Temperance and Women's Suffrage Movements in Scotland, c.1870-1914', PhD, Glasgow University, 202. For information on women and emigration from Scotland, see Marjorie Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus* (London, 2003).
- 20 J. Butt, 'The Changing Character of Urban Employment 1901-1981' in G. Gordon (ed.), *Perspectives of the Scottish City* (Aberdeen, 1985), pp.213-16.
- 21 R. Rodger, 'Employment, Wages and Poverty in the Scottish Cities 1841-1914', ch.2 in Gordon, *Perspectives of the Scottish City*, p.35.
- 22 See Arthur J. McIvor, 'Women and Work in Twentieth-Century Scotland', ch.5 in A. Dickson and J.H. Treble (eds), *People and Society in Scotland. Volume 3, 1914-1990* (Edinburgh, 1992).
- 23 See for example, Jane McDermid, *The Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Victorian Scotland: Gender, Education and Identity* (London, 2005).
- 24 Even at the end of the twentieth century, there was a distinct under-representation of women in decision-making positions in Scottish education. For example, in primary schools, where women made up 93 per cent of teachers by the 1990s, men held around a quarter of headships. See M. Macintosh, 'the Gender Imbalance in Scottish Education', *Scottish Affairs*, autumn 1993, no.5, pp.118-23. See also the *Gender Audits*, compiled by the Engender organisation since 1993.
- 25 Helen Corr, 'Dominies and Domination: Schoolteachers, Masculinity and Women in Nineteenth-Century Scotland', *History Workshop*, Autumn 1995, no.40, pp.151-164; Helen Corr, 'Teachers and Gender: debating the myths of equal opportunities in Scottish education 1800-1914', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, Nov. 1997, vol.27, no.3, pp.355-64.
- 26 Jane McDermid, "'Intellectual Instruction is Best Left to a Man": the feminisation of the Scottish teaching profession in the second half of the nineteenth century', *Women's History Review*, 1997, vol.6, no.1, pp.95-114; Jane McDermid, 'Handmaiden to a Patriarchal Tradition? The Schoolmistress in Victorian Scotland', *Études Écossaises*, 2003-04, no.9, pp.43-58.
- 27 Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven and London, 2003), p.5. See also Susan M. Felch, 'The

- Rhetoric of Biblical Authority: John Knox and the Question of Women,' *Sixteenth Century Journal*, winter 1995, vol. 26, no.4, pp.805-22.
- 28 See Wendy Alexander, *First Ladies of Medicine: The Origins, Education and Destination of Early Women Medical Graduates of Glasgow University* (Glasgow, 1987); J. Geyerkordesch & R. Ferguson, *Blue Stockings, Black Gowns, White Coats: A Brief History of Women Entering Higher Education and the Medical Profession in Scotland in Celebration of 100 Years of Women Graduates at the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1995); Sheila Hamilton, 'The First Generations of University Women 1869-1930' in G. Donaldson (ed.), *Four Centuries: Edinburgh University Life, 1583-1983* (Edinburgh, 1983); Lindy Moore, 'The Scottish Universities and Women Students, 1862-1892', chapter 13 in Jennifer Carter & Donald J. Withrington (eds.), *Scottish Universities: Distinctiveness and Diversity* (Edinburgh 1992); Lindy Moore, *Bajanellas and Semilinas: Aberdeen University and the Education of Women, 1860-1920* (Aberdeen, 1991).
- 29 Leah Leneman, *In the Service of Life: The Story of Elsie Inglis and the Scottish Women's Hospitals* (Edinburgh, 1994); Eileen Crofton, *The Women of Royaumont: A Scottish Women's Hospital on the Western Front* (East Linton, 1997).
- 30 Christopher A. Whatley, *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland* (Cambridge, 1997), pp.72-75; and 'Women and the Economic Transformation of Scotland, c.1740-1830', *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 1994, vol.14, pp.19-40. See also James H. Treble, 'The Characteristics of the Female Unskilled Labour Market and the formation of the Female Casual Labour Market in Glasgow, 1891-1914', *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 1986, vol.6, pp.33-46.
- 31 Siân Reynolds, *Britannica's Typesetters: Women Compositors in Edwardian Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1989); Gordon and Breitenbach, *The World is Ill Divided*.
- 32 Eleanor Gordon, *Women and the Labour Movement in Scotland 1850-1914* (Oxford, 1991).
- 33 See Jayne D. Stephenson & Calum Brown, 'The View from the Workplace: Women's memories of Work in Stirling c.1910-c.1950' chapter 1 and James J. Smith. "'Ye never got a spell to think about it.": Young Women and Employment in the Inter-War Period: A Case Study of a Textile Village', chapter 5 in *The World is Ill Divided*.
- 34 See Barbara W. Robertson, 'In Bondage: The Female Farm Worker in South-East Scotland', chapter 6 in *The World is Ill Divided*; T. M. Devine (ed.), *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland 1770-1914* (Edinburgh, 1984), especially chapter 6

- by the editor, 'Women Workers 1850-1914'; I. MacDougall (ed.), *Hard Work Ye Ken': Midlothian Women Farmworkers* (Edinburgh, 1993); Lynn Jamieson & Claire Toynbee, *Country Bairns: Growing Up 1900-1930* (Edinburgh, 1992).
- 35 See Heather Holmes, 'As Good as a Holiday': *Potato harvesting in the Lothians from 1870 to the Present* (East Linton, 2000).
- 36 Alice Brown, David McCrone & Lindsay Paterson, *Politics and Society in Scotland* (Basingstoke and London, 1996). See also Esther Breitenbach, 'Out of Sight, Out of Mind? The History of Women in Scottish Politics', *Scottish Affairs*, 1993, Vol.2, pp.58-70; Esther Breitenbach, 'Sisters are Doing it for Themselves: The Women's Movement in Scotland' in A. Brown, R. Parry (eds.), *The Scottish Government Year Book* (Edinburgh, 1990); Eleanor Gordon, 'Women and Working-Class Politics in Scotland 1900-1914, chapter 11 in Lynn Jamieson & Helen Corr (eds.), *State, Private Life and Political Change* (London, 1990).
- 37 Elspeth King, *The Scottish Women's Suffrage Movement* (Glasgow, 1978).
- 38 Leah Leneman, *A Guid Cause: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1991).
- 39 As argued by James D. Young, *Women and Popular Struggles: A History of Scottish and English Working-Class Women 1500-1984* (Edinburgh, 1985).
- 40 J.J. Smyth, *Labour in Glasgow, 1896-1936: socialism, suffrage, sectarianism* (East Linton, 2000).
- 41 Gordon and Nair, *Public Lives*, p.7. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (London, 1st ed. 1987, revised ed. 2002).
- 42 See D. McCrone, S. Kendrick & P. Straw (eds), *The Making of Scotland: Nation, Culture and Social Change* (Edinburgh, 1989); Richard .S. Findlay, 'Heroes, Myths and Anniversaries in Modern Scotland', *Scottish Affairs* Winter 1997, No. 18, pp.108-125.
- 43 Douglas Gifford & Dorothy McMillan (eds.), *A History of Scottish Women's Writing* (Edinburgh, 1997), p.xix. See also Jenni Calder, 'Heroes and Hero-Makers: Women in Nineteenth-century Scottish Fiction' chapter 13 in Douglas Gifford (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature Volume 3: The Nineteenth Century* (Aberdeen, 1988). See also Kirsteen McCue, 'A Survey of Work on Scottish Women Writers from 1995', *Women's Writing*, 2003, vol.10, no.3, pp.527-33; *Études Écossaises*, 2004-05, no.9: 'Women in Scotland'.

- 44 See Calum Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland, 1780-1914* (London, 1987); Calum Brown and Jayne Stephenson, "'Sprouting wings'?: women and religion in Scotland, c.1890-1950' in *Out of Bounds*; David G. Mullan, 'Women in Scottish Divinity, c.1590-c.1640', ch.3 in Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen M. Meikle (eds), *Women in Scotland c.100-c.1750* (East Linton, 1999).
- 45 Lesley A. Orr Macdonald, *A Unique and Glorious Mission: Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland 1830-1930* (Edinburgh, 2000).
- 46 Graham Walker, 'The Orange Order in Scotland Between the Wars', *International Review of Social History*, 1992, vol. xxxvii, part 2, pp.177-206: 203-04.
- 47 Alasdair Roberts, 'The Role of Women in Scottish Catholic Survival', *Scottish Historical Review*, 1991, vol.70, pp.129-50.
- 48 Bernard Aspinwall, 'Catholic Teachers for Scotland: the Liverpool Connection', *The Innes Review*, Spring 1994, vol.xiv, no.1, pp.85-108; Jane McDermid, 'Scottish Catholic Girls' Education', *The Innes Review*, Spring 1996, vol.47, no.1, pp.69-80.
- 49 Esther Breitenbach, "'Curiously rare"? Scottish Women of Interest or the Suppression of the Female in the Construction of National Identity', *Scottish Affairs*, Winter 1997, no.18, pp.82-94. See also Esther Breitenbach, Alice Brown & Fiona Myers, 'Understanding Women in Scotland', *Feminist Review*, Spring 1998, vol.58, pp.44-66.
- 50 *Scottish Women's History Network Newsletter*, Spring 2005, p.2.
- 51 See Terry Brotherstone, Deborah Simonton and Oonagh Walsh (eds), *Gendering Scottish History: an International Perspective* (Glasgow, 1999
- 52 See for example, McIvor, 'Women and Work in Twentieth-Century Scotland', p.169, where he writes of an 'all-pervasive, ugly system of gender apartheid'.
- 53 Ian Johnston, 'Writing women back into history books', *The Scotsman*, 19 January 2005.