



A New Trumpet? The History of Women in Scotland 1300–1700

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Abstract

In comparison to the field in many other countries, women's history in Scotland is a relatively new area of research. This is especially true for the history of late medieval and early modern women. Although some work appeared in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Scottish women's history did not really develop as a field until the 1980s, with most work on women before 1700 appearing in the last two decades. Several recent studies have taken a biographical approach, but other work has drawn on the insights from research elsewhere to examine such issues as work, family, religion, crime and images of women. Scholars are also uncovering women's voices in their letters, memoirs, poetry and court records. Because of the late development of the field, much recent work has been recuperative, but increasingly the insights of gender history both in other countries and in Scottish history after 1700, are being used to frame the questions which are asked. Future work should contribute both to a reinterpretation of the current narratives of Scottish history, and also to a deepening of the complexity of the history of women in late medieval and early modern Britain and Europe.

In 1558, the Scottish Protestant, John Knox, produced his infamous tract against female rulers, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*. Knox's targets were queens rather than all women, but Scottish historians since Knox have remained largely silent about women's role in the nation's past until recently. In the last two decades, some historians have taken up the trumpet anew, highlighting the integral role of women of all classes in medieval and early modern Scotland. This article will survey research on Scottish women c.1300–1700 over the last century, briefly describing earlier work and then examining recent developments in four areas – work, family, religion and crime – before finally considering the position of Scottish women's history within women's history as a whole.

A well-established tradition of collective biography ensured that in the nineteenth century at least a few women entered the catalogue of Scottish 'heroes and great men', despite titles suggesting otherwise.¹ Mary Queen

of Scots was, not surprisingly, ubiquitous, but Presbyterian historiography also celebrated seventeenth-century Covenanting women who resisted Stuart Episcopalian policies 'by succouring and encouraging God's people'.² As demand for women's suffrage grew, so did an audience for stories of historic heroic women.³ The tradition of collective biography was continued in the 1930s by Eunice Murray, first Scottish woman to stand for Parliament.⁴

The late nineteenth century also saw developing interest in ordinary people's lives. It was difficult to ignore women when discussing family and everyday life, and some local historians gave considerable space to women's roles. Alexander Maxwell, a historian of Dundee, a town with an unusually high rate of female employment, devoted one chapter of his study of the pre-Reformation town to women and a second to the household.⁵ The 'folk museums' movement, pioneered in Scotland by Isabel Frances Grant in the 1930s, also encouraged interest in ordinary people's lives, as did Grant's writing on economic and social history, especially on the Highlands.⁶ Eunice Murray stressed the importance of preserving the past of ordinary folk, and women's central role in maintaining that tradition.⁷ The People's Palace in Glasgow also highlighted women's lives; its collection on women began in 1949 with the donation of memorabilia by Glasgow suffragists.⁸

Little was done to carry on the research of these early historians until the 1980s. Increasing concern with issues of Scottish national identity from the early twentieth century encouraged a focus on political history. Religion continued to be an important marker of a distinctively Scottish identity. Generally, women were not seen as important in political or religious history. 'Scottish identity' tended to be defined by masculine images, excluding the female experience from the debate.⁹ This focus meant few Scottish historians participated in the golden age of social history in the 1960s and 1970s. T. C. Smout's *History of the Scottish People* (1969) showed its potential, but was little emulated until the 1980s, although early demographic work on population growth, fertility, marriage and other topics provided a base for later work.¹⁰ Rosalind Marshall's 1973 study of the household of Anne, Duchess of Hamilton (1632–1716) demonstrated it was possible to write about pre-modern women, but few followed her lead.¹¹

Three works in the 1980s really began the modern study of women in medieval and early modern Scotland. Rosalind Marshall's survey of women c.1080–1980, *Virgins and Viragos*,¹² while focusing mainly on the better-documented noblewomen, demonstrated that sources did exist and encouraged other historians, many influenced by developments in women's history elsewhere. Christina Larner's *Enemies of God*¹³ focused on the Scottish witch-hunt, but foregrounded gender, asking if witch-hunting was in fact woman-hunting. Larner's own conclusions were open-ended, but her question continues to be debated in European witch-hunt literature,

while in Scotland her work encouraged what remains one of the liveliest areas of early modern historical research.¹⁴ Rosalind Mitchison's and Leah Leneman's work on illegitimacy from 1660¹⁵ demonstrated the richness of kirk session (parish courts) records, with their detailed discussions of the marital affairs, sexual behaviour, and domestic relations of local parishioners. More recently, earlier kirk sessions have been used to reveal new facets of women's and men's lives, especially marriage, popular belief and acceptance of new Protestant ideas, and the tensions and interactions of everyday life.¹⁶

The 1980s witnessed new interest in social and economic history. Margaret Sanderson's study of sixteenth-century rural society¹⁷ was followed by others' work on such topics as geographical mobility, marriage, and patterns of male and female employment.¹⁸ For the Lowlands, evidence suggests a Northwest European household pattern, with its life-cycle service, late marriage age, companionate marriage and nuclear households. There is some evidence of a different demographic regime in the Highlands, but this needs further study. Marriage patterns overall may have been affected by the high rate of emigration of young men in the late medieval and early modern period.¹⁹ *Scottish Society 1500–1800* (1989) drew together much of this work and included an essay outlining women's social and economic roles to the end of the eighteenth century.²⁰

The biographical approach reappeared and continues to flourish. Margaret Sanderson included three women in her collection of sixteenth-century biographies.²¹ The anniversary of Mary Queen of Scots' execution in 1987 produced numerous works.²² Studies of the tragic queen appear yearly, but several queen consorts have also been the subjects of research.²³ Two studies of noblewomen recently appeared, and a biographical dictionary of women includes material on 173 figures from the period 1300–1700.²⁴ Fiona Downie's recent study of fifteenth-century queenship, as exemplified by Joan Beaufort and Mary of Guelders, examines the relationship between gender and power, and highlights the importance of female networks in training women to wield such power.²⁵

The 1990s saw a flourishing of works on Scottish women from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries.²⁶ Research on the period 1300–1700 also began to appear, exploring such topics as the impact of war, marriage and divorce, employment and royal and aristocratic women.²⁷ A conference on medieval women was held at the University of Glasgow in 1993, some suggestions for research directions were proposed in 1995, and in 1999 *Women in Scotland c.1100–c.1750* illustrated the diversity of research with twenty essays on topics including religion, literature, political life, work, law and family.²⁸ The research of the 1990s laid the groundwork for the substantial growth of the field in the last decade.

The 1990s also saw an increasing interest of literary scholars in women, both as writers and as subjects of works. *An Anthology of Scottish Women Poets* (1991) made accessible women's poetry from the late fifteenth

century onwards, and highlighted the strength of the Gaelic tradition.²⁹ A history of women's writing examined Lowland authors c.1560–c.1650, Gaelic writers to 1750, and women and ballads.³⁰ Recovery of works by women writers has continued,³¹ and women's importance as patrons and readers has also been highlighted.³² Literary scholars have applied tools of gender analysis to surviving literary texts, examining attitudes to women.³³ Comparative studies have traced European and English influences on Scottish writing. Recent work has emphasized the influence of the *querelle des femmes* (a Europe-wide literary debate about the nature of woman), arguing that the reign of Mary Queen of Scots made such debates particularly pressing.³⁴ Collaboration between historians and literary scholars, mainly in the form of essay collections, has continued to characterize work on women 1300–1700.³⁵

Scholars have re-examined traditional sources, demonstrating the potential of central and local court records, charters, notary's registers and family papers, for example.³⁶ Witch trial reveal details of everyday lives and women's work.³⁷ Scottish testaments are unusual in a British context in being made by people from a wide range of society. The digitization of the registers of testaments means they are now accessible to scholars worldwide,³⁸ although only a small number survive for the pre-Reformation period. The potential of less-traditional sources, such as ballads, is also being examined.³⁹

The last two decades have seen growing interest in medieval and early modern women's work, adding a gendered dimension to the strong tradition of Scottish labour history. As elsewhere, historians have increasingly questioned the framework of separate spheres which relegated women to private life and men to public life. Such private/public distinctions are not sharply defined in a period where most work was carried out within the household.⁴⁰ However, a gendered division of labour remained fairly constant. Historians have focused mainly on occupations associated with women, such as brewing, wet nursing and domestic service. Most research has examined the better-documented urban occupations after about 1450; there is still much to be done on women in the countryside and the period before c.1450. Studies of brewing have been particularly influenced by work on England, although Scottish women seem to have held on to their domination of the industry later than in England.⁴¹ A study of seventeenth-century wetnurses has shown how they could be found among women needing to pay fines imposed for bearing illegitimate children.⁴² Domestic service was a common life-cycle experience for girls, although the proportion of female domestic servants was probably higher in the larger towns than in small towns and the countryside. As elsewhere, women were paid less than men, although the reasons are still debated.⁴³

Some studies have examined women's involvement in what were traditionally considered men's activities. Other work has looked at spouses' economic partnerships. As elsewhere, widows often carried on

their late husband's business, including overseas trade, suggesting an earlier active, but hidden, economic role.⁴⁴ The records of seventeenth-century Aberdeen illuminate wives' role in credit, largely hidden in England, and invite historians elsewhere to reassess married women's involvement in the credit networks crucial to early modern society.⁴⁵ On the other hand, women, often widows, were the majority of recipients of poor relief, and their economic position could be precarious.

As elsewhere in Europe, marital status determined women's legal position, wives being under their husbands' legal authority. Earlier work focused on the formal legal position of women,⁴⁶ but distinctions between law and actual practice have become of increasing interest. Some studies have looked at women in the courts, and demonstrated their abilities to effectively argue their cases. Occasionally women even acted as procurators to argue for others.⁴⁷ Scottish law differed from English law, in many respects being closer to other European legal systems. Scottish wives' position was more favourable than that of English wives. Although wives required their husband's permission to make wills, it was commonly assumed that such permission would be forthcoming. This has provided a rich source for exploring women's connections to kin and friends, as well as their economic activities.⁴⁸

Studies of married women have provided a base for emerging research on the pre-modern Scottish family, including such topics as the impact of famine, relationships between wives and husbands and parents and children, the construction of fatherhood, and the role of community and church in regulating family life.⁴⁹ The permeability of the division between private and public life is increasingly evident, as is the interaction of family and political life among the elite. Although barred from formal political office, women could exercise great influence both through and on behalf of their husbands and children and by patronage.⁵⁰ Such studies can help lead to wider definitions of political power.

The importance of kin and women's roles in kinship networks has been examined in both Highlands and Lowlands, as well as outside Scotland itself.⁵¹ There is considerable debate about the strength of marriage alliances between families.⁵² The practice of wives keeping their own surname has been used to argue for the strength of cognatic ties. Some recent works have suggested that marriage, although defined as indissoluble by the medieval church, was in practice more flexible.⁵³ Earlier beliefs about the existence of trial marriage have been questioned, although the issue is still debated.⁵⁴ There was more recognition of the rights of illegitimate children in Scotland than in England,⁵⁵ especially in the Highlands.

Marriage and marital affairs came under the purview of the church in both pre-Reformation and post-Reformation Scotland (although civil Commissary Courts which dealt with marital issues, including divorce, were established in 1564). Most research has examined the period after

1560, reflecting the rich resources of the Reformed Church compared to the few surviving medieval church records. However, as more work is done on pre-Reformation women's lives, Scottish historians may be able to answer the question 'did women have a Reformation?' The impact of the Reformed Church on women has been debated, some arguing that the new church attempted to treat the sexes equally, while others take a more negative view.⁵⁶

Medieval convents were few in number, resulting in few female religious women compared to most countries, but a detailed recent study has recovered their names and has emphasized the importance of family and kin connections in their lives.⁵⁷ Work on female piety has argued for a flourishing late medieval spirituality. Women were active as religious patrons and pilgrims, while the lives of female saints were popular religious models.⁵⁸ Later female piety is also being studied, for example in the life-writing of seventeenth-century Presbyterian women.⁵⁹ Not all women accepted Protestant teachings, being prominent among those who continued to follow old ways after 1560. Some promoted and participated in Catholicism. Fairy belief was strong in the medieval period but becomes more visible in the records as the Reformed Church attacked such ideas.⁶⁰ Such beliefs also became more dangerous, as they could easily lead to accusations of witchcraft.

Most studies of women's crime have focused on witchcraft, but new aspects are being investigated. The essay collection *Twisted Sisters* (2004) examined women and deviance from 1400 to the twentieth century, looking at such topics as urban crime, and changing definitions of criminality.⁶¹ While earlier work often viewed women as victims, recent work has focused on women's agency. Some recent studies have stressed the aggressive nature of the crimes with which many women were charged.⁶² Other work has questioned the traditional view of Scots as largely quiescent in the face of political and economic change, and women's role in public protest is beginning to be examined anew.⁶³ Most such studies have focused on individual communities, especially the towns where local court records survive and women's strong presence is difficult to ignore.⁶⁴ The voices of ordinary people can be heard (even if mediated) both in testimony in witch trials and in the insults which they threw at each other, and these are being used, as elsewhere, to examine contemporary perceptions of gender roles in society.⁶⁵ Scotswomen's voices also occasionally emerge in English court records when those who had married across the border found themselves with torn loyalties in the Anglo-Scottish conflicts from the late thirteenth century onwards.⁶⁶

As will be evident from much of this discussion, the shift from women's to gender history which began in many countries in the 1980s, has only recently begun to appear in the study of medieval and early modern Scottish women. Much work has been recuperative, aimed at finding women and making them visible, and there is still much to be done,

especially for the period 1300–1500. But historians are beginning to consider how an understanding of women's experience can lead to new interpretations of history as a whole, by compelling an examination of how gender shaped the lives of all people, both women and men. Some recent works on medieval and early modern Scotland have begun to incorporate the new research into their overall discussion,⁶⁷ and this is starting to make available to a wider audience work that has previously appeared mainly in specialist publications. Gender history is more advanced for the period after 1700, with a recent essay collection assessing how the consideration of gender can transform traditional historical views of family, politics, economic life and many other aspects of society.⁶⁸ But historians of the period 1300–1700 are beginning to ask such questions as well.⁶⁹ How were gendered expectations of behaviour affected by class? Were the strong regional differences that characterized medieval and early modern Scotland reflected in different roles for women and men? How did gendered assumptions influence the ways in which national identity was defined?

National identity is a lively issue in Scotland today and raises the issue of the relationship between Scottish history and British history, as well as Scotland's place in the wider European community. It has been argued that Scottish women have been affected by a double marginalization, first by virtue of being women and therefore excluded from mainstream Scottish history, and secondly by being Scottish and therefore largely ignored by women's history in Britain.⁷⁰ Ironically, the first synthesis of recent work on Scottish women 1450–1650 appeared in a study of women in early modern Britain. But is it possible or even desirable to write a history of 'British women'?⁷¹ Should Scottish women's experience be integrated into a wider British story, making it more visible to non-Scottish historians or is it better to create a separate history of Scottish women? Given Scotland's strong ties with Europe, are comparisons with European women and integration into their history perhaps more appropriate? Indeed, Scottish women also have a history outside Scotland as participants in the large-scale emigration of Scots from medieval times onwards.⁷² In a country as regionally divided, geographically, linguistically and culturally, as Scotland, is it possible or desirable to speak of a common history of Scottish women? Such questions will be familiar to those who have debated the place of women's history and women's literature within the wider fields of history and literature as a whole. While the answers to these questions will never be definitive, it is a mark of the growth of the field that scholars have now begun to ask them.

Short Biography

Elizabeth Ewan teaches in the Centre for Scottish Studies in the History Department, University of Guelph where she is University Research

Chair in History and Scottish Studies. She holds a B.A. in History from Queen's University and a Ph.D. in Scottish History from the University of Edinburgh. Her research focuses on the social history of medieval and early modern Scotland, with particular interests in gender and crime, as well as in the representation of women in history and literature. Her early work, *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990), used historical and archaeological evidence to reconstruct the life of medieval townspeople. More recent works, including the co-edited collections, *Women in Scotland c.1100–c.1750* (East Linton, 1999), *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* (Edinburgh, 2006, 2007) and *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland* (Aldershot, 2008), have focussed on the lives of Scottish women. Current projects include a biography of a late medieval Edinburgh woman and a study of the gendered nature of interpersonal assault in late medieval/early modern Scotland.

Notes

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¹ Five women were included in Robert Chambers, *Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Scotsmen* (Glasgow: Blackie, 1833–35). The 1875 edition had fourteen, T. Clarke, 'Paper Monuments: Collecting the Lives of Scots', in Alexander Murdoch (ed.), *The Scottish Nation: Identity and History* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007), 32, 33–4. For more discussion of this earlier work, see Joy Hendry, 'Snug in the Asylum of Taciturnity: Women's History in Scotland', in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley (eds), *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992), 125–42; E. Ewan, 'A Realm of One's Own: The Place of Medieval and Early Modern Women in Scottish History', in T. Brotherstone et al. (eds), *Gendering Scottish History: An International Approach* (Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 2000), 19–36. For other early works, see the online bibliography of Scottish women, WISH, at <http://www.uoguelph.ca/wish>.

² For example, J. Anderson, *Ladies of the Covenant* (London: Blackie, 1855).

³ Harry Graham, *A Group of Scottish Women* (Methuen: London, 1908).

⁴ Eunice Murray, *A Gallery of Scottish Women* (London/Glasgow: Gowans & Gray, 1935). See also Margaret Keary, *Great Scotswomen* (London: A. Maclehose, 1933).

⁵ Alexander Maxwell, *Old Dundee* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1891), ch. 7, 9.

⁶ I. F. Grant, *The Making of Am Fasgadh. An Account of the Origins of the Highland Folk Museum by its Founder* (Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises, 2007); Grant, *Social and Economic Development in Scotland before 1603* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1930); Grant, *Highland Folk Ways* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1961).

⁷ Eunice Murray, *Scottish Homespun* (London: Blackie, 1947), 105; Murray, *Scottish Women in Bygone Days* (Glasgow: Gowans & Gray, 1930).

⁸ Elspeth King, *The People's Palace and Glasgow Green* (Glasgow: Richard Drew Publishing, 1985), ch. 8. The collection was developed further in the 1980s by King, who later wrote a survey history of Glasgow women, *The Hidden History of Glasgow's Women: The Thenew Factor* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1993). See WISH, <http://www.uoguelph.ca/wish>, for other works by King.

⁹ Esther Breitenbach and Lynn Abrams, 'Gender and Scottish Identity', in L. Abrams, E. Gordon, D. Simonton and E. J. Yeo (eds), *Gender in Scottish History Since 1700* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 17–42.

¹⁰ T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560–1830* (London: Collins, 1969); M. Flinn (ed.), *Scottish Population History from the 17th Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

- ¹¹ Rosalind K. Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne* (London: William Collins Sons & Co. Ltd., 1973).
- ¹² Rosalind K. Marshall *Virgins and Viragos. A History of Women in Scotland from 1080–1980* (London: William Collins Sons & Co. Ltd., 1983). For further work by Marshall see WISH, <http://www.uoguelph.ca/wish>.
- ¹³ Christina Lerner, *Enemies of God. The Witch-hunt in Scotland* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).
- ¹⁴ A good literature guide is at The Survey of Scottish Witchcraft, <http://www.shc.ed.ac.uk/Research/witches/index.html>.
- ¹⁵ R. Mitchison and L. Leneman, *Sexuality and Social Control: Scotland 1660–1780* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989). For other works by these authors, see WISH, <http://www.uoguelph.ca/wish>.
- ¹⁶ Michael Graham, *The Uses of Reform: 'Godly Discipline' and Popular Behavior in Scotland and Beyond, 1560–1610* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996); Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002); Janay Nugent, 'Marriage Matters: Evidence from the Kirk Session Records of Scotland, 1560–1650', Ph.D. diss. (University of Guelph, 2004).
- ¹⁷ Margaret Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982).
- ¹⁸ For example, Ian D. Whyte and K. D. Whyte, 'The Geographical Mobility of Women in Early Modern Scotland', in Leah Leneman (ed.), *Perspectives in Scottish Social History* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), 83–106.
- ¹⁹ Alison Cathcart, "'Inressyng of Kyndnes and Renewing of Thair Blud": Kinship and Clan Policy in Sixteenth-Century Scottish Gaeldom', in Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent (eds), *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 127–38; Keith Brown, 'Reformation to Union, 1560–1707', in R. A. Houston and W. W. J. Knox (eds), *The New Penguin History of Scotland* (London: Allen Lane, 2001), 201–2.
- ²⁰ R. A. Houston, 'Women in the Economy and Society of Scotland 1500–1800', in R. A. Houston and I. D. Whyte (eds), *Scottish Society 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 118–47.
- ²¹ Margaret Sanderson, *Mary Stewart's People* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1987).
- ²² See Maurice Lee, Jr., 'Daughter of Debate, Mary Queen of Scots after 400 Years', *Scottish Historical Review*, 68 (1989): 70–9.
- ²³ Pamela Ritchie, *Mary of Guise in Scotland 1548–1560* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002). For works on Mary, see WISH, <http://www.uoguelph.ca/wish>. See also Rosalind Marshall, *Scottish Queens 1034–1714* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003). See work by Maureen M. Meikle on Anna of Denmark at WISH, <http://www.uoguelph.ca/wish>.
- ²⁴ Ishbel C. M. Barnes, *Janet Kennedy, Royal Mistress* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007); Mary Verschuur, *A Noble and Potent Lady: Katherine Campbell, Countess of Crauford* (Dundee: Abertay Society, 2006); E. Ewan, S. Innes, S. Reynolds and R. Pipes (eds), *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).
- ²⁵ Fiona Downie, *She is But a Woman. Queenship in Scotland 1424–1463* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2006).
- ²⁶ Jane McDermid, 'Missing Persons? Women in Modern Scottish History', in Brotherstone et al. (eds), *Gendering Scottish History*, 37–46.
- ²⁷ C. N. Neville, 'Widows of War: Edward I and the Women of Scotland during the Wars of Independence', in Sue Sheridan Walker (ed.), *Wife and Widow in Medieval England* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 109–40; Maureen Meikle, 'Victims, Viragos and Vamps: Women of the Sixteenth-Century Anglo-Scottish Frontier', in J. C. Appleby and P. Dalton (eds), *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000–1700* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), 172–84; Leah Leneman, *Alienated Affections: The Scottish Experience of Divorce and Separation, 1684–1830* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998); G. DesBrisay, 'City Limits: Female Philanthropists and Wet-Nurses', *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, n.s., 8 (1997): 39–60; L. O. Fradenburg, 'Troubled Times: Margaret Tudor and the Historians', in S. Mapstone and J. Wood (eds), *The Rose and the Thistle* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), 35–58.

²⁸ 'Of Wummanis Ways: Women in Medieval Scotland', University of Glasgow, 1993; E. Ewan, 'Women's History in Scotland: Towards an Agenda?', *Innes Review*, 46/1 (1995): 155–69; E. Ewan and M. M. Meikle (eds) *Women in Scotland c.1100–c.1750* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999).

²⁹ Catherine Kerrigan (ed.), *An Anthology of Scottish Women Poets* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991); C. Kerrigan, 'Reclaiming History. The Ballad as a Woman's Tradition', *Études Écossaises*, 1 (1992): 343–50.

³⁰ S. M. Dunnigan, 'Scottish Women Writers c.1560–c.1650', in Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan (eds), *A History of Scottish Women's Writing* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 15–43; A. C. Frater, 'The Gaelic Tradition up to 1750', in Gifford and McMillan, *A History of Scottish Women's Writing*, 1–14; M. E. Brown, 'Old Singing Women and the Canons of Scottish Balladry and Song', in Gifford and McMillan, *A History of Scottish Women's Writing*, 44–57.

³¹ David Mullan (ed.), *Women's Life-Writing in Early Modern Scotland: Writing the Evangelical Self, c.1670–c.1730* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); S. M. Dunnigan, E. Newlyn and C. M. Harker (eds), *Woman and the Feminine in Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan 2004), Part Two.

³² Priscilla Bawcutt, 'My Bright Buke: Women and Their Books in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland', in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al. (eds), *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 17–24.

³³ For example, Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Images of Women in the Poetry of Dunbar', *Études Écossaises* 1 (1992): 49–58; Evelyn S. Newlyn, 'Of "Vertew Nobillest" and "Serpent Wrinkis": Taxonomy of the Female in the Bannatyne Manuscript', *Scotia*, 14 (1990): 1–12; Sarah M. Dunnigan, 'The Creations and Self-Creation of Mary Queen of Scots: Literature, Politics and Female Controversies in Sixteenth-Century Scottish Poetry', *Scotlands*, 5 (1998): 65–88. For more works by these authors, see WISH, <http://www.uoguelph.ca/wish>. See also Part One of *Woman and the Feminine*.

³⁴ S. M. Dunnigan, 'Introduction', in Newlyn and Harker (eds), *Woman and the Feminine*, xx. The existence of such Scottish writings was first pointed out in Francis Utley, *The Crooked Rib* (New York, NY: Octagon Books, 1970 [1944]). See also Kathryn Saldanha, 'The Thewis of Gudwomen: Middle Scots Moral Advice with European Connections?', in Graham Caie et al. (eds), *The European Sun* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2001), 288–99.

³⁵ For example, *Woman and the Feminine, Women in Scotland, The Rose and the Thistle*.

³⁶ Winifred Coutts, *The Business of the College of Justice in 1600: How It Reflects the Economic and Social Life of Scots Men and Women* (Edinburgh: Stair Society, 2003); John Finlay, 'Women and Legal Representation in Early Sixteenth-Century Scotland', in Ewan and Meikle (eds), *Women in Scotland*, 165–75; E. Ewan, 'Protocol Books and Towns in Medieval Scotland', in W. Prevenier and T. de Hemptinne (eds), *La diplomatique urbaine en Europe au moyen âge* (Louvain: Garant, 2000), 143–56; G. DesBrisay and K. Sander Thomson, 'Crediting Wives: Married Women and Debt Litigation in the Seventeenth Century', in Ewan and Nugent (eds), *Finding the Family*, 85–98; C. N. Neville, 'Women, Charters and Landownership in Scotland, 1150–1350', *Journal of Legal History*, 26/1 (2005): 21–45.

³⁷ For example, Lauren Martin, 'Witchcraft and the Family: What Can Witchcraft Documents Tell Us about Early Modern Scottish Family Life?', *Scottish Tradition*, 27 (2002): 7–22.

³⁸ Scotland's People, <http://www.scotlandspeople.org.co.uk>. For recent research, see Margaret Sanderson, *A Kindly Place: Living in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002).

³⁹ Katie Barclay, '"And Four Years Space, Being Man and Wife, They Lovingly Agreed": Balladry and Early Modern Understandings of Marriage', in Ewan and Nugent (eds), *Finding the Family*, 23–33.

⁴⁰ E. Ewan, 'Mons Meg and Merchant Meg: Women in Later Medieval Edinburgh', in Terry Brotherstone and David Ditchburn (eds), *Freedom and Authority. Scotland c.1050–c.1650* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 131–42.

⁴¹ Nicholas Mayhew, 'The Status of Women and the Brewing of Ale in Medieval Aberdeen', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 10 (1997): 16–21. For other works by Mayhew see WISH, <http://www.uoguelph.ca/wish>.

⁴² Gordon DesBrisay, 'Wet Nurses and Unwed Mothers in Seventeenth-Century Aberdeen', in Ewan and Meikle (eds), *Women in Scotland*, 210–20.

- ⁴³ R. A. Houston and W. W. J. Knox (eds), *New Penguin History of Scotland* (London: Allen Lane, 2001), xxxv; Ian D. Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution* (London: Longman, 1995), 166, 205.
- ⁴⁴ For example, Alastair Mann, 'Embroidery to Enterprise? The Role of Women in the Book Trade of Early Modern Scotland', in Ewan and Meikle (eds), *Women in Scotland*, 137–51; Martin Rorke, 'Women Overseas Traders in Sixteenth-Century Scotland', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 25/2 (2005): 81–96.
- ⁴⁵ DesBrisay and Thomson, 'Crediting Wives'.
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- ⁴⁸ Cathryn Spence, 'Women and Business in Sixteenth-Century Edinburgh: Evidence from their Testaments', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 28/1 (2008): 1–19.
- ⁴⁹ For examples, see the essays in *Finding the Family*. See also Janay Nugent, 'Marriage Matters'. Family history is also found in works on broader topics, for example, Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*; Keith Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000).
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- ⁵¹ Alison Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage: Highland clanship 1451–1609* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); R. A. Houston, 'Introduction', in Houston and Whyte (eds), *Scottish Society*, 21; Lorna Barrow, 'Agnes Campbell and Finolla MacDonnell: A Scottish Mother and Daughter in Sixteenth-Century "British" Politics', in Pamela O' Neill (ed.), *Nation and Federation in the Celtic World* (Sydney: The Celtic Studies Foundation, 2003), 52–62.
- ⁵² Christine Peters, *Women in Early Modern Britain 1450–1640* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 20–9 discusses this issue.
- ⁵³ Barnes, *Janet Kennedy*.
- ⁵⁴ Peters, *Women*, 9–11 argues for its existence.
- ⁵⁵ Cathcart, *Kinship*, 101; Brown, *Noble Society*, 162–3.
- ⁵⁶ Cf. Michael Graham, 'Women and the Church Courts in Reformation-Era Scotland', in Ewan and Nugent (eds), *Women in Scotland*, 187–98; Gordon DesBrisay, 'Twisted by Definition: Women under Godly Discipline in Seventeenth-Century Scottish Towns', in Y. G. Brown and R. Ferguson (eds), *Twisted Sisters: Women, Crime and Deviance in Scotland since 1400* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002), 137–55.
- ⁵⁷ Kimm Curran, 'Religious Women and their Communities in Late Medieval Scotland', Ph.D. diss. (University of Glasgow, 2006).
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- ⁶¹ DesBrisay, 'Twisted by Definition'; E. Ewan, 'Crime or Culture? Women and Daily Life in Late Medieval Scotland', in Brown and Galloway (eds), *Twisted Sisters*, 117–36.
- ⁶² Anne-Marie Kilday, *Women and Violent Crime in Enlightenment Scotland* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), although her focus is the eighteenth century.
- ⁶³ C. Whatley, 'An Uninflammable People?', in Donnachie and Whatley (eds), *Manufacture of Scottish History*, 51–71; Peters, *Women*, 134, 136–7.
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⁶⁹ Melissa Hollander, 'The Name of the Father: Baptism and the Social Construction of Fatherhood in Early Modern Edinburgh', in Ewan and Nugent (eds), *Finding the Family*, 63–72.

⁷⁰ E. Breitenbach, A. Brown and F. Myers, 'Understanding Women in Scotland', *Feminist Review*, 58/1 (February 1998): 44, 60–1.

⁷¹ See discussion in Peters, *Women*, Introduction.

⁷² Women are discussed in several essays in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (eds), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2005). Many essays in *Finding the Family* use European comparisons.

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