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Women, Love and Power in Enlightenment Scotland

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Abstract: The significance of the Enlightenment for women's power in society and culture has been a topic of significant historiographical debate. This article looks at how women were located within the discourse of the Scottish Enlightenment and its implications for elite women's role within public and private life in eighteenth-century Scotland. It argues that women were located as helpmeets to men, a designation that authorised their access to education and to some areas of public debate, but that their authority rested on their ability to improve the position of men, rather than enabling them as autonomous agents. To make this argument it draws together case studies of women's role in the home and family, with their engagement in public life and as authors, demonstrating how similar values shaped their role in each sphere.

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Let a woman's understanding be ever so strong, let her mind be ever so accomplish^d; it should always be delivered *sotto-voce*. (Henry Mackenzie, *The Mirror*, 1794).¹

In her history of European feminism, Karen Offen argued that 'we can – and must – reclaim the Enlightenment for feminism'.² She asks us to look beyond Rousseau and recognise Enlightenment discourse that 'openly critiqued the subordinate status of women'.³ Offen's argument is supported by other historians of gender and Enlightenment such as Margaret Jacob who deploys examples of women's participation in eighteenth-century public intellectual culture to assert that the Enlightenment public sphere was not male-dominated.⁴ Jacob states that 'neither in Edinburgh or Paris should the burgeoning of the public sphere be construed as a defeat for women'.⁵ In France, especially prior to the 1780s, Enlightenment intellectual culture was publicly manifested in salons, often governed by aristocratic women.⁶ As Joan Landes asserts, salons provided salonnières (female hosts) with 'performative and vocalizing roles', enabling them to enact a degree of cultural power 'unmatched in subsequent or prior eras'.⁷ In an English context, Lawrence Klein argues that the importance of women in enabling male refinement demonstrated that Enlightenment thinkers endorsed 'the female voice' and that in the world of refined

sociability ‘women had an assured place’.⁸ Perhaps, more controversially, Jennifer Popiel argues that Rousseau’s promotion of the ideology of domesticity allowed women to claim citizenship as mothers in the early nineteenth century. She suggests that Enlightenment thought was used by women to give them access to public power through their engagement in the private sphere.⁹

None of these authors have uncritically suggested that the Enlightenment was a success for women (if such thing could be measured). Like Karen O’Brien in her study of women and Enlightenment, they rather wish to acknowledge the significant role women had within Enlightenment society and how Enlightenment ideas were sometimes re-interpreted (especially by women writers) and deployed for feminist ends.¹⁰ Moreover, as Barbara Taylor puts it, there are plenty of historians who view the Enlightenment as a ‘catastrophe’ for women.¹¹ In this article, we will explore the impact of the Enlightenment on Scottish women, where Enlightenment is understood as a multifaceted cultural project that incorporated economic and moral ‘improvement’, the flourishing of urbanity and polite society, and a distinct model for gendered behaviour. As David Hume wrote:

They flock into cities; love to receive and communicate knowledge; to show their wit or their breeding; their taste in conversation or living, in clothes or furniture. ... Particular clubs and societies are every where formed: Both sexes meet in an easy and sociable manner; and the tempers of men, as well as their behaviour, refine apace. So that, beside the improvements which they receive from knowledge and the liberal arts, it is impossible but they must feel an encrease of humanity, from the very habit of conversing together, and

contributing to each other's pleasure and entertainment. Thus industry, knowledge, and humanity, are linked together by an indissoluble chain.¹²

That the Scottish Enlightenment was, in gendered terms, more conservative than elsewhere in Europe is not an original claim. John Dwyer convincingly argues that Scottish Enlightenment theory located women as 'perpetual adolescents', where female reading and education was designed to prepare them for marriage and domesticity.¹³ Katharine Glover has argued that 'the notion that girls should be able to provide intelligent company (particularly within the family) was probably the most effective factor extending young women's access to knowledge over the course of the century', but that women's education was 'directed towards the benefit of the men around them, its benefits for the women themselves frequently incidental, if not always insignificant'.¹⁴ Catherine Moran and Jane Rendall similarly demonstrate that within the popular Scottish Enlightenment 'stadial models' for human development, women were passive markers of historical development, allowed to flourish and display their true natures in the modern commercial society created by their male counterparts, not historical actors.¹⁵

This was a conservatism shaped by the wider social, economic and political context. After the political Union of 1707, parliamentary power moved south to London, following the royal court in 1603. With it moved much of formal Scottish political life; the landed political elite abandoning Edinburgh and often living for much of the year in London.¹⁶ The number of Scottish parliamentary seats was reduced from (a theoretical) 302 to 45, limiting the role of Scots in UK politics and the role of their wives in electioneering and political bargaining.¹⁷ This move south created a political vacuum north of the border, where Scotland was nominally

managed by the Secretary of State, after 1746 Lord Advocate, and his council. In practice, Enlightenment society, that is the institutions of the Kirk, the universities, the Faculty of Advocates, improvement societies, intellectual societies, convivial clubs and to an extent private homes and dining rooms, came to constitute political society in Scotland, especially from the 1750s.¹⁸ This political environment was informed by wider social change, including the development of the modern economy, political responses to the Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 and 1745, and the new associational, political community.¹⁹

Scottish civil society flourished during the eighteenth century, supported by a sympathetic clergy. This was particularly the case in Edinburgh, where the Moderates of the Church of Scotland were in ascendancy. In smaller towns such as those in the Calvinist south west, the Kirk continued to oppose manifestations of urbanity such as dancing and the theatre.²⁰ Rapid industrial growth and urbanization in the last three decades of the century however reduced the Kirk's power to influence urban society, and 'improvement' rapidly spread throughout Scotland.²¹ First in Edinburgh and then in smaller cities and towns, intellectual clubs, coffee shops, libraries, lectures and other forms of 'polite society' were established. Book sales dramatically increased and those of a middling background had libraries in their homes. For those who could not afford to buy books, circulating libraries, newspaper and periodical press and cheap ephemera provided reading material.²² In these spaces elite men, drawn from both the traditional ruling aristocracy and the newer Enlightenment elite of wealthy merchants, professionals and literati, came together to not only consider the future of the nation, but transform it.²³

This was a transformation bounded by a desire for the Scottish nation to be an equal partner within the British union. It was created in the context of the Jacobite

Rebellions that much of the Hanoverian-leaning members of Enlightenment society associated with anti-democratic Catholicism, French effeminacy and aristocratic excess.²⁴ The need to rehabilitate the nation from this heritage, alongside the central role of the moderate clergy in ‘Enlightened’ polite society, promoted a political and social conservatism in Scottish society, reinforcing complementary gendered roles, placing boundaries on luxurious excess, and promoting sexual probity amongst the population.²⁵ Coupled with Edinburgh’s relatively low population size, it created a climate that left little space for the alternative political positions or bohemian lifestyles that were found in London.

This conservative culture was reinforced by the homosocial location of many of the activities of these social groups. Clubs and associations were increasingly held in taverns, university buildings, newly-established libraries and coffeehouses that were either explicitly or customarily male spaces. They were accompanied by the development of heterosocial spaces – assembly rooms, theatres and public parks – where women and men mixed, but in a context of leisure and pleasure, rather than serious thought or discussion, placing limits on the forms of conversation enabled within those spaces.²⁶ Within this culture, new ideas were actively discussed and debated, and in turn developed into public discourses through the writings of the Scottish literati, widely available and popular during the period.²⁷ The ideas that were so fundamental in the shaping of Enlightenment Scotland were not ‘imposed from above’, but rather arose from the society in which they were used. Despite this, some voices had greater opportunity to speak, and spoke with more authority than others.

The increasing importance of the ideology of domesticity, and the distinctive gendered roles imagined within it, restricted women’s operation in Scottish society, particularly in the ‘public’ world of printing and intellectual endeavour – where the

horror at the idea of women as ‘authors’ was commented on by men and women of the eighteenth century as well as by historians today.²⁸ Yet, the emphasis on the feminine and domestic did not entirely silence women. As Elizabeth Mure noted of her youth in the mid eighteenth century, it was at the tea tables that ‘they pulled to pieces the manners of those that differed from them; everything was a matter of conversation; Religion, Morals, Love, Friendship, Good manners, dress’.²⁹ In this context, women were both present and absent in the Scottish Enlightenment, able to read, converse, and occasionally write, but restricted within an imagining of themselves as domestic beings.

This article contributes to debates concerning women’s place in Scottish Enlightenment society through an exploration of the ways that women were expected to, and did, interact with men and the implications for their ability to exercise agency and power. This article wishes to emphasise the significance of the idea of women as ‘helpmeets’ for men in shaping women’s roles in Enlightenment Scotland. In doing so, this article cannot hope to give space to the numerous and complex voices participating in Enlightenment debates during this period, but rather it picks out a central and prominent strand of Enlightenment thinking about women that was particularly influential in shaping women’s behaviour.

The concept of the ‘helpmeet’ has a long lineage, drawing on the biblical allusion of wives as helpmeets to their husbands, and promoted to women across the early modern period as a metaphor for their behaviour in marriage and in the domestic sphere more broadly.³⁰ The ‘helpmeet’s’ role was to provide practical and emotional support for their spouse, or occasionally other kin, but it was a phrase that clearly located women in a subsidiary role, with some ministers using the story of Adam and Eve to reinforce the risk entailed when women led.³¹ Through this model, women were

encouraged to understand their role as subservient to the interests of those around them and as enabling particularly their husbands but also their families to succeed. Around 1717, the baronet Francis Grant advised his teenage son that the ideal wife would: ‘accommodate herself to your opinions and interests in all the fors & respects, you’ll desire her to be such as, probably, will be plyable; not stiff or opinionated on some singularities in or about herself or her friends’.³² Similarly Elizabeth Clerk was advised by her father in 1690 that she should ‘encourage your husband as your head & lord to be king & priest & prophet in his house so far as is required in the gospel’ and that she should ‘take a great deal of pain to please & oblige all your neighbours bot especially your godfather his lady & bairns [her in-laws] & be over a good instrument of promoting love peace & concord amongst them [...] with advice of your husband’.³³ Such advice, given by women as well as men, continued across the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century.³⁴ Moreover, it was broadly accepted that this was a women’s function, so much so that many wives came to understand their sense of self as merged into that of their spouse – an emotional coverture.³⁵

As this article explores, Enlightenment conceptions of women’s role as helpmeets extended beyond marriage and into the ‘public sphere’, informing how Enlightenment philosophers wrote about women and their participation in civil society. To discuss this phenomenon, this article focuses on eighteenth-century Scotland, looking at how this idea shaped understandings of women within Scottish Enlightenment thought, before going on to examine how these ideas in turn shaped women’s participation in civil society and their relationships with men in the domestic sphere. Through comparing women in what would have traditionally been interpreted as ‘public’ and ‘private’ spheres, this article demonstrates that women’s expected behaviour and exercise of power in both spaces was very similar, and that the public/

private model artificially focuses attention on the 'space' as the determining factor in the creation of power, rather than the actors within that space.

Women, Love and Power in Enlightenment Thought

The idea that men and women had different natures, and so different abilities, skills and areas of responsibility, was central to the modern, commercial society imagined by Scottish philosophers such as Adam Smith, David Hume, and John Millar, the popular writers who conveyed and adapted their ideas for a general public, like James and David Fordyce, John Gregory and William Alexander, and an array of novelists and fiction authors who explored the implications of such prescriptive ideals for social practice.³⁶ As Mark Towsey has demonstrated, whilst different texts held different levels of cultural authority and some were more widely disseminated than others, they sat alongside each other on the bookshelves of a wide-range of Scots, who read them discriminately, discussed the ideas they conveyed and applied them in complex and idiosyncratic ways.³⁷ Reading them together to give insight into a broad swathe of elite Scottish culture enables dominant trends and ideals around gendered behaviour to be unpacked.

While masculinity changed according to changes in means of subsistence and manners, femininity was typically seen as innate; following ideology initially propagated in Joseph Addison's influential *Spectator* periodical, its performance, enabled by the environment created by their male counterparts, was considered to be central to creating a 'civilised' nation.³⁸ Male virtue was similarly important, but even in a state of civility it required active moulding through socialisation and engagement with virtuous men and women. This enabled men to exercise self-control over their

passions and to become rational, political actors.³⁹ David Hume maintained that there was no ‘better school for manners than the company of virtuous women’.⁴⁰ John Gregory agreed, commenting that women were ‘designed to soften our [men’s] hearts and polish our manners’.⁴¹ Through conversing with women, men would become more sociable and refined.⁴²

Yet, women’s role in polite society was not as equal partners, or even equal conversationalists, to men. Women were to *enable* men to become independent, political actors – a role denied to women due to the passivity of their gender. Women’s proper role was the ‘care, inspection and management of everything belonging to the family’ – an argument for women’s natural domesticity that continued in the ‘separate spheres’ ideology that was to dominate the nineteenth century.⁴³ This domestic sphere was not separated from the public sphere; women’s position at home was also to allow men to become their full selves, able to participate in the political community.⁴⁴ As Alexander noted, women’s role was not just to ‘propagate and nourish the species, but to form us for society, to give an elegance to our manners, a relish to our pleasures, to sooth our afflictions and to soften our cares’.⁴⁵ Virtuous women were those who understood their social role was relational and their purpose to facilitate men. Women who were involved in more selfish pursuits, notably gadding around in public, playing cards, and obsessing over fashion, opened themselves to criticism.⁴⁶

Women’s role as enablers was not just restricted to practical matters, but also applied to their role within intimate relationships. A major theme of the culture of sensibility, a central strand of the Scottish Enlightenment, was the idea of love as unity or union between spouses. The cult of sensibility envisioned social relationships to be built upon sympathy, where the moral individual was one who could imagine

himself in the place of another and act accordingly. The emphasis on sympathy placed the passions at the heart of social relationships, allowing men, and to lesser extent women, greater emotional expression as they displayed their moral self. At the same time, Smithian self-command remained central to the idealised new (male) individual as unrestrained passion led to excess and vice.⁴⁷

The act of loving was considered by Enlightenment thinkers to be a powerful act, reflecting the historical association between love and benevolence, where a loving husband demonstrated his affection through both his generosity and the limitations that he placed on his power over his subordinates lives.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the culture of sensibility and the increasing expectation that people would marry for love challenged the idea that love was an exclusively male emotion.⁴⁹ As the conduct author John Moir put it, ‘without an exchange of hearts, what in the eyes of God or man can sanctify their choice?’⁵⁰ New Enlightenment models of femininity emphasised female passivity, which allowing women to love, an active behaviour, destabilised. By the late eighteenth century, there was increasing social recognition of the ‘threat’ of women loving, and thus holding power, and, as a result, there was a move to restrict women’s usage of the language of romance.⁵¹

The writings of the best-selling advice author, John Gregory, illustrate the awareness in eighteenth-century society of the relationship between love and power. He noted in 1774 that when a woman realised that she was in love ‘she feels a violence done both to her pride and her modesty’.⁵² That men managed to invoke feelings of love from women was an act of force upon them. He further advised that ‘if you love him, let me advise you never to discover to him the full extent of your love, no not although you marry him’. Gregory believed that ‘violent love cannot subsist, at least cannot be expressed, for any time together, on both sides; otherwise

the certain consequence, however concealed, is satiety and disgust'.⁵³ It appeared that Gregory was arguing that through vocalising their feelings of love, women reduced the level of respect or power they held within marriage.

Yet, this interpretation is problematic. Women were expected to relinquish power to their husbands when they married. If expressing love reduced authority, it should be men that reserved their affections. Yet, love was a husband's primary duty within marriage, reified in their wedding vows; Gregory's work only made sense if love was a form of power. Women should restrain themselves from the language of love, not to retain their own authority, but because to love was a powerful act. The act of loving someone was an act of 'violence', as Gregory described it, and as such was not socially appropriate for women. James Fordyce was similarly reluctant to allow women to express their feelings of love, believing that they should inspire love, not offer it.⁵⁴

As Ruth Yeazell argues, Gregory and Fordyce attempted to make it socially unacceptable for women to express love to ensure that they could not utilise any power inherent in the act of loving.⁵⁵ As suggested by Gregory's writings, this idea was closely related to the valorisation of female modesty by Enlightenment thinkers. The emphasis on women's natural humanity, which brought sentiment without self-control, threatened female chastity.⁵⁶ The solution to this dilemma was to endow women with modesty, whether through education or understanding it as an innate female characteristic. For many prominent authors, the modest woman was innocent of sexual knowledge, until it was awakened in her by a spouse within marriage.⁵⁷ Such writings created a discourse that made it difficult for women to show emotion externally and thus exercise power externally. Women could not love until they were married and their affections were safely under the control of their spouse.⁵⁸

This is not to contend that Enlightenment thinkers believed women should be confined to a narrowly-conceived domestic sphere. Indeed, John Millar argued that it was a marker of civilised society that ‘women are encouraged to quit that retirement that was formerly so esteemed as suitable to their nature’.⁵⁹ He believed that engagement with ‘the world’ led women to ‘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’. Or, in other words, engagement in the social sphere made women more attractive to men.

Women, Sensibility and the Domestic

The belief that women were to be helpmeets to men had a long heritage in the Christian world, reinforced in Scotland by marital law where married women’s legal persons, and non-heritable property, were subsumed (at least in part) within that of their husband.⁶⁰ During the second half of the eighteenth century, this discussion of unity became less a merging of two souls, and increasingly the submersion of the female self into that of her spouse. This was most aptly demonstrated in the growing fashion amongst elite Scottish women of the period to take their husband’s name upon marriage, rather than retain their family name as had been historical practice.⁶¹ It was also reflected in their personal relationships with men, where women increasingly conformed to a model of gender relationships that reinforced women in passive and enabling roles. The role of women as lovers, in particular, became constrained, reflecting the value-system publicised in the writings of men like Gregory and Fordyce and in popular novels, and tensions created by changing ideas and new

arenas for courtship, which gave women greater freedom of choice in selecting a partner.

Courtship rituals amongst the social elite changed in late-eighteenth-century Scotland, as individual choice, as well as love, started to compete for priority alongside the traditional concerns of family consent (including the need to fulfil familial, social and political ambitions), the economic stability of the future household, and the ability to negotiate a suitable marriage settlement.⁶² Within this world, the male individual and the homosocial networks he moved in became as central to social mobility and success as good kin networks (although these remained significant). This made men less reliant on their family's goodwill when selecting a spouse, but, as significantly, parents also felt less investment in selecting their children's partners, coming to believe that love and compatibility were significant factors in spousal selection, alongside more traditional concerns.⁶³

Changing values encouraged men and women to distance themselves from the imputation of a 'mercenary bargain', while still making the most economically and romantically successful match. As a result, discussions of love and emotion become increasingly frequent within the correspondence of the Scottish elites.⁶⁴ However, over the last decades of the century, reflecting their cultural environment, women's expression of love became increasingly restricted. Within the courtship letters of the Scottish elites at the mid-century, although the idea of female passivity in courtship was becoming increasingly central, particularly in the writings of men, women still attempted to actively participate in their courtships. While the Earl of Marchmont wrote to his future wife in 1747, 'Shall my voice direct you my angel? Yes love, it shall direct you to my arms, it shall direct you to a friend without reserve, to a lovers heart', in 1752 Dorothy Hobart still felt free to express after her elopement that 'I can

figure but one situation more insupportable than being deprived of the friendship & affection of all my family, which is living without a hope or prospect of marrying him'.⁶⁵ Courting women were assertive in voicing their feelings and promoting their interests against their suitor or occasionally their families.

However, even by the 1750s, society was increasingly suspicious of women who openly showed emotion. While Enlightenment society valorised feminine sensibility, that women were less able to control their passions threatened the social order, which could even have implications for the well-being of the nation.⁶⁶ As a result, female emotion, especially love, was problematic. While not a conventional courtship, the family discussion surrounding the illicit affair of Mainie-Anne Cathcart and her brother in law, Sir John Houston, highlighted the concern, not just with infidelity, but a woman whose passions were not appropriately controlled. Mainie-Anne Cathcart was the daughter of Charles, 8th Lord Cathcart and only sister of Elenora Cathcart, John Houston's wife.⁶⁷ In a short note perhaps written on reading the publication of Mainie-Anne's letters during the Houston's sensational divorce, Sir John Clerk criticised Miss Cathcart for her disregard for her sister in maintaining this illicit relationship, but also noted 'she has been so madly in love with him as to write & speeke directly as he inclined she would' and that 'her real intentions was to ingross [sic] all from Johns affection to her self'. Miss Cathcart's active behaviour in their relationship was as significant and derisory as her illicit affair. The note continued that 'Miss Cathcart had employed most of her time wil & memory in reading romances in all languages & she seemes very weel acquainted with all the theory of love matters'.

Miss Cathcart's letters to Houston were full of openly romantic language. On one occasion she wrote: 'I'd give any Thing on Earth to see but one Line from you.—

How shall I ever support this cruel tedious Absence, since I feel it more and more every Hour!—My only Comfort is crying in a corner, since it would not be prudent to do it openly. ... I know your good Heart, and makes no doubt you do'.⁶⁸ Yet, even though she was willing to openly declare her feelings, she understood her role as a lover as subordinate to Houston, noting that: 'I look on myself, as a Ship without a Pilot, exposed to every Wave.—I can as little be without you, as *Telemachus* without *Mentor*'. In another she noted: 'In wanting you I want my best Friend, my kind, my generous Benefactor ... I look on you as a second self', complexly combining the paternalistic into the union of souls of romantic love.⁶⁹ Cathcart's writing is highly unusual in the context of Scottish women's courtship letters. They demonstrate the emotional possibilities of the mid-century, still offering women a romantic voice if encompassing the expected gender hierarchies required of love and marriage during the period. Yet, as Clerk's response demonstrates, public opinion was becoming increasingly suspicious of such language and it was Clerk's response that was to become socially dominant.

As is noted by Ruth Yeazell, women who understood desire were increasingly seen to be in danger of using its power for their own purposes.⁷⁰ Miss Cathcart's expertise in love was thought by Clerk to originate from the romances of the period, which held an ambiguous social role. Novels were condemned within sermons and prescriptive literature for their corrupting role, with Hannah More arguing that they promoted unconstrained passion and endangered women's chastity.⁷¹ Similarly, while the principal male character, Harley, in Henry Mackenzie's sentimental novel, *The Man of Feeling*, often openly showed emotion, a central female character, Miss Atkins, was tricked into a life of prostitution by falling in love with Mr Winbrooke, a man of false refinement. This love, entered into 'before any declaration on his part

should have warranted a return' and continued even after Winbrooke openly scorned the idea of marriage, was encouraged in Atkins because 'the course of reading which I [Atkins] had been accustomed, did not lead me to conclude that his expressions could be too warm to be sincere'.⁷²

This is not to say that women did not find spaces to exert agency within courtship; one model available to women in the mid-to-late-eighteenth century was that of the 'rational' woman. Enlightenment discourses of rationality allowed some writers to emphasise their choice of partner was reasonable and their expression of love contained.⁷³ Anne Mylne when trying to free herself from a courtship in the late 1760s explained: 'I have a great opinion of my own head, it has extricated my heart out of so many scraps, that its found quite insolent both to it and other people and treats its feeble emotions, as the weakness of an idiot that's perpetually going wrong, take this my dear for an answer about hearts, I tell you again and again, that it would be just as well if we had none'.⁷⁴ Anne strongly believed in love within marriage, noting to her niece 'I hope some time to see you disposed of to one whom your heart and reason can approve', but wished to observe a balance between affection and pragmatism. Reason was to control the violent excesses of love and rational suitors were meant to consider more than love when selecting a partner.⁷⁵

Additionally, at least in this instance, Anne's assertion of rationality in matters of the heart allowed her to have active emotions. While she acknowledged that her heart was contained, it was through her own exercise of reason rather than an inability to conceive of love as a female behaviour. In practice, this meant that her behaviour in courtship appeared passive, but this discourse allowed women ownership of their emotions and some sense of power in their emotional relationships. This use of Enlightenment discourse is also found within the prescriptive literature of best-selling

female authors, such as Hannah More and Hester Chapone, arguing for women's education. More argued that it was only through education and the ability to hold a rational argument that women would truly recognise their social subordination, which she believed was women's appropriate role in the world.⁷⁶

By the late-eighteenth century, rather than allowing women to exercise reason over their passions, dominant discourses promoted a model for loving where female emotions were to be unacknowledged until safely under male control, as Yeazell notes the modest woman displayed 'an increasing blankness of mind'.⁷⁷ This change fundamentally altered Scottish courting culture. Scottish seduction and 'declarator of marriage' (to determine the legality of a marriage) suits saw a shift in couples describing courtship as 'making love' to men 'professing love' over this period. While across the century, men were always depicted as the active partners in courtship, this change in language saw a move from courtship as a mutually-created relationship to an action that men performed on women.⁷⁸ Similarly courting practices amongst the elites homogenised, showing the increasing dominance of the model promoted by writers like Gregory and Fordyce. Like in North America, the conflict between the inexpressive woman and the emotive male suitor developed into an elaborate game.⁷⁹ Men besieged their beloveds with gifts and flowery declarations of love, while women expressed reserve and refused to commit to a relationship. When the woman finally relented, usually just before the couple married, the man was seen as the victor who had wooed and won his sweetheart. While this has been seen as giving women power during courtship, the suitor's victory was inevitable and women had a very restricted and prescribed role.⁸⁰ The only area left for a woman to exploit was if she had more than one lover to play off against each other and, even then, she eventually must make a choice.

This ritual was played out during the courtship of James Balfour and Anne Macintosh in 1806. He attempted to awaken Anne's love and, through doing so, take possession of her and her feelings. He noted in one letter:

You confess an anxiety to know how I am, and you cannot help feeling an interest in my health and welfare. These are not the expressions of ordinary friendship or of common politeness and far less of cold indifference. They must proceed from some other source more nearly connected with the warmer influence of the heart. Shall I trace them to a return of sentiments similar to those which it is my pleasure to avow I have towards you?⁸¹

James was unsuccessful on this occasion with Anne not relenting for over a year.

Letter writing rituals of this form ensured that men were the aggressors, while women were passive and inactive. Women could not express emotion until they had accepted a proposal of marriage, ensuring that female love, and any power it contained, remained under male control.

As Barclay explores in *Love, Intimacy and Power*, this understanding of female emotions continued into married life, where women were expected to understand their role not only as a helpmeet in organising the practical management of the home and estate, but to invest their identities and emotions into their husband's. The 'second self' envisioned by Cathcart was, in fact, to be the primary self for these women, as they sublimated their own needs and desires beneath that of their husband and family.⁸² As Elizabeth Grant noted to her husband in 1755, she 'would most willingly contribute every thing in my power to make life agreeable and happy to us all', while, even in the midst of negotiations for a marital separation in 1829, Philadelphia Stuart-Menteth told her husband that, 'Be assured I wish for no separate

interest from my husband and it has even been my earnest desirer to consult his wishes & comfort'.⁸³

The promotion of female passivity in emotional affairs also shaped discussions of sexual behaviour in Scotland, where Enlightenment ideals, shaped by the Calvinist Kirk, led to a reduction of 'bawdy' language in polite company and also had a direct effect on how people understood female sexuality. While admittedly an extreme example, in 1781, Mary Crawford even claimed that after several years of marriage 'it has ever been looked on as the most beautiful circumstance attending married Love that a seeming reluctance should still be found on the part of the Female'.⁸⁴ This was seen more widely in British Enlightenment culture, where Barker-Benfield noted that indelicacy in language was increasingly associated with sex, restricting the emotional expression of chaste women. Simon Dickie too has recently argued that eighteenth-century society expected all virtuous women to show some resistance to sex, especially on their first sexual encounter.⁸⁵

This model for female behaviour became a central part of how elite Scottish women understood themselves and their expected social roles, especially as it became linked with the ideology of domesticity and incorporated a space for rational women. Tying the many strands of this discourse together, the heroine, Mary, in Ferrier's novel *Marriage*, represented the ideal domestic woman.⁸⁶ Raised in a Rousseau-ian idyll of nature with a rational and moral education, she was informed that love was founded on esteem, a similarity of taste and sympathy of feelings.⁸⁷ Mary was intelligent enough to see the faults of others, but virtuous enough not to criticise them. Her character was imbued with a sincere religious faith without resort to overt 'evangelicalism'. She had the ability to reason and exercise self-control, but at the same time was a creature of sympathy, capable of true, if contained, passion. She

sought after a peaceful, rural, domestic and charitable life, rather than the ambitious and empty 'fashionable world'. When Mary eventually met her husband (the son of a Scottish gentry family and eventual heir to a Scottish estate), she was not aware of her love for him (despite hints by her friends and relatives), until he declared his affection, her eyes were opened, and they immediately become engaged. In this way, her affection remained safely in the hands of her husband.

She was contrasted with her best-friend and cousin, Emily, who was moral without religious belief, having been brought up in secular, aristocratic London. Emily at a young age became engaged to her cousin, with whom she lived during her childhood, following the logic of Adam Smith that close cohabitation between family members breeds affection.⁸⁸ Unlike Mary, Emily recognised and declared her love, actively pursuing her cousin and eventual engagement in marriage. As her love was not properly contained however, during her fiancé's absence, Emily found her emotions had gone astray (without her realisation) and she was in love with someone else. Fortunately, once made aware of this, she had enough wisdom to master her passion and redirect it to its proper object, but the danger of female love, even in an otherwise moral person, was evident. Female self-control was not sufficient to master active emotions, endangering the stability of the family and the social order based on faithful marital unions. Other female characters, such as Mary's biological mother, who eloped without parental permission and had an empty, unloving marriage, or her twin sister, who married for wealth without love and later eloped with a paramour, resulting in social scandal, divorce and a second disastrous marriage, also underlined the social instability caused by women whose passions were not properly directed, whether by a moral education or by a moral lover.

This domestic model incorporated the idealised rational woman used to resist female passivity in the eighteenth century.⁸⁹ Following the writings of Mary Wollstonecraft, Hannah More and Hester Chapone, the domestic woman needed to be educated and rational in order to perform her domestic functions. She was also charitable, working within her local community to aid the poor, which would increasingly be used as a space for women to expand their domestic role into the public sphere in the nineteenth century. Yet, at the same time, this domestic role also increasingly homogenised elite women as it restricted their behaviour to a single model. The model of femininity that marked elite Scottish women as virtuous, and so acceptable company for elite men both in the private sphere and beyond, simultaneously restricted their behaviour, confining them to a passive, domestic role, and closing down opportunities for them to have a voice. Women remained as helpmeets in emotional and social terms.

Women in Associational and Political Life

The significance of the domestic model of femininity to eighteenth-century Scottish women not only affected their interactions at home, but also shaped the manner in which they were expected to, and did, operate beyond it. Women were able to access civil society, and occasionally even operate within the public, but the terms in which they were expected to operate was as ‘helpmeets’ to their male counterparts and so they largely remained invisible and their operation constrained. This was made particularly evident in the ways in which women were able to access Scottish associational culture. Societies, such as Edinburgh’s Select Society and Glasgow’s Literary Society, were spaces in which the intellectual elite, including Adam Smith,

Hugh Blair, David Hume, Lord Kames and Thomas Reid, engaged in debate alongside military officers and landed nobility. This homosocial intellectual civic culture integrated the literati in patronage networks and played a central role in the formation of Enlightenment discourse.⁹⁰

The records of the Select Society do not contain any details of what was said during the debates held at its weekly meetings, but the questions that were debated are recorded.⁹¹ They reflect dominant concerns within Scottish Enlightenment thought and gender was a central theme within debates. Many of the questions related directly to women, such as ‘Whether the Succession of females be of Advantage to the Publick’.⁹² Intellectual concern with women’s position in society was not limited to the Select Society. Similar in its aims, the Belles Lettres Society was predominantly composed of students at Edinburgh University, and the topics of debate were similar to those held in the Select Society, including ‘Whether a Landed or Commercial Interest is most favourable to publick liberty’ and ‘Whether Women ought to be taught the Sciences’.⁹³

Evidently women’s education and social role was a subject of lengthy and repeated discussion and debate. Given this, women’s access to these debates and their ability to engage in the formation of Enlightenment values was a key opportunity to influence the shape of gender relationships in modern Scotland. However, as Carr has explored in detail elsewhere, by the mid-eighteenth-century, when Edinburgh was referred to as the ‘Athens of the North’, women were absent from Scottish Enlightenment public associational culture.⁹⁴ Within the rules of the Select and Literary societies, there is nothing explicitly denying female membership or access.⁹⁵ Women were excluded because, similarly to Brian Cowan’s findings on the English

coffeehouse, the activity of sociable intellectual debate which took place within them was considered to be a masculine activity.⁹⁶

Similarly, in the 1770s, while women attended public debating societies, namely Dundee's Speculative Society and Edinburgh's Pantheon Society, there is no evidence that they spoke and indeed the record provides the impression that this was not their role.⁹⁷ This was in contrast to some London debating societies of the 1780s.⁹⁸ Despite this, women's participation in Scottish societies was not wholly passive. They gained entry to Edinburgh's Pantheon Society in 1775 (its first meeting was in 1773) after a poem published in the *Weekly Magazine* protested their exclusion, and whilst they did not speak in debates, women did vote.⁹⁹ This position suggests both presence and absence and is exemplified by a woman who presented an address on 17 December 1778 on whether love or money should determine a marriage. In presenting this address she did not speak, instead 'The anonymous Sentiments of a Lady were read by Mr Anderson which had been sent to him the day before; they were received by the audience with every mark of respect and applause'.¹⁰⁰ In this case, the anonymous woman was not silent, but her words were mediated through a man. As in marriage, women were allowed to enable Enlightenment men in their development, but not to take an autonomous role in their own right.

Voting permitted a direct engagement with emerging discourses of femininity, and like women's adoption of passive modes of action in courtship rituals, it reflects women's adoption of discourses of female domesticity, though not without some dissent. On 15 February 1776, the Society debated whether 'Is it consistent with good policy to have Ladies for Sovereigns', and 'it was carried by a great majority, that females ought not to be troubled with Sovereignty, and that their Eminence over the Men was Sufficiently powerful, without their deviating from that line of Conduct

which was evidently destined them by Providence to act in, all the Ladies present, except two, were of the same opinion'.¹⁰¹ Public debating societies offered women a voice in the construction of discourses on gender, but this contribution was limited to critique, through the silent act of voting, rather than participation in the formation of the discourse itself.

This restriction of the female voice was not inevitable. Early in the eighteenth century, rumours circulated about the existence of 'The Fair Intellectual Club', a woman's intellectual society. It is unlikely that this club existed in practice, but it was given literary form through the circulation of a printed pamphlet, *An Account of the Fair Intellectual Club In Edinburgh: In a Letter to a Honourable Member of the Athenian Society there. By a young Lady, the Secretary of the Club*, which was apparently published following requests by men in the Athenian Society.¹⁰² The author of the pamphlet (the text is anonymous, but is purported to be written by a woman) summarised her motivation for forming the society as: 'We thought it a great Pity, that Women, who excell a great many others in Birth and Fortune, should not also be more eminent in Virtue and good Sense, which we might attain unto, if we were as industrious to cultivate our Minds, as we are to adorn our Bodies'.¹⁰³

Asserting women's capacity to develop intellectual ability through reading, the Fair Intellectual Club presented an argument similar to the late eighteenth-century feminists Catherine Macaulay and Mary Wollstonecraft.¹⁰⁴ Arguing for female reason and intellectual ability, the members did not wish to usurp men or to attain gender equality. As the author stated, 'we neither go out of our Sphere, nor have acted inconsistently in what we have done',¹⁰⁵ rather intellectual activity was represented as essential to their roles as 'Women and Christians'.¹⁰⁶

Later in the century, like the Bluestockings in London, some women engaged in intellectual debates with men and women in the private settings of their homes or in correspondence.¹⁰⁷ After her husband's death in 1753, Alison Cockburn established her residence in Edinburgh as a site for literary interaction amongst members of Edinburgh's literati, including Henry Mackenzie, William Robertson and David Hume. Her interaction with Hume also extended beyond Cockburn's drawing room to a close friendship and regular correspondence whereby Cockburn, according to John Dwyer, 'wrote to Hume as an intellectual equal'.¹⁰⁸ Despite this participation, Cockburn's role in the intellectual culture of mid eighteenth-century Edinburgh existed on the periphery of the public intellectual sphere.¹⁰⁹

Moreover, as the Church of Scotland minister and active participant in Enlightenment culture, Alexander Carlyle noted, female participation in intellectual conversation was on men's terms. He took significant pleasure and pride in his wife, Mary Rodham, who possessed 'a superior understanding and great discernment for her age' and 'an ease and propriety of manners which made her to be well received, and indeed much distinguished in, every company'.¹¹⁰ Carlyle explained that:

I do not think it possible I could derive greater satisfaction from any circumstance in human life than I did from the high approbation which given to my choice by the very superior men who were my closest and most discerning friends, such as [Adam] Ferguson, [William] Robertson, [Hugh] Blair, and [Hew] Bannatine, not merely by words, but by the open, respectful and confidential manner in which they conversed with her.¹¹¹

As Carlyle suggests, his wife's participation in Enlightenment culture was not on her own terms, but due to her acceptance by male intellectual gatekeepers. Her success as a conversationalist, whilst speaking to her 'superior understanding', was understood

in terms of the credit it gave to her husband in his choice of a wife. Married women's participation in Enlightenment culture, therefore, like their role in the home and elsewhere, was acceptable as it benefited and lent prestige to their husbands.

Other Scottish women read intellectual texts and corresponded with Enlightenment literati. These included the female relatives of Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton (1691/2–1766), a politically powerful sub-minister to Lord Islay (3rd duke of Argyll from 1743), and Elizabeth Rose of Kilravock who corresponded regularly with her cousin, the writer Henry Mackenzie.¹¹² While these women discussed contemporary ideas and often commented on the first drafts of key Enlightenment texts, a close analysis of their correspondence highlights the extent to which they absorbed the belief that women were to enable men, in this case in their intellectual writings, rather than participating as equals. As Glover notes, women were expected to read with feeling, not intellect.¹¹³ Furthermore, that their opportunities to affect the shape of Enlightenment discourse were mediated through men ensured that they never exercised power in the public sphere in their own right.

What women could read was not narrowly confined. Mark Towsey's examination of Elizabeth Rose's commonplace books indicates that she read widely from novels to religious texts to best-selling Enlightenment texts, including David Hume.¹¹⁴ Yet, this reading practice was restricted by social role; despite the variety of reading material she accessed, Rose's extracts emphasised her entrenchment in the domestic sphere, with most falling under the category of 'domestic ideology'. Rose read to enable her to perform her social role as a wife, mother, widow and grandmother more effectively.

This adoption of a helpmeet position in intellectual endeavour was also true of women in radical politics. In her autobiography (written in the mid-nineteenth

century), Eliza Fletcher identified her political beliefs as subsidiary to, or emerging from, her husband's, justifying her political role through an adoption of appropriate femininity.¹¹⁵ Moreover as Glover has shown, women's role as political actors in more mainstream political life was determined by their successful appropriation of 'polite' behaviour, determined by their gender, and designed to promote the political success of their male family members.¹¹⁶ As Carr notes of the Scottish aristocracy, women did not lose the power associated with patronage during the eighteenth century, but, with the exception of a few wealthy heiresses, their exercise of power was justified by the family interest and understood within the context of promoting the success of their husbands, fathers, brothers and sons.¹¹⁷

Women, Authorship and Authority

One of the acknowledged results of locating women as helpmeets to men was that intellectual women were typically viewed suspiciously, thought to be transgressing appropriate femininity. While this was a trend found elsewhere, it was intensified in Scotland, where, with only a few exceptions, before 1800 female writers found it difficult to make a space for themselves.¹¹⁸ Well-known Scottish women writers of the period, including Joanna Baillie, Helen Craik, Lady Mary Walker, the Porter sisters, Elizabeth Hamilton, and Eglinton Wallace all published in London; many of them also lived there during their literary careers.¹¹⁹ A notable exception is Jean Marishall. Like other female authors, Marishall published her first few novels, and found some limited success whilst living in London in the 1760s, but returned to Scotland in 1770 after struggling to find patronage for her play, *Sir Harry Gaylove*. In Edinburgh, she found support amongst the Scottish literati and published it through

subscription, with David Hume, Adam Ferguson, Lord Kames, Adam Smith and James Boswell amongst her supporters. Despite their sponsorship, Marishall published the text anonymously, although her preface indicated that it was written by a woman.¹²⁰

That Marishall published anonymously reflected the way that women's participation in the Scottish public sphere was constrained. Women's contribution to public discourse was permitted for the public benefit, but, like the good wife or silent voter in the debating club, individual women were not expected to take credit for their work, nor given the associated respect and authority. Through their anonymity, their work, like the physical and emotional labour of the housewife, was made invisible. This was also mirrored in the way that female actresses were advertised in the press. Actresses from the social elite, who were educated in polite society and expected to conform to Enlightenment norms for elite femininity, were anonymised in theatre advertisements. While lower-ranking actresses were listed by name, those of a higher status were given the anonymous title of 'a gentlewoman'.¹²¹

Perhaps more interesting, however, is Marishall's *Series of Letters*, published under her own name in Edinburgh in 1789. Framed as appropriately feminine advice from an aunt and schoolmistress to her young nephew at school, the two volume epistolary conduct book engaged in central Enlightenment debates on a wide range of topics, including the importance of 'common sense', the advantages of prisons as a form of punishment, and the importance of commerce and the merchant classes to society. In places, it is almost radical: Marishall advocates divorce for incompatibility alone, believes that single middle-class women should be educated for a profession, and argues that a woman should not marry her seducer as the loss of esteem from her husband and her gratitude would make her a 'timid, spiritless soul all the days of her

life'.¹²² In other places, it is thoroughly conventional in its mainstream Enlightenment values, arguing that Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* is a central text for teaching young women virtue and imagining the virtuous women's role within courtship as entirely passive, contrasting her to the 'fallen' mistress who seeks to dominate her lover. It is a rare example of a strong female voice engaged in the public debates of the day in Scotland; sadly, however, Marishall had to publish it herself, unable to find support from the popular presses in the city, although it did go into a second edition. Despite her willingness to put her name to her writing, Marishall chose to enter the marketplace in the guise of a helpful advisor to a young nephew, aiding men in their development into full political and commercial actors.

Having said this, and as Perkins argues in the context of women travel writers in the early nineteenth century, that women framed their writings as appropriately feminine engagements in the public sphere, either through anonymity, genre, or as writings 'not intended for public consumption', did not mean that women were entirely constrained in their opinion.¹²³ Marishall's contributions to Enlightenment debates may have been framed as helpful advice to a young nephew, and throughout the text was declaimed with phrases such as 'I write as is alleged women generally speak, without knowing much of their subject', but they were not restricted to 'feminine' or domestic topics or particularly 'feminine' in their conclusions.¹²⁴ Indeed, her thoughts and opinions sit easily alongside her male counterparts.

Similarly, Maria Riddle's travel journal (published through the patronage of her friend William Smellie in Edinburgh in 1792), whilst claiming to not be intended for the public but for her family and published semi-anonymously under the name Maria R*****, used the scientific language of Enlightenment naturalistic histories in a similar manner to her male counterparts.¹²⁵ Like the attempts by women to use the

language of reason within their marriages, women could co-opt the language of scientific and literary debate when engaging in the Enlightenment public sphere or in private debate within their own social circles. As Glover suggests however, their ability to do so to a large extent reflected their educational opportunities and, moreover, was generally viewed, like other types of female education, in terms of making women better conversationalists and polite companions for men.

By 1818, when the Scot Susan Ferrier published her novel, *Marriage*, intellectual women, such as the character Mrs Bluemits and ‘her circle’, were depicted as vapid and unintelligent, competitively reciting famous texts without understanding to other (equally vapid and competitive) women. For Ferrier, while the intellectual women’s knowledge resulted in ‘pedantic discussion or idle declamation’, the domestic women’s knowledge ‘shewed itself in the tenor of a well spent life and in the graceful discharge of those duties which belonged to her sex and station’.¹²⁶ Similarly, John Gibson Lockhart depicted the Edinburgh Bluestockings of the early nineteenth century as having a ‘mania for insignificant acquisition’ of information and an equal ‘mania for insignificant display’, as they, with military precision, ‘ambushed’ their male companions demanding answers to their questions.¹²⁷ As Moyra Haslett notes, such representations depicted intellectual women as ‘comically masculine’ and lacking appropriate femininity.¹²⁸ Lockhart directly contrasted such women with the Scottish writer Anne Grant, who was ‘plain, modest and unassuming’ and who had the ‘good sense to perceive, that a stranger, such as I was, came not to hear disquisitions, but to gather useful information’, which she then provided. Lockhart found Anne praiseworthy, because she directed her education and knowledge to his improvement, rather than seeking it for herself.¹²⁹

The other notable exception to women's exclusion from the expansion of publishing in eighteenth-century Scotland was Hannah Robertson's *The Young Ladies' School of Arts*, a housekeeping manual first published in Edinburgh in 1766. The domestic nature of this text, like many (but not all) of the poems written by women of the period, made it an appropriate topic for women's writing, ensuring that it did not disrupt current models of appropriate gendered behaviour. As Deborah Simonton notes in her discussion of Robertson's career as an innkeeper in Aberdeen, she and other women used this association with women's 'natural' role to allow them access to the public world of work, with women clustered in the provisioning trades, teaching and fashion.¹³⁰ Women managed to use their association with the domestic sphere to not only give themselves a public voice, but an authoritative voice. Elizabeth Rose drew heavily on the writings of women for advice on educating her grand-daughters in the early nineteenth century.¹³¹ As John Dwyer notes, the cult of sensibility gave women a form of moral authority in the home that could be translated into power.¹³² As Enlightenment models of domesticity became entrenched, the appropriate authority on the household became the writings of other women.

Although it could silence women, the position of helpmeet could enable agency. Women's increasing association with the domestic sphere at the beginning of the nineteenth century provided women with a platform to engage in public discourse. Pam Perkins emphasises the ways that the early-nineteenth-century Scottish writers Elizabeth Hamilton, Anne Grant and Christian Isobel Johnstone used a feminine domestic persona as a means to retain respectability whilst participating in the public realm through writing and engagement with male literati.¹³³ Yet, while Perkins views this as a continuation of a longer tradition of women's engagement in associational

and print culture from the eighteenth century, as we demonstrate, within only a couple of exceptions, this was novel to the turn of the century in a Scottish context.¹³⁴

Conclusion

In her study of women and Enlightenment, Karen O'Brien contends that without the framework that the Enlightenment provided for understanding women's social role, nineteenth-century feminism would not have been possible.¹³⁵ This has perhaps been most potently demonstrated in the justifications used by women in nineteenth-century Britain to give themselves a public role founded on the ideology of domesticity (which women transformed into a civic role) and on demands for women's rationality and education within Enlightenment thought.¹³⁶ Yet, a consideration of the gendered nature of power, and particularly the contexts in which individuals spoke with authority, in which they resisted and in which they were silenced, demonstrates that the Enlightenment not only opened up opportunities for women, but shaped the forms that they took in such a way as to restrain women's voices. Women were helpmeets to men, enabling the Enlightenment; not actors in their own right. This was not inevitable, but a product of Enlightenment culture.

¹ This article was first written in 2007 and has been a long time in coming to fruition.

Along the way, it has been read and commented on by a number of helpful individuals, not least the audience of the Early Modern Research Seminar at the University of Glasgow where it was first presented. Our grateful thanks go to Katherine Glover, Lynn Abrams, Jane Rendall, and the anonymous reviewers. We apologise if we have missed anyone else! Quoted in M. Towsey (2010) *Reading the*

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² K. Offen (2000) *European Feminisms 1700–1950: a political history* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press), p. 29.

³ Offen, *European Feminisms*, p. 27.

⁴ M. C. Jacob (1992) The Mental Landscape of the Public Sphere: a European perspective, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 28, pp. 95–113; M. C. Jacob (1991) *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and politics in eighteenth-century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), Ch. 5.

⁵ Jacob, *Mental Landscape*, p. 106.

⁶ D. Goodman (1996) *The Republic of Letters: a cultural history of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press). Women were also involved in the institutional Enlightenment in Spain, see T. A. Smith (2006) *The Emerging Female Citizen: gender and Enlightenment in Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

⁷ J. Landes (1988) *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), p. 23.

⁸ L. Klein (1993) Gender, Conversation and the Public Sphere in Early Eighteenth-Century England, in J. Still and M. Worton (Eds), *Textuality and Sexuality: Reading Theories and Practices* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 100-15, at 104 and 111.

⁹ J. Popiel (2008) *Rousseau's Daughters: Domesticity, Education and Autonomy in Modern France* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England).

¹⁰ K. O'Brien (2009) *Women and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

¹¹ For a summary of this position see: B. Taylor (2012) Enlightenment and the Uses of Women, *History Workshop Journal*, 74, pp. 1-9.

¹² David Hume (1764) *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects in Two Volumes: essays moral, political, literary* (London), Vol. i, p. 71.

¹³ J. Dwyer (1987) *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth Century Scotland* (East Linton: J. Donald), p. 137.

¹⁴ K. Glover (2011) *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer), p. 30.

¹⁵ J. Rendall (1999) Clio, Mars and Minerva: the Scottish Enlightenment and the writing of women's history, in T. M. Devine and J. R. Young (Eds) *Eighteenth Century Scotland: new perspectives* (East Linton: John Donald), pp. 134-51; M. C.

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¹⁶ N. Phillipson (1974) Culture and Society in the Eighteenth-Century Province: the case of Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment, in L. Stone (Ed.) *The University in Society*, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press), Vol. ii, p. 421; see also J. S. Shaw (1983) *The Management of Scottish Society 1707-1764* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), pp. 1-15.

¹⁷ A. A. Hanham (n.d.) England, Scotland and the Treaty of Union, *History of Parliament*, Available at: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/england-scotland-and-treaty-union-1706-08> [Accessed 31 January 2012].

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³² Edinburgh, National Registers of Scotland [NRS], Grant of Monymusk, GD345/799/1, Francis Grant of Monymusk to Archibald Grant, [c. early 18th Cent].

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- ⁴⁵ Alexander, *History of Women*, Vol. i, p. 475.
- ⁴⁶ Alexander, *History of Women*, Vol. i, pp. 147-9; Gregory, *Father's Legacy*, 31-8; J. Fordyce (1766) *Sermons to Young Women* (London).
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⁵³ Gregory, *Father's Legacy*, p. 87.

⁵⁴ Fordyce, *Sermons*, pp. 33-4.

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⁵⁶ B. Taylor (2005) *Feminists versus Gallants: manners and morals in Enlightenment Britain*, in Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (Eds) *Women, Gender and Enlightenment* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 30-52. See also: I. H. Tague (2002) *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690–1760* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer), 30-5.

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⁶² For more on the changing history of courtship see: Barclay, *Love, Intimacy*, pp. 70-101.

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⁶⁶ K. Wilson (1995) *The Sense of the People: politics, culture and imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), especially pp. 168-87.

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pamphlet: *Copies of Miss Cathcart's Letters to Sir John Houstone, Since She Came Away from Him* (Edinburgh, [c. 1746]).

⁶⁸ *Miss Cathcart's Letters*, p. 5.

⁶⁹ *Miss Cathcart's Letters*, pp. 6 and 9.

⁷⁰ Yeazell, *Fictions of Modesty*, p. 51.

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- ⁸² Barclay, *Love, Intimacy*, pp. 102-24.
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- ⁸⁴ NRS, Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/5/140 Mary Crawford a. Henry Campbell, 1781. For discussion see: Barclay, 'Sex, identity and enlightenment'.
- ⁸⁵ Barker-Benfield, *Culture of Sensibility*, 299-301; S. Dickie (2011) *Cruelty and Laughter: Forgotten Comic Literature and the Unsentimental Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: Chicago University Press), p. 200; K. Barclay (2013) From Rape to Marriage: questions of consent in the eighteenth-century United Kingdom, in A. Greenfield (Ed.) *Interpreting Sexual Violence: 1660-1800* (London: Pickering and Chatto), pp. 35-44.
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