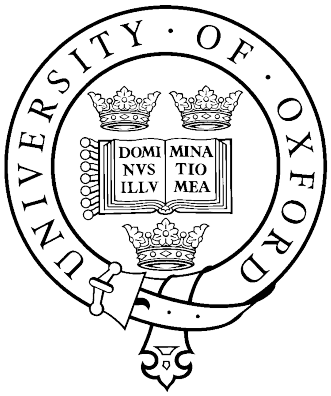
Educated expectations:

Graduate mothers and their work in the long 1950s



Lucy A. Golding

Wadham College

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Hilary Term 2022

SHORT ABSTRACT

This thesis opens up original perspectives on middle-class women's lives in post-war Britain by bringing together and interrelating their experiences of different types of work. By developing an analysis informed by the history of emotions, the scholarship of feminist economics and the ethics of care, it illuminates the ways in which work – paid or unpaid, caring, domestic or voluntary – impacts self-fulfilment and contributes to the sense of self. It addresses together different aspects of educated women's lives, which have tended to be addressed separately in historical scholarship. It is based on the data set contained in the papers of the social scientist Dr Viola Klein. Using over nine hundred completed questionnaires from a 1963 social survey and accompanying notes and letters, contextualised by published social surveys, statistics, correspondence and oral history, it examines how graduate women conceptualised the ways in which they combined domestic responsibilities with an intellectual life. The nuancing of middle-class women's approach to work is made possible through the finely textured detail of responses to Klein's survey. Many women were motivated to work by a desire for intellectual fulfilment and a role beyond that of wife and mother. This thesis demonstrates that many middle-class mothers could gain a sense of agency by arranging their lives so that they were able to achieve intellectual fulfilment alongside family life. Although there were undoubtedly compromises and frustrations, the process of reflection and negotiation could be creative. Teaching was a popular form of work for women graduates in post-war Britain, and there were increasing opportunities for those who had studied medicine or dentistry at university to practice within the new National Health Service. The widening of these professional fields raised fundamental questions about the interrelationships between paid and unpaid caring, domestic and voluntary work, motherhood and marriage.

LONG ABSTRACT

This thesis opens up original perspectives on middle-class women's lives in post-war Britain by bringing together and interrelating their experiences of different types of work. By developing an analysis informed by the history of emotions, the scholarship of feminist economics and the ethics of care, it illuminates the ways in which work – paid or unpaid, caring, domestic or voluntary – impacts self-fulfilment and contributes to the sense of self. It addresses together different aspects of educated women's lives, which have tended to be addressed separately in historical scholarship.

During the 1950s, rates of employment amongst married women increased across the social classes, particularly in part-time work. Additionally, as life expectancy rose and families became smaller, there was a longer period in middle-age when married women could work. Yet, the way in which the welfare state raised funds and delivered benefits to citizens continued to entrench ideas of the husband as breadwinner, leaving married women's paid work as inherently of less importance, and giving no monetary value to care work provided in the domestic sphere. The state, employers and husbands assumed that wives were responsible for domestic work, which was economically unrewarded.

Women's experiences of navigating and constructing new opportunities whilst fulfilling expectations of the state, employers and husbands, have been given limited focus so far. Scholarship relating to post-war women's work, whilst rich in itself, has tended either to focus on working-class women or on questions relating to paid work. Attention is just beginning to be paid to the types of paid work undertaken by middle-class women and to experiences of managing family responsibilities alongside paid work. This thesis takes seriously the desires which many women articulated to live a life that combined different roles and activities. The process of creating a varied life was inevitably challenging, sometimes frustrating, but could also be perceived constructively.

Addressing the experiences of different types of work leads to consideration of the relationship between this variety of work and middle-class women's sense of self. Completed questionnaires from a 1963 social survey and accompanying notes and letters, contextualised by published social surveys, statistics, correspondence and oral history, provide detailed evidence of ways in which graduate women combined domestic responsibilities with an

intellectual life. The analysis developed here is innovative in the way it brings together different aspects of educated women's lives, which have tended to be addressed separately in historical scholarship. Formulating a historical analysis at the intersection of the history of work and emotions provides a richer understanding of the post-war era, as well as suggesting more nuanced ways to reflect on current inequalities.

The original contribution this thesis makes is fourfold. First, it significantly aids our understanding of the sorts of paid work graduate women were doing and how they felt about that work. It uses life-stage as a category of analysis to understand the impact of marriage and motherhood on paid employment. Secondly, it demonstrates the role of voluntary work in offering intellectual fulfilment where flexible paid employment opportunities were limited. Thirdly, it demonstrates the consequences this paid and unpaid work had on marriage. Finally, it adds to the scholarship on unpaid domestic and caring work by providing a fresh analysis through the lens of feminist economics and the ethics of care, demonstrating that motherhood was integral to these graduate women's sense of self. In doing so, this thesis advances historians' understanding of middle-class women's lives and of the interplay of family and work in post-war Britain.

Many women with a university degree were motivated by intellectual fulfilment and a desire for a role beyond that of wife and mother. Some were also motivated by a wish to enhance the family's income and further improve the family's quality of life. This thesis demonstrates that middle-class mothers could gain a sense of agency by arranging their lives so that they were able to achieve intellectual fulfilment alongside family life.

It also demonstrates the obstacles that they faced to fully realising their intellectual goals and career ambitions. It highlights the emotional labour women were undertaking managing the emotions of their spouses and children and ensuring that any work they undertook did not have a negative effect on the family. If women took on paid work, they saw it as their job to ensure domestic responsibilities were still fulfilled. Practical problems such as their own ill-health or that of their children and husbands, difficulties with delegating responsibility for domestic tasks, and frequent moves to accommodate husbands' careers all hampered paths to intellectual fulfilment through other forms of work. These barriers persuaded some wives to remain at home, concentrating on unpaid caring work. Those who worked outside the home demonstrated ingenuity and pragmatism in combining professional and voluntary work with domestic responsibilities.

This thesis intersects with a range of scholarship. It draws on the significant contributions of McCarthy and Thane to the history of working motherhood. It also builds on Langhamer's consideration of the history of work and the history of emotions. Existing literature on domesticity has tended to focus on middle-class women's experience of running a home without servants. This thesis examines experiences of domesticity through the lens of feminist economics and the ethics of care and concludes that some middle-class women were finding fulfilment through their unpaid caring and voluntary work.

The scholarship on marriage has concentrated on whether this period marked the zenith of companionate marriage, and the difficulties experienced by couples trying to live up to the ideal. There has been limited analysis of how work shaped marriage, and this thesis interrogates the impact paid and unpaid work had on marriage. This thesis builds on scholarship on the New Woman, philanthropy and service, which has placed increasing weight on the importance for their self-realisation of women's participation in voluntary organisations.

Literature from the discipline of feminist economics has opened up a fresh approach to experiences of family and work during this period. Caring work done by women allowed husbands to earn a good salary, and potentially amass greater wealth and social standing over their lifetimes compared with their wives. In this thesis women's 'work' is considered in its entirety, not just in terms of labour that is economically rewarded and that which is not, in line with recent thinking on 'affective labour' and moves within scholarship to increase understanding of how women operated within the economy. Whilst many middle-class women found joy in caring work within the home, they could also be aware of the longer-term implications of removing themselves from full-time employment and the impact on their careers and pensions.

Graduate women's self-reflection about work is also considered in terms of the ethics of care. Dependency is addressed when analysing relationships, and the increased vulnerability of certain individuals and the moral obligation to care are recognised. Mothers felt an obligation to care for their children, homes and husbands. This suffused their decisions about taking on work outside the home. By considering the need to care for vulnerable individuals, and where these obligations to care were (and are) deemed to lie, we can further understand the uneven distribution of responsibility and its consequences in terms of equality.

This thesis is based on the data set contained in the papers of the social scientist Dr Viola Klein, held at the Special Collections archive at the University of Reading. In 1963 Klein conducted

a survey of married women graduates. Over nine hundred survey questionnaires, which sought to study how family responsibilities had impacted on study and work experience, form the basis of this thesis, which focuses on the period from 1945 to 1963. Quantitative analysis was possible due to the scale of the sample. The scope for qualitative analysis was even more marked due to the incredibly rich commentary included by many respondents in the questionnaires and accompanying notes and letters.

By taking part in the survey, graduate women were engaging with the nature of Klein's progressive project to further understand their experiences. They were confirming the value they placed on its worth, whilst demonstrating their commitment to considering their intellectual and family life in holistic terms. By completing the questionnaires, graduate women were taking the opportunity to reflect on their lives, consider their feelings and detail their experiences. Many of the women made the most of being given this space and wrote in striking terms about the obstacles they had encountered. Their honesty reflects their trust in Klein and their wish to contribute. They wanted to be part of progress towards a better life for women, and to ensure that the survey captured the intellectual and moral complexity of the challenges they faced.

The nuancing of middle-class women's approach to work is made possible through the finely textured detail of responses to the survey. Klein felt it was important to understand the experiences of graduate women. So too did many respondents who stated explicitly that they valued Klein's research and were keen to know the conclusions. Many went beyond what might reasonably have been expected from the spaces on the pages allocated for answers, and wrote extensive descriptions of their experiences. Some went further and wrote notes and letters. Each woman who took time to reflect and record their thoughts also demonstrated their belief in Klein's progressive project. This thesis recognises this by conducting a close and extensive analysis of the entire sample.

Although women with a university degree were a small section of the population in this period, they are significant because they had the qualifications to take up paid work, and often had relatively more choice in determining their use of time. Their reasons for both undertaking paid work and not doing so reveal much about the socio-economic context, the relative affluence of their family's situation and the appeal of the different forms of activity. Their individual experiences aid our understanding of what self-fulfilment meant to them, and the relationship between different forms of work and their sense of self.

As well as being highly educated, most of these middle-class women were also mothers. Many were at a life-stage where their children were of school age. The role of life-stage has been relatively underexplored in examinations of employment amongst women, and this is certainly the case for the post-war period. This thesis expands understanding of how mothers' experiences could be affected by varying caring demands, depending on their children's ages. It draws out differences within the period over which mothers felt responsible for the care of their children.

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter one examines the background of conflicting attitudes and policy regarding women's labour in post-war Britain, and discusses why Klein and other social scientists such as Alva Myrdal, Judith Hubback and Hannah Gavron were interested in women's experiences of work. It introduces Klein's sample and explains its key characteristics. Chapter two argues that graduate women's experience of higher education shaped their desire to find intellectual fulfilment. Where financial reward from employment was not a pressing concern, the motivation to work was intellectual fulfilment and a sense of self beyond (but compatible with) that of wife and mother. Married women felt a strong sense of responsibility for the running of the home, and perceived continuation of their career as only possible if they effectively delegated it.

Chapter three focuses on the impact of work on marriage and analyses experiences of domestic and caring work for children and elderly relatives. It explores this area through the lens of feminist economics and the ethics of care, and probes how women felt about caring work. This chapter identifies the positive experiences women had of unpaid work and the emotions associated with it, as well as the frustrations. It argues that both paid and unpaid work shaped marriage in post-war Britain and that motherhood was integral to these graduates' sense of self.

Chapter four argues that graduate women were aware of the opportunities that their university education had given them and were mindful of the privilege of their situation. This left some determined to use their education to serve the community. Through voluntary work, middle-class women were making significant contributions to the state, as a result of their unpaid work in medical and educational services, social work and the judiciary. Voluntary work also played a huge part in providing a sense of self-worth and citizenship, particularly for those who were not in paid work.

Chapters five and six address particular occupational fields. Chapter five analyses the experiences of teachers. Teaching was the largest employer of graduate women throughout

this period. This chapter demonstrates that many graduates, including those without a formal teaching qualification, found work in schools and colleges. It argues that teaching was very popular amongst middle-class women graduates in the post-war era because there was a demand for more teachers and because working hours were more family-friendly than other occupations. Women were not necessarily actively choosing to pursue careers in teaching over other opportunities, but they were concerned to find a positive way to undertake paid work and be fully responsible for their families, and other family-friendly paid opportunities were rarely available. Chapter six argues that the nascent National Health Service provided opportunities for those with training in medicine and dentistry; the provision of novel services offered new and sometimes flexible working arrangements. As well as more jobs being available, the new NHS, by placing importance on healthcare for all, helped bolster confidence and reassure women graduates that their work was important, and that to continue it alongside domestic duties was acceptable. This positive picture contrasts with the limited opportunities for science graduates in industry.

In the long 1950s women with a university education benefitted from new opportunities for paid work as the welfare state expanded, in education and in the new NHS. However, they also faced many barriers to developing an intellectual working life and financial independence, which led some women to seek fulfilment in voluntary work and unpaid work supporting their family. Most women viewed responsibilities for the family, for childcare and the home as theirs. They accepted that if they chose to participate in work outside the home, it was their job to delegate these duties. The burden of individual responsibility that this placed on women was huge. Some were beginning to question why husbands, employers and the state were not doing more to assist them, in a prelude to discussions of second-wave feminism and demands for further legislation for women's rights. Many more were continuing as a personally-felt commitment to bear the strain of balancing different roles and inclinations.

Educated mothers in post-war Britain were experiencing a landscape of new possibilities to take up paid work and old expectations of who was responsible for domestic and caring work. They relied on their own abilities to navigate opportunities and obstacles, and decision-making was complex and nuanced.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not exist without the hundreds of women who responded to a questionnaire inviting them to reflect on their experiences since graduation. I am grateful for their considered and candid responses. The thesis would also not exist without the work of Dr Viola Klein. I am grateful for her interest in the lives of graduate women and her determination to ensure a good response rate to her survey. Thanks also go to the staff at the Special Collections archive at the University of Reading.

Selina Todd has been my supervisor since this project began. Jane Garnett became an additional supervisor in its latter stages and has been my college advisor throughout. Both have provided me with encouraging and thoughtful feedback, and I am so grateful for their guidance and insight. Working with them has been a joy and a privilege.

My time at Oxford has presented many new ways of thinking and opportunities to explore. I am grateful to all the colleagues who have been part of fascinating intellectual discussions at Wadham College, the History Faculty and the Humanities Division. Thanks also go to the staff at the Bodleian Libraries and Wadham.

My family and friends have provided unfailing encouragement and support, which has sustained me at all stages of my research. There are too many to name everyone individually, but special thanks go to my mother Diana, my father Steve and my brother James. Also, to my friends Caroline, Christine, Claire, Dell, Hannah, Louise, Olivia, Robin, Sarah, Siobhan, and Vicky. And finally, of course, to my son Archie.

For Archie

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES 2

INTRODUCTION 3

CHAPTER ONE: SAMPLE, METHODOLOGY AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF THE LONG 1950S 25

CHAPTER TWO: EDUCATED WOMEN'S WORK AND SENSE OF SELF IN THE LONG 1950S 71

CHAPTER THREE: MIDDLE-CLASS MARRIAGE AND CARING FOR THE FAMILY 126

CHAPTER FOUR: EXPERIENCES OF VOLUNTARY WORK 162

CHAPTER FIVE: EXPERIENCES OF TEACHING WORK 193

CHAPTER SIX: EXPERIENCES OF DOCTORS, DENTISTS AND SCIENTISTS 236

CONCLUSION 280

APPENDIX 288

BIBLIOGRAPHY 294

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1a: Institution attended for first degrees (for those respondents who specified) 54

Table 1b: Decade in which respondents left university 55

Table 2: Age Range 56

Table 3: Marital Status 57

Table 4: Number of children 59

Table 5a: Region of UK 60

Table 5b: Regions of England 61

Table 6a: Employment Status 67

Table 6b: Part-time workers with youngest child aged 18 or under 68

Table 6c: Full-time workers with youngest child aged 18 or under 69

Table 7: Ages of children of full-time teachers 200

Table 8: Ages of children of part-time teachers 217

INTRODUCTION

'it is the conscientious who suffer, attributing their difficulties to their own failure. What they should recognise is that it is never easy to be a woman riding two horses; nor even to be a woman; nor yet to be a human being' Una (b.1913)[1]

In 1963, when a modern languages graduate with a doctorate set about filling in a questionnaire she had been sent, she was recovering from illness. This wife and mother explained to Dr Viola Klein, the architect of the survey, that she had been 'hard pressed and not well' when the first request for her response was delivered and 'ill in bed' when the second arrived.[2] Now, 'shakily' on her feet once more, she suggested that her 'sketchily scribbled notes' were 'not likely to be of much value'.[3] Yet by engaging with a survey that was designed to understand the experiences of women like her, Una articulated the struggles of many of her contemporaries. She described her 'real field' as writing books, yet stated her employment as 'seasonal examining done at home', illustrating the tension she felt between who she really was, and what her situation allowed her to do.[4] She wrote of the 'rather vague optimism' that asserted that women could have a family, a home and a job, whilst she had 'observed many individual struggles of graduate wives'.[5] Even though she was unconvinced that she had much of interest to say, Una had taken the opportunity for a moment of self-reflection and documented her experiences with candour. She was one of over nine hundred graduate women who completed Klein's questionnaire.

[1] MS 1215 13/3.
[2] MS 1215 13/3.
[3] MS 1215 13/3.
[4] MS 1215 13/3.
[5] MS 1215 13/3.

This thesis stands at the intersection of the history of work and the history of emotions. It analyses the ways in which graduate women articulated their experiences of different forms of work in the period 1945 to 1963. It provides a unique contribution to the understanding of how work, paid or unpaid caring, domestic or voluntary, impacts self-fulfilment and contributes to the sense of self.[6] By considering the interconnections between work, motherhood, marriage, domesticity and the self, it illuminates the experiences, emotions and challenges associated with women's work in post-war Britain.[7]

It is innovative in its bringing together of the different aspects of these women's lives, which have been addressed separately in historical scholarship. Historians of work in post-war Britain have tended to concentrate on changing levels and patterns of women's employment. Meanwhile, histories of domesticity, childrearing and marriage have focused on how middle-class women navigated a new world without servants and whether or not this was the age of companionate marriage. However, historians have so far omitted to focus on middle-class women's life experience in the round and their own definitions of self-fulfilment. There has been no integrated analysis of how middle-class women felt about paid and voluntary work, unpaid caring and domestic work, and how their experiences varied at different stages of marriage and motherhood.[8] Formulating a historical analysis of women's sense of self-fulfilment and well-being at the intersection of the history of work and emotions provides a

[6] For an analysis of the interaction between service and 'women's personal psychological development' in the inter-war years see E. Colpus, 'Women, Service and Self-Actualization in Inter-War Britain', *Past and Present,* 238/1 (2018), pp. 197-232.
[7] For a consideration of intimacy as a category of analysis, and the argument for the role of the history of emotions in histories of work see G. Morris, 'Intimacy in Modern British History', *The Historical Journal*, 64/3 (2021), p. 810.
[8] For an argument as to there being 'few twentieth-century, non-fictional sources that reveal how respectable English people manage their feelings within the self and in everyday life', see H. Cook, 'From Controlling Emotions to Expressing Feelings in Mid-Twentieth-Century-England', *Journal of Social History*, 47/3 (2014), p. 628.

richer understanding of the post-war era, as well as suggesting more nuanced ways to reflect on current inequalities.[9]

The thesis is based on the data set contained in the papers of the social scientist Dr Viola Klein, held at the Special Collections archive at the University of Reading. In 1963 Klein conducted a survey of married women graduates. She recruited her respondents via local branches of the British Federation of University Women. The questionnaire sought to study how family responsibilities had impacted on study and work experience. The 1963 survey questionnaires form the basis of this thesis, which focuses on the period from 1945 to 1963.

This research has involved transcription of over nine hundred original questionnaires discovered in the archive.[10] These responses were inputted into a bespoke database. The scale of the sample has allowed quantitative analysis to be done, such as analysis of sub-sections of the sample based on age, life-stage (according to whether children were pre-school or school age), and on the type of work they were involved in. Qualitative analysis was possible due to the extensive detail given in the further comments section of the questionnaire and the accompanying notes and letters which respondents sent to Klein.

By taking part in the survey, graduate women were engaging with the nature of Klein's progressive project to further understand their experiences. They were confirming the value they placed on the survey's worth, whilst demonstrating their commitment to considering their intellectual and family life in holistic terms. By completing the questionnaires, graduate women were taking the opportunity to reflect on their lives, consider their feelings and detail

[9] F. Cooper, 'Medical feminism, working mothers, and the limits of home: finding a balance between self-care and other-care in cross-cultural debates about health and lifestyle, 1952-1956', *Palgrave Communications*, 2/1 (2016), [doi: 10.1057/palcomms.2016.42], p. 2.; see also C. Langhamer, 'Feelings, women and work in the Long 1950s', *Women's History Review*, 26/1 (2017), pp. 77-92.

[10] 915 questionnaires were discovered in six separate files in MS 1215 at the University of Reading Special Collections archive. All were photographed and transcribed in their entirety except for 5 questionnaires where the image quality was not sufficient to capture all the data. See Appendix for more detail.

their experiences. Many of the women made the most of being given this space and wrote in striking terms about the challenges they had faced. Their honesty reflects their trust in Klein and their wish to contribute. They wanted to be part of progress towards a better life for women, and to ensure that the criteria by which that progress was assessed captured the intellectual and moral complexity with which they themselves grappled.

Content analysis of the qualitative data took place on an ongoing basis, through the transcription stage as well as the formal analysis phase of this study. The extensive findings from the dataset are contextualised using other primary sources including census data, policy documents, Mass Observation reports, other contemporary surveys, letters, autobiographical material and oral history testimony. A more detailed discussion of the source material is included in Chapter 1.

Although women with a university degree were a small section of the population in this period, they are significant because they had the qualifications to take up paid work, and often had relatively more choice in determining their use of time. Their reasons for undertaking or not undertaking paid work reveal much about the socio-economic context, the relative affluence of their family's situation, and the relative appeal of paid work and unpaid work. Their individual experiences aid our understanding of what self-fulfilment meant to them, and the relationship between different forms of work and their sense of self.

Most women viewed responsibilities for the family, for childcare and the home as theirs. They accepted that if they chose to participate in work outside the home, it was their job to delegate these duties. The burden of individual responsibility that this placed on women was huge. Some were beginning to question why husbands, employers and the state were not doing more to assist them, in a prelude to discussions of second-wave feminism and demands for further

legislation for women's rights.[11] Many more, however, were continuing as a personally-felt commitment to bear the strain of balancing different roles and inclinations. A complex array of emotions was associated with motherhood and caring work, including joy, fear and frustration. I highlight the effects of episodes of vulnerability caused by physical and mental illness in the family, as well as the experiences of trying to navigate paid employment as a mother.

During the post-war years in Britain, women with a university education benefitted from new opportunities for full- and part-time paid work as the welfare state expanded, in education and in the new National Health Service. However, they also faced many barriers to developing an intellectual working life and financial independence, which led some women to seek fulfilment in voluntary work and unpaid work supporting their family. Such work was taken seriously, and in general was seen, not as compensatory, but as part of an integrated whole.

The original contribution this thesis makes is fourfold. First, it significantly aids our understanding of the sorts of paid work graduate women were doing and how they felt about that work. It uses life-stage as a category of analysis to understand the impact of marriage and motherhood on paid employment.[12] Secondly, it demonstrates the role of voluntary work in offering intellectual fulfilment where flexible paid employment opportunities were limited. Thirdly, it demonstrates the consequences this paid and unpaid work had on marriage. Finally, it adds to the scholarship on unpaid domestic and caring work by providing a fresh analysis

[11] For a discussion of debates about graduate women's employment in the 1950s and 1960s see H. McCarthy, *Double Lives: A History of Working Motherhood* (London, 2020), p. 287; for a discussion of the Equal Pay Act (1970) and the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) see McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 325.

[12] For a discussion of feminist history expanding into a myriad of directions within scholarship see K. Gleadle, 'The Imagined Communities of Women's History: current debates and emerging themes, a rhizomatic approach', *Women's History Review*, 22/4 (2013), p. 525; for how this analogy can be expanded to include histories of class and of collective and individual experience see S. Todd, 'Class, Experience and Britain's Twentieth Century', *Social History*, 39/4 (2014), p. 490; for a discussion of discourse and experience see S. Todd, 'Family Welfare and Social Work in Post-War England, c.1948–c.1970', *The English Historical Review*, 129/537 (2014), p. 364.

through the lens of feminist economics and the ethics of care, demonstrating that motherhood was integral to these graduates' sense of self. In doing so, this thesis advances historians' understanding of middle-class women's lives and of the interplay of family and work in post-war Britain.

Middle-class women's work in post-war Britain is particularly under-researched, and this thesis concentrates on their experiences. Social scientists and historians often classify women's socio-economic class via the occupation of their spouse. Many women in this study were married to professional men and could be classified as middle-class on this basis. However, in this study women are classified as middle-class by virtue of their high level of education, as all were graduates, but to have received such a high level of education during the early and mid-twentieth century they almost certainly grew up in middle-class families.[13]

The stereotype of the long 1950s as a return to domesticity is misleading but tenacious.[14] Many graduate women were motivated by intellectual fulfilment and a desire for a role beyond that of wife and mother. Some were also motivated by a wish to enhance the family's income and further improve the family's quality of life. Yet, the way in which the welfare state raised funds and delivered benefits to citizens entrenched ideas of the husband as breadwinner, leaving married women's paid work as inherently of less importance, and giving no monetary value to care work provided in the domestic sphere. The state, employers and husbands assumed that wives were responsible for domestic work, which was economically unrewarded. Women internalised these expectations. If they took on paid work, they saw it as their job to ensure domestic responsibilities were still fulfilled. Practical problems such as their own ill-

[13] In her study of Girton graduates Thane found that '[m]ost Girtonians were fairly evenly spread over the many gradations of the British middle classes'; see P. Thane, 'Girton graduates: earning and learning, 1920s-1980s', *Women's History Review*, 13/3 (2004), p. 349.
[14] S. Todd, *The People: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class 1910-2010*, (London, 2014), p. 211; P. Thane and T. Evans, *Sinners? Scroungers? Saints? Unmarried Motherhood in Twentieth-Century England* (Oxford, 2012), p. 85.

health or that of their children and husbands, difficulties with delegating responsibility for domestic tasks, and frequent moves to accommodate husbands' careers all hampered paths to intellectual fulfilment through other forms of work. These barriers persuaded some wives to remain at home, concentrating on unpaid caring work. Those who worked outside the home demonstrated ingenuity and pragmatism in combining professional and voluntary work with domestic responsibilities.

During the 1950s, rates of employment amongst married women increased.[15] But working-class wives were more likely to work than their middle-class counterparts.[16] By 1961 36.4% of married women aged thirty-five to forty-four were in paid work and 35.3% of those aged forty-five to fifty-four.[17] Rates of employment were increasing across the social classes, particularly in part-time work.[18] According to the 1951 Census, about 11% of female workers were employed part-time, and in 1961 25 % of women's jobs were part-time.[19] These new part-time workers were mostly married women.[20] As life expectancy rose and families became smaller there was a longer period in middle-age when married women could work.[21] Wilson argues that women sought out part-time work to negotiate the expectation that they continue to fulfil their maternal obligations.[22] Opportunities for material consumption also grew, and the additional income that a wife could bring in for the family was often cited in contemporary

[15] K. E. Gales and P. H. Marks, 'Twentieth Century Trends in the Work of Women in England and Wales', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 137 (1974), p.63, summarised in McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 233.
[16] Gales and Marks, 'Twentieth Century Trends in the Work of Women in England and Wales', p.69, summarised in McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 233.
[17] A.H. Halsey and J. Webb, *Twentieth-Century British Social Trends* (Basingstoke, 2000), p. 292.
[18] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 233; for discussion of women with older children entering part-time work in increasing numbers, see also D. Smith Wilson, 'A New Look at the Affluent Worker: The Good Working Mother in Post-War Britain', *Twentieth Century British History*, 17/2 (2006), pp. 206-229, and D. McCloskey 'Paid Work', in I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.), *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 165-179.
[19] Halsey and Webb, *Twentieth-Century British Social Trends*, p. 297.
[20] Wilson, 'A New Look at the Affluent Worker', p. 208.
[21] P. Thane, 'Family Life and "Normality" in Postwar Britain', in R. Bessel and D. Schumann (eds.), *Life After Death: Approaches to a Cultural and Social History of Europe During the 1940s and 1950s* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 209.
[22] Wilson, 'A New Look at the Affluent Worker', p. 228.

surveys as allowing the purchase of additional items for the home, and holidays.[23] The concept of the working mother became more acceptable; the media extolled the virtues of the full-time housewife but was also beginning to include examples of wives who were part-time workers. However, the onus was still on women to find the types of work that would allow them to fulfil what were still perceived as their domestic responsibilities.

Women's experiences of navigating and constructing new opportunities whilst fulfilling expectations of the state, employers and husbands, have been given limited focus so far. Scholarship relating to post-war women's work, whilst rich in itself, has tended either to focus on working-class women or on questions relating to paid work.[24] Attention is just beginning to be paid to the types of paid work undertaken by middle-class women, and their reasons for choosing such employment, and to experiences of managing family responsibilities and full- or part-time work commitments.[25] McCarthy has made a significant contribution in her recent history of working motherhood, which builds on her previous work on attitudes towards married women's work.[26] Wilson argues that many women reacted to the negative discourse regarding working mothers by choosing part-time as opposed to full-time work (pacifying concerns regarding juvenile delinquency), but also by attempting to change the image of the

[23] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 234-236; see also P. Jephcott, *Married Women Working* (London, 1962); see also Wilson, 'A New Look at the Affluent Worker', pp. 206-29; for an analysis of the diffusion of time-saving household appliances such as washing machines and vacuum cleaners in the UK and the US see S. Bowden and A. Offer, 'Household Appliances and the Use of Time: The United States and Britain since the 1920s', *Economic History Review*, 47/4 (1994), pp. 725-748.

[24] For studies focusing on working-class women's employment, see for example L. Paterson, ''I don't feel like my own person': paid work in women's narratives of self and working motherhood, 1950-1980', *Contemporary British History,* 33/3 (2019), pp. 405-426, and M. Williamson, ''I'm going to get a job at the factory': attitudes to women's employment in a mining community, 1945-65', *Women's History Review*, 12/3 (2003), pp. 407-421.

[25] For an analysis of Australian graduates' experiences, see for example A. Mackinnon and P. Gregory ''A study corner in the kitchen': Australian graduate women negotiate family, nation and work in the 1950s and early 1960s', *Australian Historical Studies*, 37/127 (2006), pp. 63-80; for an analysis of Irish married women's working lives, see for example E. Kiely and M. Leane, ''What Would I Be Doing at Home All Day?': oral narratives of Irish married women's working lives 1936–1960', *Women's History Review*, 13/3 (2004), pp. 427-445.

[26] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, pp. 197 – 287; see also H. McCarthy, 'Social Science and Married Women's Employment in Post-War Britain', *Past & Present*, 233/1 (2016), pp.269-305, and H. McCarthy, 'Women, Marriage and Paid Work in Post-war Britain', *Women's History Review*, 26/1 (2017), pp. 46-61.

good mother from one who stayed at home, to one who worked outside the home for the financial and emotional good of the family.[27] Paterson argues that the attraction of paid work for working-class women who could live comfortably on a husband's wage lay in the opportunity for intellectual and social stimulation: '[w]orking helped women recover a sense of themselves as useful and competent individuals'.[28] Thane's study of Girton graduates examines their experiences of returning to paid work in the 1950s.[29] She concludes that for many returning to work at this time, once their children had grown up, teaching was 'the only option open to them'.[30] Additionally, Thane and Evans's research on the experiences of single mothers has added to the scholarship on managing employment and family commitments from this group's perspective.[31]

This thesis expands the analysis of middle-class women's work by interrelating the felt experiences of different types of work – paid, unpaid and voluntary. In addition, it interrogates the relationship between this work and middle-class women's sense of self.[32] It has recently been argued by McCarthy that the post-war period was a 'watershed moment', when the 'moral distinction once tightly drawn between mothers who "needed" to work and those who merely "wanted" to broke down'.[33] It was a period in which mothers taking on paid work became less remarkable.[34] McCarthy highlights the absence of government support as explanation for the fact that most mothers did not take on paid work in the years 1945 to 1951,[35] whilst arguing that the expansion of the welfare state from the late 1940s onwards created new jobs in teaching

[27] Wilson, 'A New Look at the Affluent Worker', p. 228.
[28] Paterson, 'I don't feel like my own person', p. 421.
[29] Thane, 'Girton Graduates', p. 354.
[30] Thane, 'Girton Graduates', p. 354.
[31] Thane and Evans, *Sinners? Scroungers? Saints?*, pp. 82-119.
[32] See for example Langhamer, 'Feelings, Women and Work in the Long 1950s', pp. 77-92; see also E. Colpus, 'Women, service and self-actualization', pp. 197-232.
[33] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 386.
[34] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 386.
[35] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 221.

and medicine that could be picked up by mothers after a break to bring up children.[36] Mothers returning to teaching suited the government and husbands.[37] This thesis agrees that some women were reluctant to look for paid work in the immediate post-war years but argues that this was often due to a complex combination of emotional factors rather than primarily a lack of government support. Many women found real fulfilment in looking after the family at home. Some chose to find additional intellectual fulfilment in voluntary rather than paid work. Where women did take on paid work, precisely because they perceived domestic responsibilities as remaining theirs, they could gain a sense of agency in negotiating what they felt to be appropriate ways of combining professional work and family. The responses to Klein's survey indicate how significant the processes of consideration of these issues were to the cultivation of a sense of self.

However, signs of stress and resistance were evident in attitudes towards the inequalities of a pension system that failed adequately to recognise part-time work, and the lack of provision of nursery facilities. Langhamer argues that the increased numbers of employed married women and the public debate about their ability to juggle home and work 'actively contributed to the re-shaping of the boundaries between home life and work life in modern Britain'.[38] By successfully managing to negotiate a working and family life women were re-shaping what was possible and desirable. However, the narrated experiences examined here demonstrate how difficult many found this to be, how mothers felt the onus was on them to find a solution to juggling home and family life, and how some decided not to seek paid employment. Instead, they sought, and often found, fulfilment in unpaid work at home or in voluntary work.

[36] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 264.; for an analysis of the role of the welfare state on women born in the period 1938 to 1952, see E. Worth, 'The welfare state generation: life histories of women born in Britain c.1938-1952 (2017), D.Phil Thesis, University of Oxford, and E. Worth, 'Women, Education and Social Mobility in Britain during the Long 1970s', *Cultural and Social History*, 16/1 (2019), pp. 67-83.
[37] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 271.
[38] Langhamer, 'Feelings, Women and Work in the Long 1950s', p. 89.

Existing literature on domesticity has tended to focus on middle-class women's experience of running a home without servants.[39] Giles argues that homemaking was an acceptable activity for middle-class women in this period.[40] This thesis supports this and confirms Spencer's assertion that housewifery could be constructed as an unpaid job.[41] I examine experiences of domesticity through the lens of feminist economics and the ethics of care and conclude that some middle-class women were finding sufficient fulfilment through their unpaid caring and voluntary work. Middle-class women who took on paid work saw engaging paid domestic help as integral to their ability to do so. Delap argues that the use of the term 'help' was important in distinguishing the type of labour employed from the servants of the pre-war years.[42] This thesis confirms the vast range of domestic help considered and employed. The general assumption was that employed help would come into the house to work rather than living in the family home. The difficulties finding appropriate employed help were often discussed, and depended on what was available in the area and the unique needs of the family.

The scholarship on marriage has concentrated on whether this period marked the zenith of companionate marriage, and the difficulties experienced by couples trying to live up to the ideal.[43] There has been limited analysis of how work shaped marriage, and this thesis interrogates the impact paid and unpaid work had on marriage. Unpaid work done by women within marriage, particularly caring work, allowed husbands to pursue paid work and enjoy

[39] See for example J. Giles, 'Help for housewives: domestic service and the reconstruction of domesticity in Britain, 1940-50', *Women's History Review*, 10/2 (2001), pp. 299-324, and L. Delap, 'Housework, Housewives, and Domestic Workers', *Home Cultures*, 8/2 (2011), pp. 189-209.
[40] Giles, 'Help for housewives', p 317.
[41] S. Spencer, *Gender, Work and Education in Britain in the 1950s* (Basingstoke, 2005), p. 187.
[42] L. Delap, *Knowing their place: domestic service in twentieth-century Britain* (Oxford, 2011), p. 135.
[43] See for example J. Finch and P. Summerfield, 'Social reconstruction and the emergence of companionate marriage, 1945-59', in D. Clark (ed.), *Marriage, domestic life and social change. Writings for Jacqueline Burgoyne (1944-88)* (London, 1991), and P. Summerfield, 'Women in Britain Since 1945: companionate marriage and the double burden', in J. Obelkevich and P. Catterall (eds.), *Understanding Post-War British Society* (London, 1994), and E. Roberts, *Women and Families: An Oral History, 1940-1975* (Oxford, 1995), and K. Fisher and S. Szreter, *Sex Before the Sexual Revolution: Intimate Life in England 1918-1963* (Cambridge 2010), and C. Langhamer, 'The Meanings of Home in Postwar Britain', *Journal of Contemporary History,* 40/2 (2005), pp. 341-362.

family life. As well as unpaid caring work, women were involved in voluntary work, and in this context the thesis engages with scholarship on the New Woman, philanthropy and service, which has placed increasing weight on the importance for their self-realisation of women's participation in voluntary organisations in the interwar and post-war period.[44] The survey evidence underscores that graduate women tended to be particularly mindful of the responsibilities and opportunities that their university education had given them, and the privileges of their comfortable financial situation. This could lead to a determination to use their education in voluntary work, from which many gained considerable intellectual fulfilment and sense of purpose.

As well as being highly educated, the majority of the middle-class women that are the focus of this thesis were also mothers. Many were at a life-stage where their children were of school age. The role of life-stage has been relatively underused in examinations of employment amongst women, and this is certainly the case for the post-war period. In interrogating the expectations and experiences of working women during the long 1950s, the analysis of sex/gender, class and age/life-stage all play a part.[45] This thesis expands understanding of how mothers' experiences could be affected by varying caring demands, depending on their children's ages. It draws out differences within the period that mothers felt responsible for the care of their children.

[44] See for example E. Colpus, 'Women, Service and Self-Actualization in Inter-War Britain', pp. 197-232, and C. Beaumont, 'The Women's Movement, Politics and Citizenship, 1918-1950s', in I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.), *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2001), p. 275, and C. Beaumont, 'Housewives, Workers, Citizens in Voluntary Organisations and the Campaign for Women's Rights in England and Wales during the Post-War Period', in N. Crowson, M. Hilton and J. McKay (eds.), *NGOs in Contemporary Britain: Non-State Actors in Society and Politics since 1945* (Basingstoke, 2009), p. 60.

[45] For an argument for making 'age, and particularly old age' a category of analysis see L. A. Bothelho, 'Age and History as Categories of Analysis: Refiguring Old Age', *Age, Culture, Humanities*, 1 (2014), p. 199.

Literature from the discipline of feminist economics has opened up a fresh approach to experiences of family and work during this period.[46] From this perspective, caring work done by women is seen to have allowed husbands to earn a good salary, and potentially amass greater wealth and social standing over their lifetimes compared with their wives. In this thesis women's 'work' is considered in its entirety, not just in terms of labour that is economically rewarded and that which is not, in line with recent thinking on 'affective labour',[47] and moves within scholarship to increase understanding of how women operated within the economy.[48] As Giles notes, quoting Carolyn Steedman, children were seen 'as repositories of hope' after the Second World War.[49] Mothers were central to creating a suitable environment for children and the work involved with childcare was valued.[50] Yet feminist histories of the 1970s and 1980s, influenced by books such as Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), identified 'modern' liberated women with the shunning of domesticity.[51] I respond in this thesis to Giles' invitation to feminist historians:

> I am proposing that rather than seeing domestic work as outside and exempt from the historical narratives of modern Britain that focus on the workplace or the political arena, we need to explore the links that women perceived between domestic work and a sense of belonging to the modern world.[52]

[46] For a discussion of feminist history expanding into a myriad of directions within scholarship see Gleadle, 'The Imagined Communities of Women's History', p. 525; for discussion of feminist economics, see for example D. Barker and S. F. Feiner, *Liberating Economics: Feminist Perspectives on Families, Work and Globalization* (Michigan, 2004), and N. Folbre, *Greed, Lust and Gender, A History of Economic Ideas* (Oxford, 2009), and N. Folbre and M. Bittman, *Family Time: The Social Organization of Care* (London, 2004).
[47] See for example J. Oksala, 'Affective Labor and Feminist Politics', *Signs*, 41/2 (2016), pp. 281-383.
[48] See for example A. Shepard's consideration of early modern women's work in 'Crediting Women in the Early Modern English Economy', *History Workshop Journal,* 79/1 (2015), pp. 1-24.
[49] J. Giles, 'Good Housekeeping: Professionalising the Housewife 1920-50', in K. Cowman and L. A. Jackson (eds.), *Women and Work Culture: Britain c. 1850-1950* (Abingdon, 2016), p. 82.
[50] Giles, 'Good Housekeeping', p. 82.; for an analysis of post-war Australia, see also L. Johnson, ''As Housewives We Are Worms': Women, Modernity and the Home Question', *Cultural Studies*, 10/3 (1996), pp. 449-463.
[51] Johnson, ''As Housewives We Are Worms': Women, Modernity and the Home Question', p. 451.; Giles, 'Good Housekeeping', p. 84.
[52] Giles, 'Good Housekeeping', p. 83.

Beveridge's 1942 report on *Social Insurance and Allied Services* assumed that for a married couple, the husband would provide the main financial input to the household economy.[53] Bruley concludes that the husband and wife were seen as a 'single economic unit'.[54] Kynaston argues that Beveridge assumed that married women would return from any wartime work to the home, and that '[i]n administrative terms this meant that a married woman would be subordinate to her husband, with benefits to her coming only as a result of his insurance'.[55] The Women's Freedom League were critical of the assumption that 'most women were outside the labour-market'.[56] The National Council of Women argued that welfare provision should assume 'women's economic equality and independence'.[57] Thane points out that Beveridge was aware of the limitations of the new insurance system for divorced and separated women and unmarried women carers, but the Treasury dismissed rectification of these anomalies as too complex, and the Labour government did not attempt to solve the problem after the war.[58] The recommendation that wives would be covered by their husbands' insurance contributions was enacted.[59]

Feminist economic thought has highlighted the anomalies of a free market system that ignores the enormous amount of unpaid labour that underpins it.[60] Folbre argues that women take on the responsibilities of caring in the home because they are often anxious about the alternative.[61] However, to take oneself out of paid employment has economic and social implications;

[53] See W. Beveridge, *Social Insurance and Allied Services* (London, 1942); in its analysis of the population in relation to social security the Report divided those of working age into four categories, one of which was a separate category of 'Housewives, that is married women of working age' (p. 7.).
[54] S. Bruley, *Women In Britain Since 1900* (Basingstoke, 1999), p. 130.; see also P. Thane, *Divided Kingdom a history of Britain, 1900 to the present* (Cambridge, 2018).
[55] D. Kynaston, *Austerity Britain 1945-48: A World To Build* (London, 2008), p. 25.
[56] J. Harris, *William Beveridge: A Biography* (Oxford, 1997), p. 417.
[57] S. Pederson, *Family, Dependence and the Origins of the Welfare State: Britain and France 1914-45* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 354.
[58] P. Thane, 'Labour and welfare', in P. Thane, D. Tanner, N. Tiratsoo (eds.), *Labour's First Century* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 99.
[59] Thane, 'Labour and welfare', p. 99.
[60] Barker and Feiner, *Liberating Economics*, p. 4.
[61] Folbre, *Greed, Lust and Gender*, p. 327.

businesses and public organisations reward and promote paid workers on the basis of the results of their work, whilst those who spend a lot of time in family and community roles tend to 'pay a large social and economic penalty'.[62] Barker and Feiner note that '[Adam] Smith was unable to see that much of what happens in markets relies on the vast amount of unpaid labour that takes place in the home'.[63] However, they also conclude that 'dominant ideologies, like those associated with the male breadwinner-female caregiver model of the family, work to the advantage of the elite'.[64] These points have been considered when interpreting both expectations and experiences of middle-class women's work in post-war Britain. Whilst many middle-class women found joy in caring work within the home, they could also be aware of the implications of removing themselves from full-time employment and the impact on their careers and pensions.

I further consider graduate women's self-reflection about work in terms of the ethics of care.[65] Realities of dependency are considered when analysing relationships, and the increased vulnerability of certain individuals and the moral obligation to care is recognised.[66] Mothers felt an obligation to care for their children, homes and husbands. This suffused their decisions about taking on work outside the home. By considering the need to care for vulnerable individuals, and where these obligations to care were (and are) deemed to lie, we can further understand the uneven distribution of responsibility and its consequences in terms of equality. Employers were turning to labour from former colonies, as well as European refugees and local charwomen for domestic help in post-war Britain.[67] Delegation of caring responsibilities by

[62] Folbre and Bittman, *Family Time*, p. 1.
[63] Barker and Feiner, *Liberating Economics*, p. 4; see also Katrine Marçal, *Who Cooked Adam Smith's Dinner? A Story About Women and Economics* (London, 2015).
[64] Barker and Feiner, *Liberating Economics*, p. 143.
[65] See K. Klaver, E, van Elst and A. J. Baart, 'Demarcation of the ethics of care as a discipline: Discussion article', *Nursing Ethics*, 21/7 (2014), p. 755 for a description of the ethics of care as an 'emerging discipline within philosophical and theological ethics'.
[66] For a definition of the ethics of care, see E. Jeanes, *A Dictionary of Organizational Behaviour* (Oxford, 2019).
[67] S. Todd, 'Domestic Service and Class Relations in Britain 1900-1950', *Past & Present*, 203 (2009), p. 200.

employing others has implications for the caring responsibilities of those employed and extends to global networks where employees have migrated to find work.[68]

This thesis considers the caring labour that is required for children and the elderly and for the maintenance of a home. This aligns with Robinson's definition, which includes caring work for children, the elderly and those that are ill, cooking and cleaning.[69] It analyses why women saw caring for children and their husbands as their responsibility, and what implications this had on the choices they made regarding their own careers. I highlight the fulfilling aspects of unpaid caring labour through examination of the experiences of women who chose to remain at home rather than find paid work, as well as the complex decisions made by both housewives and women in paid work relating to caring for children and elderly relatives.

Decisions around any delegation of childcare were influenced by the vulnerability of the young people concerned; children needed most care when they were very young and when they were ill. Those women surrounded by elderly relatives were considering their vulnerability and caring needs. I argue that because women saw caring work as their responsibility, if they took on paid or voluntary work, they felt they needed to delegate this work by employing someone else to do it. Decisions relating to who they employed and when were theirs to make, and although they might be limited in terms of the choices available, their decisions reflected their sense of responsibility for caring roles within the family. Decisions on how to manage care responsibilities were complex and nuanced.

Klein's sample of women rarely detailed the background of the help they employed for childcare and cleaning, and this thesis is not concerned with the experience of the domestic workers employed by the middle-class women in this study. However, it does consider the

[68] For an examination of the ethics of care in a global context see F. Robinson, *The ethics of care: a feminist approach to human security* (Philadelphia, 2011), p. 65.
[69] Robinson, *The ethics of care,* p. 63.

impact of being able to employ domestic help, or not, both on women's ability to shift the burden of responsibility for domesticity away from them by delegation, and to take up paid employment opportunities. Todd argues that 'middle-class women's fear that their maids could *replace* them is based on continued alignment of domesticity with femininity, which their own support for privatized childcare and domestic labour has helped to maintain'.[70] This thesis argues rather that many middle-class women who wanted to work saw the employment of domestic help as integral to that pursuit; it was a service that they relied on. It also argues that assumptions regarding the connection between domesticity and femininity require a broader consideration of the ethics of care and the realities of the value placed on childcare and the maintenance of the home. It also demonstrates that feelings about delegating care responsibilities were complex and were influenced by, for example, life-stage and illness.

I analyse the relationship between emotions and work. Emotions require interpretation, in the same way that Scott argues that experience, which is itself interpreted, requires interpretation.[71] Considering the responses of Klein's respondents at the intersection of the history of emotions and the history of work expands the analysis of middle-class women's lives, by interrelating the felt experiences of different types of work.[72] I consider how these women felt about the competing demands on their lives, and how this shaped their actions and relationships.[73] In doing so, I consider how feelings about work may have changed over time, as the women themselves changed and responded to the varying demands of motherhood.[74] I also analyse how and why these women responded to Klein's questionnaire, what they included and what

[70] Todd, 'Domestic Service and Class Relations', p. 203.
[71] J. W. Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Inquiry*, 17/4 (1991), p. 797; for a discussion of 'The Evidence of Experience', see V. Hesford and L. Diedrich, 'On 'The evidence of experience' and its reverberations: An interview with Joan W. Scott', *Feminist Theory*, 15/2 (2014), pp. 197-207.
[72] 'Feeling' is described as a synonym of 'emotion' in J. Plamper and K. Tribe, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford, 2015), p. 12.
[73] For a discussion of the 'emotional turn' and its impact on humanities and social science, see K. Barclay, 'State of the Field: The History of Emotions', *History*, 106/371 (2021), p. 457.
[74] For a consideration of the relationship between the history of emotions and developments in neuroscience relating to neuroplasticity, see for example Plamper and Tribe, *The History of Emotions*, pp. 247-8.

they may have left out. I consider the relationship between the body and mind, for example by analysing the relationship between feelings of fragility and vulnerability and the capacity and desire to work.[75] I also analyse the relationship between feelings of compassion and responsibility, for example as a result of a child's or husband's illness, and the desire to work.

I discuss the ways in which middle-class women interpreted and experienced the responsibility for domesticity, and what role their husbands played in this. I argue that there were aspects of caring and domesticity that women found enjoyable. King's work on fatherhood demonstrates the increased emotional involvement of men in children's lives but acknowledges that mothers remained 'the primary parent for most children'.[76] In the 1980s Rich argued that in order to enjoy the privileges of fatherhood men would need to take 'an equal share in the full experience of nurture'.[77] I suggest that the appreciation of aspects of caring and domesticity by middle-class women demonstrates an awareness that such unpaid work could bring much joy. This understanding can inform current debates over policy to promote gender equality through well-paid 'use it or lose it' paternity pay. It also demonstrates that the burden of responsibility could be keenly felt by women in post-war Britain. How married women felt in the long 1950s was dependent on the expectations they experienced and internalised. I agree with Langhamer's assertion that the ways in which women felt and in turn managed the emotions of others were significant both in private and public life.[78]

The nuancing of middle-class women's approach to work is made possible through the finely textured detail of responses to Viola Klein's survey. Her rigorous investigative talent and determination to build up as complex as possible a picture is evidenced by the ways in which

[75] For a consideration of how emotions have been conceptualised by scholars in the history of emotions, see K. Barclay, 'Emotions in the History of Emotions', *History of Psychology*, 24/2 (2021), pp. 112-115.
[76] L. King, *Fatherhood and Masculinity in Britain 1914-1960* (Oxford, 2015), p. 200.
[77] A. Rich, *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as experience and institution'* (London, 1986), p. 215.
[78] Langhamer, 'Feelings, Women and Work in the Long 1950s', p. 78.

she chased respondents for completed questionnaires and responded to their questions and letters. Her curiosity about individual women's experiences and sense of responsibility to each respondent is palpable. Lyon's assessment of Klein's legacy includes the following conclusion:

> For her it seemed as sociologically absurd, and ethically dubious, to ask questions about the universal nature of 'women' as about the inherent collective characteristics of Jews. Such attempts were in her view invariably coloured by expedient demands for social control of 'the other' and a means of avoiding the hard slog of empirical research about the needs and aspirations of real persons in all their variety and complexity.[79]

Klein's study used a relatively short questionnaire, and responses were not anonymous, yet it encouraged many women to write at length about the details of their experiences of work and their feelings about it.

Writing histories of women's work from the mid-twentieth century onwards has become easier because of the interest contemporary observers took in the lives of working mothers.[80] From 1945 to 1970 sociologists 'established themselves by sampling an ordinary, everyday social world' in order to understand the wider population.[81] In post-war Britain sociological research was seen as informing and improving social policy.[82] Klein felt it was important to understand the experiences of graduate women. So too did many respondents who stated explicitly that they valued Klein's research and were keen to know the conclusions. Over nine hundred women thought that the survey was sufficiently important for them to fill out the questionnaire and send it back. Many went beyond what might reasonably have been expected from the spaces on the pages allocated for answers and wrote extensive descriptions of their experiences. Some went further and wrote notes and letters. Each woman who took time to reflect and record their thoughts put their trust in Klein, as they had no anonymity. They also demonstrated

[79] E. Stina Lyon, 'Viola Klein: Forgotten Emigré Intellectual, Public Sociologist and Advocate of Women', *Sociology*, 41/5 (2007), p. 840.
[80] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 10.
[81] M. Savage, *Identities and Social Change in Britain since 1940: The Politics of Method* (Oxford, 2010), p. 7.
[82] P. Thane, 'Michael Young and Welfare', *Contemporary British History*, 19/3 (2005), p. 297.

their belief in Klein's progressive project and the importance of gaining a better understanding of women's lives. This thesis acknowledges this by conducting a close and extensive analysis of the entire sample.

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter one examines the background of conflicting attitudes and policy regarding women's labour in post-war Britain, and why Klein and other social scientists such as Alva Myrdal, Judith Hubback and Hannah Gavron were interested in women's experiences of work. It introduces Klein's sample and explains its key characteristics. Chapter two argues that graduate women's experience of higher education shaped their desire to find intellectual fulfilment. Where financial reward from employment was not a pressing concern, the motivation to work was intellectual fulfilment and a sense of self beyond (but compatible with) that of wife and mother. Married women felt a strong sense of responsibility for domestic work, and perceived continuation of their career as only possible if they effectively delegated it. This chapter examines experiences of work since graduation and during marriage and motherhood, demonstrating the obstacles that might prevent a wife from working. Women's views on their financial contribution to the household are analysed, along with experiences of how they used their income to employ domestic help.

Chapter three focuses on the impact of work on marriage and analyses experiences of domestic work and caring work for children and elderly relatives. It explores this area through the lens of feminist economics and the ethics of care and examines how women felt about caring work. A picture of loyalty and obligation to husband, children, home and wider family emerges. Domestic work and caring labour being done in the home was regarded by middle-class women as important work and could be very fulfilling. This chapter identifies the positive experiences women had of unpaid work and the emotions associated with it, as well as the frustrations. It argues that paid and unpaid work shaped marriage in post-war Britain and that motherhood was integral to these graduates' sense of self.

Chapter four argues that graduate women were aware of the opportunities that their university education had given them and were mindful of the privilege of their situation. This left some determined to use their education to serve the community. In practical terms, voluntary work was generally seen as intellectually fulfilling, whilst also giving greater control over balancing work and family than paid work. Through voluntary work, middle-class women were making significant contributions to the state as a result of their unpaid work in medical and educational services, social work and the judiciary. Voluntary work also played a huge part in providing a sense of self-worth and citizenship, particularly for those who were not in paid work.

Chapters five and six address specific occupational fields. Chapter five analyses the experiences of teachers. Teaching was the largest employer of graduate women throughout this period. This chapter demonstrates that many graduates, including those without a formal teaching qualification, found work in schools and colleges. It argues that teaching was so popular amongst middle-class women graduates in the post-war era because there was a demand for more teachers and because working hours were more family-friendly than other occupations. Women were not necessarily actively choosing to pursue careers in teaching over other opportunities, but they were concerned to find a positive way to undertake paid work and be fully responsible for their families, and other family-friendly paid opportunities were rarely available. Teaching jobs might be part-time but almost always offered longer holidays and a shorter working day, even if preparation and marking might be required after the children had gone to bed. Teaching was therefore seen as more flexible and potentially more easily combined with family life. Chapter six argues that the nascent National Health Service provided opportunities for those with training in medicine and dentistry; the provision of novel services offered new and sometimes flexible working arrangements. As well as more jobs being available, the new NHS, by placing importance on healthcare for all, helped to bolster confidence and reassure women graduates that their work was important, and that to continue

it alongside domestic duties was acceptable. This positive picture contrasts with the much more limited opportunities for science graduates in industry.

Educated mothers in post-war Britain were experiencing a landscape of new possibilities for working within the expanding welfare state, combined with old expectations of who was responsible for domestic and caring work. They relied on their own abilities to navigate both opportunities and obstacles, and decision-making was complex and nuanced. They had a clear sense of the significance of the complexity of their decision-making, and engaged with Klein's project as a means of articulating the principles which they saw as important, and worthy of consideration in the arena of public debate. The intellectual curiosity and conscientiousness derived from their university education formed the foundation of their decision making. The issue, as Una (cited in the epigraph to this chapter) stated so poetically, was that it was 'never easy to be a woman riding two horses; nor even to be a woman; nor yet to be a human being'.[83] But her education had taught her not to shy away from thinking seriously about these questions. The rich detail provided by Klein's sample of graduate women advances our understanding of the experience of being human in the long 1950s.

[83] MS 1215 13/3.

CHAPTER ONE:

Sample, methodology and the socio-economic context of the long 1950s

'in the course of moving house for my husband's career, my own career has taken on the characteristics of "casual labour"' (Alexandra b.1928)

This chapter examines the background of conflicting attitudes and policy regarding women's labour in post-war Britain, and why Viola Klein and other social scientists such as Alva Myrdal, Judith Hubback and Hannah Gavron were interested in women's experiences of work. It introduces Klein's sample, explains its key characteristics and demonstrates how highly educated it was. Many wives were involved in paid part-time and full-time work. It argues that life-stage played a significant role in whether middle-class mothers took on paid work; those with school age children more likely to be in paid work. It also demonstrates that sections of this middle-class sample were geographically mobile, and that this mobility had an impact on wives' opportunities for work.

This chapter also explains the extraordinary richness of the detail included by respondents in both their completed questionnaires and the notes and letters they sent back with them. Klein had demonstrated her real interest in their lives by conducting the survey and many took full advantage of being given an opportunity to reflect on their experiences. Detailed analysis of the wealth of textual commentary contained within this collection has facilitated an innovative and unique historical analysis that illuminates the experiences of middle-class women's lives in post-war Britain.

The socio-economic context of the post-war years 1945-1963

The post-war years presented enormous challenges of reconstruction, at both a national and individual level. The myriad of economic challenges led to a reactive government policy on women's employment, which attempted to deal with labour shortages without a comprehensive examination of the role of women's labour in economic prosperity and social stability. Thane concludes that although the 1950s has been viewed as an 'allegedly placid decade', in fact a '[f]ear of breakdown was always close to the surface'.[1] In social and economic terms, responses to the complex challenges and opportunities of life after the Second World War translated into conflicting government attitudes to women's work and concerns about its impact on marriage.

Women who wanted to find paid work could often do so, and many women found full-time and part-time jobs. However, social insurance, taxation and pension policy limited the financial incentives for middle-class women to work. In addition, the limited availability of part-time hours meant that many of those who were interested in returning to work had not been able to or were concerned about the prospect of being able to do so in the future. In the years immediately following the war, the home and family life was particularly important for many of the graduates in Klein's sample. There was evidence too of the enjoyment many felt from running a home and raising a family. Middle-class mothers were motivated to pursue paid work when they found an opportunity to do so that fitted around caring for their family and the home.

In order to analyse the complexities of decision-making by middle-class women as to whether to take up paid work, it is necessary to understand the social and economic policies relating to employment, that were themselves incredibly complex. Policy and legislation during the post-

[1] P. Thane, 'Exploring Post War Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 9/2 (2012), p. 272.

war years endorsed assumptions that marriage was central to society and that within marriages husbands would earn the main income for the family, and wives look after the home and children. Social insurance, taxation and pension policy reflected these assumptions, and a policy of full employment assumed full male employment, rather than full employment of all those of working age. At the same time the stark economic needs of the country and the process of post-war reconstruction led to recruitment drives in specific areas of industry, and other areas such as teaching and the medical profession. The opportunities within the expanding welfare state were of particular importance to graduate teachers and medics.[2]

In 1942 Sir William Beveridge delivered his report on *Social Insurance and Allied Services*. It was summarised by its author as primarily an insurance plan that would provide a right to subsistence benefits, that were not means tested, in return for contributions.[3] In its 'Guiding Principles of Recommendations' the report stated that 'social insurance should be treated as one part only of a comprehensive policy of social progress'; it was 'an attack upon Want', which was 'only one of five giants on the road to reconstruction and in some ways the easiest to attack'.[4] One of Beveridge's key objectives was the stability of family life.[5] The report enjoyed wide publicity in the press and sold over one hundred thousand copies in the first month after publication.[6]

The Beveridge Report was hugely influential on the legislation that Attlee's Labour government put before Parliament. Bew argues that the National Insurance Act of 1946,

[2] McCarthy, *Double Lives: A History of Working Motherhood* (London, 2020), p. 264; for an analysis of the role of the welfare state on women born in the period 1938 to 1952, see E. Worth, 'The welfare state generation: life histories of women born in Britain c.1938-1952 (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2017); see also E. Worth, 'Women, Education and Social Mobility in Britain during the Long 1970s', *Cultural and Social History*, 16/1 (2019), pp. 67-83 and E. Worth, 'A Tale of Female Liberation? The Long Shadow of De-Professionalization on the Lives of Post-War Women', *Revue Française de civilisation britannique*, 23/1 (2018), pp. 1-18.
[3] D. Kynaston, *Austerity Britain 1945-8: A World To Build* (London, 2008), p. 25.
[4] W. Beveridge, *Social Insurance and Allied Services* (London, 1942), p. 6.
[5] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 216.
[6] J. Harris, *William Beveridge* (Oxford, 1997), p. 415.

although a 'watershed moment', was the start of a 'comprehensive system' rolled out over the next few years.[7] The following years saw the Education Act 1944 put into place, and the implementation of the provision that the school leaving age be raised to fifteen by April 1947, and subsequently to sixteen.[8] In 1946 the National Insurance Act, National Health Service Act and National Assistance Act were all passed, and in 1948 the National Health Service (NHS) came into being.

When Labour came to power in 1945 it faced huge economic challenges. To outline these in full is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, as Brooke argues, the 'manpower question became imperative', and economic recovery relied on the diversion of raw materials and labour to 'peace-time production'.[9] These challenges inevitably became the focus for labour policy, and the complexities of wage and inflation policy are evidenced in the opening paragraph of the 1948 Statement on personal incomes, costs and prices:

> The nation's economic welfare depends largely upon our ability to make and sell the exports necessary to buy the imports we need to feed our people and keep our industry going. Our costs of production are of vital importance and they depend to a considerable extent on the amount which industry has to pay in profits, salaries and wages. These in turn in the form of individual incomes affect the total volume of money available in relation to the quantity of goods.[10]

In these challenging years, manpower invariably meant paid work that would be carried out by men. The focus was on steering the economy through the rough waters of the post-war years. Opportunities to reconsider women's paid work and unpaid caring labour were perhaps unlikely to be grasped during this exceptionally difficult time. The government's approach was reactive, attempting to fill the gaps in industries that would help economic recovery. Behind the government's 1947 Women In Industry recruitment campaign was an assumption

[7] Bew, *Clement Attlee*, p. 404.
[8] Bew, *Clement* Attlee, p. 394.
[9] Stephen Brooke, 'Problems of 'Socialist Planning': Evan Durbin and the Labour Government of 1945', *Historical Journal*, 34/3 (1991), p. 693.
[10] *Parliamentary Papers* (1947/8), Cm 7321, Statement on personal incomes, costs and prices, p. 2.

that married women would eventually want to return to a domestic life.[11] McCarthy argues that the 'language of temporariness employed during the 1947 recruitment drive was wildly off-beam'.[12] Certainly, the government's approach served to confirm the notion that married women's work was peripheral, not central to the planned economy.

The immediate post-war years also presented continued practical challenges in everyday life, not least the continuation of rationing. Queuing for groceries was common-place, and working women resented the way this ate into their leisure time.[13] In June 1946 the government announced that bread rationing would come into force in July. By mid-July the Housewives' League had delivered petitions with over three hundred signatories on each to the House of Commons and the Ministry of Food.[14] Many acknowledged that the rations were adequate but bread rationing 'would remain a symbolic sore as long as it remained in force'.[15] A Mass Observation report on the cost of living found that '[w]omen have much less to spend on themselves than men'.[16] Savage notes that Mass Observers' reactions to a 1948 directive asking them to name the 'six main inconveniences of modern living' listed 'rationing, transport shortages, food shortages, and housing' amongst their replies, and there was little to suggest that middle-class respondents were any worse off than their working-class peers.[17] However, it was the tone of middle-class responses that differentiated them from those of working-class respondents:

> inconveniences not infrequently burst out into social prejudices of various kinds, concerned with 'the relative decline, in short, of middle-class purchasing power compared with that of the masses', against the 'insanity of many public servants', or 'the economic costs of pampering uninteresting classes of people'.[18]

[11] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 199.
[12] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 200.
[13] S. Todd, *The People: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class 1910-2010*, (London, 2014), p. 156.
[14] Kynaston, *Austerity Britain*, p.117.
[15] Kynaston, *Austerity Britain*, p. 118.
[16] Mass Observation Archive, FR 3075, Present Day Cost of Living (January 1949), p. 3.
[17] M. Savage, *Identities and Social Change in Britain Since 1940: The Politics of Method* (Oxford, 2010), p. 73.
[18] Savage, *Identities and Social Change*, p. 73.

The extent of the impact of the austerity years has been the subject of intense debate for historians. Zweiniger-Bargielowska argues that 'disaffection with austerity, rationing and controls was central' to the Conservative party's recovery in the years after the 1945 election.[19] Disaffection amongst certain sections of the middle class with Attlee's government was reflected in the 1946 Angela Thirkell novel *Private Enterprise.*[20] Other writers such as Mollie Panter-Downes in *One Fine Day* explored the implications of living in a servant-less world.[21] A nostalgia for a different life was expressed by one of Judith Hubback's graduate respondents in her 1957 study *Wives Who Went To College*, who reflected that:

> the educated wives of today are trying to lead a life of companionship with their intellectually-equal husbands, in the evenings and at the week-ends, a life of a type which was possible in the days of nurses and maids, but which is now very difficult to maintain.[22]

Kay Smallshall sought to provide solutions to domestic challenges faced by married women when she published *How To Run Your Home Without Help* in 1949.[23] Those in the middle-class who had managed to pay for services in the past and lamented their loss of privilege were particularly disgruntled, according to Todd.[24] However, '[n]ot all middle-class voters fell out of love with Labour'; those who had jobs in the public sector, who saw opportunities for managerial and technical roles within the new welfare state, or who believed in a new egalitarianism, remained loyal.[25]

Many middle-class families' lifestyles were changing in the years immediately after the war. Middle-class households were spending more on necessities and less on luxuries.[26] The gap

[19] I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'Rationing, Austerity and the Conservative Party Recovery After 1945', *The Historical Journal*, 37/1 (1994), p. 176.
[20] Bew, Clement Attlee, p. 450; Kynaston, *Austerity Britain*, p.120-1.
[21] A. Adolph, 'Austerity, Consumption, and Postwar Gender Disruption in Mollie Panter-Downes's *One Fine Day*', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 31/4 (2008), p. 33.
[22] J. Hubback, *Wives Who Went To College* (London, 1957), p. 60.
[23] K. Smallshall, *How To Run Your Home Without Help* (London, 2005)
[24] Todd, *The People*, p. 167.
[25] Todd, *The People*, p. 167.
[26] Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'Rationing, Austerity and the Conservative Party Recovery After 1945', p. 181.

between middle-class and working-class food consumption narrowed, and housewives grappled with the challenge of creating family meals from limited rations.[27] Changes in lifestyle went beyond shopping, cooking and living without paid domestic help, whether it be live-in or live-out. Zweiniger-Bargielowska argues:

> [t]he staples of the middle-class lifestyle – domestic service, ample food and clothes, consumer durables, motor cars, and luxuries such as travel, entertainment and subscriptions – were squeezed by labour shortage and rationing as well as high taxation and rising prices.[28]

This contrasts with the experience of many working-class men and women, who were enjoying increased prosperity and opportunities to eat out and go to the cinema.[29] Although middle-class women may have been dissatisfied with rationing and elements of economic policy, there was no 'collective revolt' against their role in the post-war settlement.[30]

Marriage was assumed to be an integral part of post-war reconstruction.[31] The married women in Klein's sample of graduate women, who constituted the vast majority, were heavily invested in their marriages and families. The many references to their desire to devote themselves to home and family confirm Giles' argument that 'young women and men wearied by the war years of separation and anxiety began to plan the homes and families that would establish a sense of a future'.[32] The 1950s was a decade when more people got married, married younger, and stayed married, partly because it was not easy to get divorced and life-span was increasing, 'creating an apparent golden age of marriage'.[33] Of course, this does not mean that marriages were without difficulties. Langhamer argues that high expectations of marriage led to their

[27] Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'Rationing, Austerity and the Conservative Party Recovery After 1945', p. 181.
[28] Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'Rationing, Austerity and the Conservative Party Recovery After 1945', p. 180.
[29] Todd, *The People*, pp.155-6.
[30] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 222.
[31] C. Langhamer, 'Feelings, Women and Work in the Long 1950s', *Women's History Review*, 26/1 (2017), p. 78.
[32] J. Giles, 'Good Housekeeping: Professionalising the Housewife', in K. Cowman and L. A. Jackson (eds.) *Women and Work Culture: Britain c. 1850-1950* (Abingdon, 2016), p. 82.
[33] P. Thane, 'Exploring Post War Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 9/2 (2012), p. 272.

own problems.[34] And it is important to bear in mind that it was also a decade of 'moral panics' about teenage pregnancy and delinquency that led one academic to warn of 'widespread moral collapse and domestic disintegration'.[35]

On the national stage those who were concerned for the welfare of the institution of marriage lobbied for its support. A. Joseph Brayshaw, General Secretary of the National Marriage Guidance Council, in an article titled *The Stability of Marriage* published in 1952, wrote:

> [a]s we tell the Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce in a memorandum, to revise the law of divorce without at the same time taking every possible step to foster successful marriage is like providing varied and comprehensive funeral arrangement without an adequate medical service.[36]

In 1953, in *Marriage and Family Living*, he reflected on the decline in 'public regard for the sanctity of marriage', highlighting the impact of the war, the housing shortage and 'a decline in religious observance', as well as other factors such as 'selfishness, emotional immaturity, and the tendency to regard sexual harmony as the sole criterion of marriage'.[37] The extent of concerns regarding marriage and divorce is further demonstrated in an outline of the Royal Commission's Report published for the Church of England Moral Welfare Council by the Church Information Board, published in 1956. This highlighted what it saw might happen if the tendency for parties to resort to divorce was not checked:

> there is a real danger that the conception of marriage as a lifelong union of one man with one woman may be abandoned. This would be an irreparable loss to the community. There are some of us who think that if this tendency continues unchecked, it may become necessary to consider whether the community as a whole would not be happier and more stable if it abolished divorce altogether and accepted the inevitable hardships that this would entail.[38]

---

[34] C. Langhamer, 'Love, Selfhood and Authenticity in Post-War Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 9/2 (2012), p 293, summarised in Thane, 'Exploring Post War Britain', p. 273.
[35] Thane, 'Exploring Post War Britain', p. 272.
[36] A. J. Brayshaw, 'The Stability of Marriage', *Eugenics Review*, 44/2 (1952), p. 89.
[37] A. J. Brayshaw, 'Marriage and Divorce in Britain Today', *Marriage and Family Living*, 15/4 (1953), p. 301.
[38] The Church Information Board, *Marriage, Divorce and the Royal Commission: A Study Outline of the Report of The Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce 1951-1955* (London, 1956), p. 21.

Contemporary novelists such as Barbara Pym and Elizabeth Jenkins reflected the reverence with which marriage was treated during this so-called 'golden age', whilst also exploring the emotional turbulence that could exist within partnerships.[39] The focus in fiction on the complexities and challenges of marriage at this time confirms Thane's conclusion that this period was much more complicated than previous assessments had assumed, as well as Langhamer's conclusions on the difficulties faced by married couples during this time.[40]

The high regard given to marriage was accompanied by a prevailing view that wives had an important role to play at home. Yet the British government also encouraged women to return to work in sectors suffering a labour shortage in a series of emotionally charged recruitment campaigns.[41] Todd sees politicians' opinions on working wives and mothers as contradictory, on the one hand citing the dangers of juvenile delinquency, whilst also seeking to recruit teachers and nurses.[42] There was a delicate balance between achieving sufficient, but not too much female employment outside of the home, as Langhamer argues: 'Too little and the economy would falter; too much and society would suffer'.[43] These conflicting messages were the result of a lack of coherence regarding policy on women's employment, and married women's employment in particular.

Meanwhile, the importance of women's domestic and caring work within marriage was assumed but not detailed. Lewis sees that '[i]n the post-war analysis of social policies both

[39] See for example Barbara Pym, *Excellent Women* (1952) in which Mildred, a single woman, perceives married women as having greater status than herself, and is in awe of her glamorous neighbours' marriage, until living in proximity reveals its challenges and flaws; see also Elizabeth Jenkins' *The Tortoise And The Hare* (1954) for an examination of the breakdown of a marriage in post-war Britain.
[40] See Thane, 'Exploring Post War Britain' and Langhamer, 'Love, Selfhood and Authenticity in Post-War Britain'.
[41] Langhamer, 'Feelings, Women and Work in the Long 1950s', p. 78; see also W. Crofts, 'The Attlee Government's Pursuit of Women', *History Today*, 36/8 (1986), pp. 29-35 (cited by Langhamer) for an analysis of the recruitment campaign and examples of advertising.
[42] Todd, *The People*, p. 210; see also S. Todd, 'Family Welfare and Social Work in Post-War England, c.1948–c.1970', *The English Historical Review*, 129/537 (2014), p. 376 for a discussion of Yudkin and Holme 1963 study, *Working Mothers and Their Children.*
[43] Langhamer, 'Feelings, Women and Work in the Long 1950s', p. 79.

family and gender were neglected', citing Richard Titmuss' *Essays on the Welfare State* (1963) among others as ignoring gender.[44] Ann Oakley, reflecting on her father's consideration of unpaid domestic work states that 'Richard Titmuss never wrote about housework, just as he never did any'.[45] He, along with his male colleagues assumed that 'women's labour ties them to a natural world of love and care, whereas men exist in an historically contingent material place which is also the domain of public policy'.[46] Meanwhile Mrs Titmuss was busy organising the household, believing that this was 'an essential pre-condition of *his* intellectual prowess'.[47]

Skevik's examination of the Beveridge Report found 'no explicit mention' of the 'practical work relating to children's needs or other domestic chores' and sees its legacy concerning pension policy thus:

> the role of housewife was not linked to actual tasks – such as the workload of the family household – but rather as an intrinsic function, that of wife and mother. Wives and mothers belonged in the private sphere and while it was assumed they would be occupied with some private tasks, these were of little public interest. Policy-makers themselves had no legitimate interest in determining when a mother should be required to leave the public sphere.[48]

This had implications for widows' pensions because it was assumed that the husband's National Insurance contributions would be important, along with the number of children that the marriage had produced.[49] Her unpaid work was of no relevance. Even her pre-marriage contributions were irrelevant, underlying her 'dependent identity'.[50] An opportunity was lost during the war years to debate alternative options for the British pensions and social insurance

[44] J. Lewis, 'Gender, the family and women's agency in the building of 'welfare states': the British case', *Social History*, 19/1 (1994), p. 37.
[45] A. Oakley, *Father and Daughter: Patriarchy, gender and social science* (Bristol, 2014), p. 198.
[46] Oakley, *Father and Daughter*, p. 199.
[47] Oakley, *Father and Daughter*, p. 199.
[48] A. Skevik, 'Family economy workers or caring mothers? Male breadwinning and widows' pensions in Norway and the UK', *Feminist Economics*, 10/2 (2004), p. 101.
[49] Skevik, 'Family economy workers', p. 101.
[50] J. Colwill, 'Beveridge, women and the Welfare State', *Critical Social Policy*, 14/41 (1994), pp. 56-7.

systems.[51] Instead, the 'euphoria which surrounded the Beveridge proposals' was encouraged, but this 'stifled serious debate' and led to complacency regarding the pension system which would have far-reaching effects.[52]

Rights to benefits within the new welfare state were not dependent on citizenship, but instead on the contribution record relating to full-time paid work, which had the consequence of excluding many women and the disabled, among others.[53] Women were insured through their husbands.[54] Even when Richard Titmuss advised the Labour Party on pension policy during the 1950s, leading to the National Superannuation Scheme, although the increase in married women working was acknowledged in the proposals, arrangements for divorce or separation went without mention.[55] The Conservative administrations of 1951 to 1964 showed little interest in pensions.[56] Indeed, policy throughout the post war years failed to reflect the realities of the ways in which married women were and could be working, yet pension arrangements had significant implications for women. For example, in Klein's sample Clarrie (b.1912) had never been involved in full-time work. Instead, she had chosen to do part-time lecturing and teaching, which gave her flexibility to attend to her family's needs and to take on voluntary work.[57] In a note that accompanied her questionnaire she stated: 'I do not want a full time job as I find my present variety of work interesting and like the freedom it provides…But it is badly paid and carries no increments and pension rights!'.[58]

[51] P. Thane, *Old Age In English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (Oxford, 2000), p. 368; see also J. Harris, 'Political Ideas and the debate on State Welfare 1940-5', in H. L. Smith (ed.), *War and Social Change* (Manchester, 1986), p. 250, and H. Jones, 'The Conservative Party and the Welfare state, 1942-1955' (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1992), pp. 89-90.
[52] Thane, *Old Age In English History*, p. 368.
[53] H. Glennerster, *British Social Policy: 1945 to the present* (Oxford, 2007), p. 42.
[54] Glennerster, *British Social Policy*, p. 36.
[55] Thane, *Old Age In English History*, pp. 373-375.
[56] Thane, *Old Age In English History*, p. 371.
[57] MS 1215 31.
[58] MS 1215 31.

Many teachers in the sample expressed dismay that their part-time work would not count towards their pension. For a married couple, there was an assumption that the government would provide a state pension based on the husband's work. Any paid work done by the wife was outside of this system, and in the case of part-time work, might not count towards an employment-related pension at all. This served to compound the notion that married women's work was unusual and of lesser value than a husband's work.

Historians have debated the effects of taxation on middle-class households in post-war Britain. Todd argues that the Conservative policies of the late 1950s led to middle- and upper-class taxpayers experiencing the lowest rates since the 1930s.[59] However, Zweiniger-Bargielowska argues that the middle classes felt the burden of taxation during the period immediately after 1945.[60] Many of Klein's respondents who commented on the tax system expressed their frustration that their and their husband's income were lumped together. The Women's Taxation Action Group (WOTAG) was subsequently founded in 1967, campaigning against joint taxation and lobbying for tax relief on the cost of domestic help.[61] McCarthy argues that they were right to highlight the 'basic injustice of treating a woman's earnings as an extension of her husband's income', whilst also showing that the tax relief issue had an effect on recruitment.[62] McCarthy also demonstrates that 'enlightened' husbands of the mid-1960s commented on the dispiriting consequences of not being able to offset costs of domestic help against paid work in the medical profession, for example, but this did not extend to their challenging the expectation that domestic duties and childcare were their wives' domain.[63] McCarthy concludes:

[59] Todd, *The People*, p. 205.
[60] Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'Rationing, Austerity and the Conservative Party Recovery After 1945', p. 180.
[61] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 281.
[62] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, pp. 282-3.
[63] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, pp. 282-3.

> Judged as a proportion of a wife's salary, these costs probably did appear demoralisingly high to many graduate women. Viewed alternatively as a joint expense which enabled *both* spouses to follow fulfilling careers, they might not have looked so bad.[64]

Government policy on how married couples were assessed for social insurance, pension and tax purposes was entrenching gendered roles within marriage.[65] Family allowances, which were cash payments to mothers that took into account the costs of bringing up children, did mark 'a new departure for British policy'.[66] However, their value was 'set well below subsistence'.[67] Therefore they did not challenge Beveridge's assumption that a husband would be the main source of income for a family. On the contrary, assumptions about gender roles that were documented in the Beveridge Report were confirmed in policy on tax and pensions and codified in statute. The opportunity to recognise the ways in which married women might want to work outside the home and put a value on the unpaid caring work they were doing beyond a subsistence level family allowance was taken up by neither the Labour nor the Conservative administrations of the post-war years.

Attitudes towards married women's employment

Debate continues regarding the prevailing attitude to married women's work in the post-war era. Was this period, 'long represented as dull, grey and conformist',[68] in fact a time only before a second wave of feminism found its force? Or was it, as McCarthy argues, a 'watershed moment for working mothers of Britain'?[69] McCarthy concludes that during this time the 'moral distinction once tightly drawn between mothers who 'needed' to work and those who

[64] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 283.
[65] For an analysis of the costs for women in terms of forgone income as a result of having children, see P. Johnson and A. Zaidi, 'Work over the Life-Course', in N. Crafts, I. Gazeley, and A. Newell (eds.), *Work and Pay in 20th Century Britain* (Oxford, 2007), p. 113.
[66] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 217.
[67] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 217.
[68] Thane, 'Exploring Post War Britain', p. 272.
[69] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 386.

merely 'wanted' to, broke down.[70] The experiences of the hundreds of women in Klein's graduate sample suggest that the desire to work for intellectual fulfilment was becoming more acceptable during this period.

There is no information in the responses of the questionnaires which directly answers the question of what types of media influences were operating amongst this highly educated sample. Bingham urges caution when assessing the relationship between media and gender identity, arguing that historians should 'develop a more sophisticated model of the relationship' that 'acknowledges that the media cannot "impose" patriarchy on an unwilling audience'.[71] Scholarship on cultural consumption amongst women in the post-war era is limited, but some conclusions emerge. Skoog suggests that references to working women on the BBC radio programme *Woman's Hour* at this time 'acknowledged and perhaps further challenged the representation of women in post-war Britain'.[72] Forster has examined *Housewife* magazine, a publication aimed at a middle-class female readership, and argues that '[w]omen prominent in their professions were heralded as role models of female achievement'.[73] The magazine was trying to quash the differences between its readership of housewives and those with careers, giving much editorial space to the ways in which housewives could involve themselves in work beyond domesticity.[74]

This suggests that mothers with a high level of education in the post-war period would have been influenced by broadcasting and press that was asking how the differences between a professional career and the career of housewife could be lessened, to make use of the skills

[70] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 386.
[71] A. Bingham, ''An Era of Domesticity'? Histories of Women and Gender in Interwar Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 1/2 (2004), p. 233.
[72] K. Skoog, 'Striving for Editorial Autonomy and International Recognition: BBC Woman's Hour', in M. Andrews and S. McNamara (eds.), *Women and the Media: Feminism and Femininity in Britain, 1900 to the present* (Abingdon, 2014), p. 111.
[73] L. Forster, *Magazine Movements: Women's Culture, Feminisms and Media Form* (London, 2015), p. 46.
[74] Forster, *Magazine Movements*, p. 46.

gained from higher education. A transcript of a 1948 *Woman's Hour* broadcast by Honor Croome supports this idea. Croome stated:

> there are innumerable women with no children or with older children, often highly trained and qualified women, who could perfectly well take a part-time job and would love to, but who can find nothing but full-time openings that won't fit in with their home ties.[75]

In 1952, *Woman's Hour* featured a testimonial of a woman who had taken a part-time job. Rosalind Kayte explained that there had not been enough money for extras, and she had arranged for her son, who was four years old, to be looked after by her husband's parents in the mornings so she could take a part-time job.

> To be a good homemaker is a worthwhile ideal, but we so often stop at that; we don't make time for outside interests. I know this from my own experience. Apart from visiting fellow housewives, a very occasional evening at the pictures, one is left with the day-in, day-out routine of housework, looking after the children, and only the wireless for relaxation.[76]

Rosalind was motivated to return to employment by money, but also desired companionship and a break from the ongoing routine of domestic work. She described her new life, which was busy, but seemingly more fulfilling, and had led to some pragmatic choices:

> Life feels so full of things to do now. Fitting in the housework is something of a puzzle, but I have adopted the only commonsense method: that is, necessities only during the week, and then a good clean-up at weekends.[77]

Rosalind's presumption that the domestic duties at home were still hers and not her husband's work to do reflects the feelings of women in Klein's sample, who perceived domestic duties as their responsibility. Here BBC broadcasting included a modern middle-class part-time worker on *Woman's Hour*, who assumed that it was her job to keep the house clean too.

---

[75] J. Murray, *Woman's Hour: from Joyce Grenfell to Sharon Osborne: Celebrating Sixty Years of Women's Lives* (London, 2006), p. 35.
[76] Murray, *Woman's Hour*, p. 70.
[77] Murray, *Woman's Hour*, p. 70.

In a contrast to this positive portrayal of part-time work, during a 1959 *Woman's Hour* feature entitled 'Hooray for Being a Housewife', a regular contributor to the programme described the benefits of full-time housewifery:

> I think this is one of the nicest things about being a housewife. No one can boss you about. I worked for seven years in offices and there was always some terrifying woman in charge of me, who had the right to haul me up, criticise my work, dress me down, point out my failings and then give me the sack. Once in your own home you can do exactly what you like, when you like and how you like.[78]

This juxtaposition of office life and its hierarchies with the autonomy of being mistress of the home features no interfering husbands, or dreary monotony. Instead, listeners were left to imagine the possibilities of their role, both for arranging their domestic spaces as they wished, and exploring outside opportunities when they liked. The more astute listener may have concluded that this particular 'housewife' was also fitting in broadcasting work, which was presumably paid.

Klein's sample of graduate women were likely to have been consuming media that was both extolling the virtues of the full-time housewife, as well as encouraging engagement in wider society, and beginning to talk about how middle-class mothers could pursue part-time paid work if they felt they needed to. For those who wanted to continue their careers there were some examples in the media that could be inspiring, demonstrating what was possible.

The experience of Alison (1928), detailed in a note to Klein that accompanied her questionnaire, provides an interesting postscript to this overview of media coverage of working women. Alison started by telling Klein that she thought her research was 'fascinating' and hoped it would be published, and that she would let the respondents know when they could read the study's conclusions. Alison added that she had 'tackled' *The Guardian* and *The Sunday Times* 'to enlist their help in prizing information from working professional women on

[78] Murray, *Woman's Hour*, p. 100.

the domestic organisation of their life'.[79] She felt that 'would-be workers' would gain 'great help and encouragement' from others' experiences.[80] She concluded: 'both papers seemed to consider it a hot potato. Perhaps in amongst your research you will come up with some information on a very knotty problem for the career/mother'.[81] Alison, a qualified teacher with two children, now doing private coaching work at home rather than working in a school, partly because her children's grandparents were against mothers working, seemed to be incredibly keen to see further coverage in the national media of mothers with successful careers.

Conflicting views on married women's work were evident amongst women's groups. The Mothers' Union's Central President, Rosamund Fisher, recognised the difficulties of reconciling the desire for a career and having children, when giving evidence to the Royal Commission on Population in March 1944, but concluded that if a woman had a baby, the baby must be put first.[82] She highlighted society's reluctance to criticise voluntary work among mothers, and its keenness to criticise mothers with young babies who pursue careers.[83] However, the Mothers' Union exhibited more definite support of the right of older married women to work outside the home, a decade before the publication of Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein's *Women's Two Roles: Home and Work* in 1956.[84] Beaumont has argued that although the Women's Institutes Movement acknowledged the right of women to seek fulfilling and profitable work, it also recognised the difficulties married women with children faced regarding after-school and school holiday care, and the presumption was that women needed to compromise for the sake of their children.[85] However, the support of the right of married

[79] MS 1215 27/1.
[80] MS 1215 27/1.
[81] MS 1215 27/1.
[82] C. Beaumont 'Housewives, Workers and Citizens: Voluntary Women's Organisations and the Campaign for Women's Rights in England and Wales during the Post-War Period', in N. Crowson, M. Hilton and J. McKay (eds.), *Non-State Actors in Society and Politics since 1945* (Basingstoke, 2009), p. 65.
[83] Beaumont, 'Housewives, Workers and Citizens', p. 65.
[84] Beaumont, 'Housewives, Workers and Citizens', p. 66.
[85] Beaumont, 'Housewives, Workers and Citizens', p. 66.

women with school age children to work by the Mothers' Union, Women's Institutes Movement and The Townswomen's Guild was a 'radical stance' in the 1950s.[86]

Welfare workers could also be sympathetic to mothers who worked, and were rarely influenced by the small number of doctors, MPs and social work leaders 'whose attempt to pathologise working-class women tended to dominate public debate'.[87] Welfare workers, such as case workers at the Family Service Units, operating in Manchester, Salford and Liverpool, were also well placed to observe that it was often the large number of children in the family and the lack of quality childcare that inhibited take-up of employment amongst working-class women.[88]

The immediate post-war years were characterised by an ambiguity, which did not force women to stay at home and look after children, but neither was it proactive in facilitating combining 'paid employment with childbearing'.[89] There was no positive consensus on the benefits of working mothers in the 1950s and 1960s, but views on older women returning to work when their children had reached school age did become more positive.[90] The number of women who were in part-time and full-time paid work in Klein's sample demonstrates that many middle-class women did feel comfortable taking on paid work. McCarthy concludes that it was the lack of support by the government which was the overriding reason why the majority of women with children did not take up paid work.[91] This lack of government support may have accentuated the reasons why middle-class women did not take up paid employment, particularly through the workings of the taxation and pensions system, and the lack of nursery provision. However, other factors, such as the desire to remain close to the family, were just

[86] Beaumont, 'Housewives, Workers and Citizens', p. 67.
[87] Todd, 'Family Welfare', p. 377.
[88] Todd, 'Family Welfare', p. 377.
[89] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 221.
[90] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 247.
[91] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 221.

as important in the late 1940s. And throughout the post-war period there were some women who did feel fulfilled without the inclusion of paid work in their lives; many of these women found sufficient interest at home and through voluntary work, as demonstrated in Chapters 3 and 4.

The background to Dr Viola Klein's survey

In post-war Britain sociological research was seen as informing and improving social policy.[92] Viola Klein, Alva Myrdal, Judith Hubback and Hannah Gavron all concerned themselves with women's work in the long 1950s.[93] They were breaking new ground; when Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein published their pioneering 1956 study *Women's Two Roles: Home and Work*, one of the first serious publications on women's place in society, 'they had to break through an attitude of condescending male hilarity'.[94] Myrdal and Klein argued that with women marrying young and having smaller families, there was a significant number of years available for gainful economic employment, and there were benefits for society and women themselves in increased employment amongst childless married women, and those no longer looking after small children.[95] Davis concludes that most sociologists were positive about women's employment but has also highlighted the limited understanding by sociologists of the demands of the nuclear family, particularly on women, mainly due to the prevailing assumption of the benefits of the family for all concerned. This was compounded by a misplaced optimism about future patterns of marriage.[96]

---

[92] P. Thane, 'Michael Young and Welfare', *Contemporary British History*, 19/3 (2005), p. 297.
[93] See A. Myrdal and V. Klein, *Women's two roles: home and work* (London, 1956); J. Hubback, *Wives Who Went To College* (London, 1957); V. Klein, *Britain's Married Women Workers* (London, 1965); H. Gavron, *The Captive Wife: Conflicts of Housebound Mothers* (London, 1966).
[94] Oakley, *Father and Daughter*, p. 200; See also M. Savage's description of 'gentlemanly' academic culture in *Identities and Social Change in Britain Since 1940: The Politics of Method* (Oxford, 2010), p. 93.
[95] See Myrdal and Klein, *Women's two roles*.
[96] A. Davis, 'A Critical Perspective on British Social Surveys and Community Studies and Their Accounts of Married Life c.1945-70', *Cultural and Social History*, 6/1, (2009), p. 58.

Klein made a notable 'contribution to the development of better empirical knowledge' about women's lives.[97] She saw the importance of understanding the experiences of graduate women, who were highly educated and theoretically well equipped for work. Her 1963 survey focused on this group. Hubback's study also surveyed graduate women, whereas Gavron's covered middle-class and working-class women's experiences. Hubback and Gavron's studies uncovered the experiences of women trying to reconcile motherhood with a desire for fulfilment beyond domesticity. All were seeking to understand the ways in which women were combining paid work with motherhood. They were concerned that skills should not go to waste and that married women could gain fulfilment from work once the intensive years of child-rearing were behind them.

Both Hubback and Gavron seem to have been driven to understand whether other voices echoed their own experiences of trying to combine motherhood and work. Hubback concluded after surveying her contemporaries that women should avoid trying to replicate male approaches to work and career, perceiving that viewing ambitions for work and marriage from a position of compromise was more likely to lead to contentment.[98] But Hubback also recognised that each woman would have to find her own way of combining her intellectual and personal life.[99] Hubback found examples of women who were contented with their situation as housewives, such as this respondent who stated:

> My husband prefers me not to have to work for money but is pleased to see me do voluntary work. I love gardening and dressmaking, and I compose cookery recipes with the exultation of an ode…[100]

[97] E. Stina Lyon, 'Viola Klein: Forgotten Emigré Intellectual, Public Sociologist and Advocate of Women', *Sociology*, 41/5 (2007), p. 830.
[98] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 265.
[99] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 286.
[100] Hubback, *Wives Who Went To College*, p. 54.

However, quoting a covering letter, written by one of the respondents to her survey, Hubback summarised what she saw as a wider view:

> 'I certainly think it is a pity that so many women, because they want a family, are more or less forced to spend a large part of their time in domestic work, when they might be doing something more socially useful and satisfying' sums up what was said at greater length in many of the letters.[101]

Hubback also acknowledged the role of domestic help in educated women being able to pursue work opportunities, recognising the assumption that domestic responsibilities were deemed to fall on women, not men.

> Historically speaking, the Women's Movement, where it affected educated women, was based on the assumption of adequate domestic help. To discuss this fact is not to moan about the servant problem; it is to face what has happened and to take it into account.[102]

Hubback's respondents spelt out the clear division of roles operating within their families, one respondent stating that her husband was convinced he needed more sleep than she did and that it was therefore her job not his to get up for the children in the night:

> I think this is only part of the general attitude of 'the children are the woman's concern', and 'a wife is there to look after others, not to be looked after herself'.[103]

The words of this respondent seem to anticipate feminist thinking of subsequent decades, such as Adrienne Rich's assertion:

> In learning to give care to children, men would have to cease being children; the privileges of fatherhood could not be toyed with, as they are now, without an equal share in the full experience of nurture.[104]

Another of Hubback's respondents reflected on the different skills required by domesticity, 'a capacity to combine and do several things at once'.[105] It did not 'call on the power to concentrate and to work single-mindedly that a degree course – and most professional courses

[101] Hubback, *Wives Who Went To College*, p. 54.
[102] Hubback, *Wives Who Went To College*, p. 7.
[103] Hubback, *Wives Who Went To College*, p. 69.
[104] A. Rich, *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as experience and institution* (London 1986), p. 215.
[105] Hubback, *Wives Who Went To College*, p. 39.

– encourage', and therefore if an educated woman 'derives real enjoyment from concentration, she has to discipline herself very severely to overcome the irritation caused by being constantly interrupted'.[106] Stoicism, according to this respondent, was required; emotional labour to contain frustration was needed in addition to the actual labour involved in domestic chores.

Hannah Gavron's *The Captive Wife*, although published in 1966, provides an indication of experiences at the end of the period focused on in this thesis.[107] Gavron looked in detail at wives in post-war Britain, comparing the experiences of working-class and middle-class respondents. She pointed out how isolated many working-class women felt, and how many relied on their televisions for a sense of connection with the world.[108] But Gavron also concluded that middle-class housewives were generally happier than working-class housewives, who were more likely to feel isolated.[109] Klein's sample of middle-class women were all recruited through the British Federation of University Women (BFUW), and presumably many of them found some sense of connection through their membership of the organisation. Certainly, some referred to meetings or contact with other members, and it was noticeable that some respondents lived close to each other in urban areas, suggesting that there may have been a geographical closeness too.

Hubback's and Gavron's studies gave women a voice by virtue of their publication. Other books such as *Women's Two Roles: Home and Work* and subsequent discussion during the post-war period also helped to increase recognition of both the number of years still available

[106] Hubback, *Wives Who Went To College*, p. 39.; for a history of motherhood written with an appreciation of the interruptions routinely involved in motherhood, see S. Knott, *Mother: An Unconventional History* (London, 2019).
[107] Gavron, *The Captive Wife;* see also J. Gavron, *A woman on the edge of time: a son's search for his mother* (Melbourne, 2015).
[108] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 238.
[109] S. Bruley, *Women in Britain since 1900* (Basingstoke, 1999), p.133.

for women to work, and the importance for women in having an interest outside of the home once their children left to pursue their own lives.

Methodology: Source material and analysis

Klein conducted her survey of married women graduates in 1963. She recruited her respondents via local branches of the BFUW, and all had graduated in the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s or 1950s.[110] The questionnaire sought to study how family responsibilities had impacted on study and work experience. Short answer questions captured data such as degree type and year of marriage, but there was space at the end for 'further comments', and many of the respondents wrote at length about their experiences, some attaching a separate letter or note detailing their story and opinions on the topic. There was also a question which encouraged respondents to list all their paid employment since graduation, and their reasons for leaving, and many participants gave very detailed responses in this section also. Full details on the format of the questionnaire are detailed in the Appendix.

By concentrating on responses from women who had completed university undergraduate degrees, there was potential to understand the competing obligations of spousal, maternal and elder care, and opportunities to use an advanced level of education in the workplace. McCarthy, Savage and Thane have all demonstrated the value sociological surveys play in writing history. In post-war Britain sociological research was seen as informing and improving social policy.[111] From 1945 to 1970 sociologists 'established themselves by sampling an ordinary, everyday social world' in order to understand the wider population by sampling part of it.[112] Writing histories of women's work from the mid-twentieth century onwards has become easier because of the interest contemporary observers took in the lives of working

[110] Table 1b below illustrates that one respondent graduated in the 1910s (1917), and there was insufficient data relating to 7 questionnaires in order to determine the year in which the respondent had graduated.
[111] Pat Thane, 'Michael Young and Welfare', *Contemporary British History*, 19/3 (2005), p. 297.
[112] Savage, *Identities and Social Change*, p. 7.

mothers.[113] Klein felt it was important to understand the experiences of graduate women. So too did many respondents who stated explicitly that they valued Klein's research and were keen to know the conclusions. Of course, social science methodology changed over the twentieth century.[114] This is important to bear in mind when considering Klein's questionnaire, for example, which required respondents to include their name and address and was therefore not anonymous. When analysing the experiences and emotions of these women, it is important to interpret what has been included in the questionnaires, to consider what may have been left out, and to consider that the experiences and emotions documented are the respondents' own interpretation of their felt experience.[115]

McCarthy has used this collection in order to understand working motherhood, particularly in *Double Lives: A History or Working Motherhood*.[116] This thesis builds on this by conducting a close and extensive analysis of the entire sample. The numbers of completed questionnaires in Klein's survey allowed quantitative analysis, whereas the extensive comments written by respondents in the further comments section of the questionnaire and the accompanying notes and letters facilitated qualitative data analysis.

The extraordinary textual commentary contained within this collection of questionnaires has enabled an analysis that illuminates the experiences of middle-class women's lives in post-war Britain. By offering women a space to consider their experiences, Klein invited them to reflect on their feelings about their lives. These educated, thoughtful women very often took advantage of this opportunity to consider their experiences in both intellectual and holistic

[113] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 10.
[114] Savage, *Identities and Social Change*, p. 10.; see also T. Evans and P. Thane, 'Secondary Analysis of Dennis Marsden *Mothers Alone'*, *Methodological Innovations Online*, 1/2 (2006), pp. 78-82.
[115] J. W. Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Inquiry*, 17/4 (1991), p. 797.
[116] McCarthy, *Double Lives*.

terms. The considered responses in the questionnaire and accompanying notes and letters are exceptionally rich, and have warranted detailed analysis.

Elliott has concluded that 'there is no standard approach or list of procedures that is generally recognized as representing the narrative method of analysis'.[117] In this study, the content analysis of detailed written elements of the questionnaires was informed by grounded theory methodology, in that sources were transcribed into the database so that similar themes could be identified, a methodology for which there is precedent in historical research.[118] Data analysis was ongoing throughout this data input phase. Transcription of comments, notes and letters allowed identification of themes, and opportunities for subsequent analysis. Close analysis of language used by respondents also led to additional analysis to explore whether such use was incidental or more widespread. So, the inputting of the data and its analysis was a continual, evolving process. For example, as inputting proceeded, pertinent references made by respondents were referred to in a separate field of one of the forms of the database, allowing quick identification at a later stage of the research.

Breakdown of the sample and observations on its characteristics

Klein chose to contact women who were members of the BFUW. The Federation was founded in 1907, at a meeting held at Manchester High School for Girls, partly in response to the obstacles which female academics were encountering gaining promotion and accessing funding for research.[119] In 1909 the headquarters of the organisation moved from Manchester to London, but regional branches were gradually set up.[120] The BFUW's mission broadened 'to bring together all women who had enjoyed a university education to work for the removal of

[117] J. Elliott, *Using Narrative in Social Research*, (London, 2005), p. 36.
[118] See for example S. Pooley, 'Parenthood, child-rearing and fertility in England, 1850-1914', *The History of the Family*, 18/1 (2013), pp. 83-106.
[119] C. Dyhouse, *No distinction of sex? Women in British universities, 1870-1939* (London, 1995), p. 141.
[120] Dyhouse, *No distinction of sex?*, p. 141.

sex disabilities and promote women's involvement in municipal and public life'.[121] Membership grew from 27 local associations with 4000 members in 1939, to 46 associations and about 5000 members in 1957.[122]

Dyhouse argues that the BFUW's political focus may have been more blurred in the 1950s and 1960s, but that 'one should not underestimate the importance of the local associations in some kind of feminist "consciousness raising" during these years'.[123] Members of the BFUW were more likely to be interested in and supportive of opportunities for graduate women in the workplace. This hypothesis is supported by the number of returned questionnaires with comments which included an expression of interest in the study and wishes of success to Klein and her research. Indeed, many respondents communicated their wish to be able to read its outcome.

Those who responded to the questionnaire, whose title included a reference to 'professional women', might have been more likely to be supportive of married graduate women's involvement in the paid economy. However, the responses returned to Klein were from women in full-time paid employment, part-time paid employment and doing unpaid caring and voluntary work. This broad range of perspectives has allowed detailed analysis of a range of experiences.

All the respondents had a university education. Analysis of the 1951 Census for England and Wales reveals that a very small proportion of the population were students, or had been students, at a higher education institution. In 1951 2.8% of females had stated the age at which they had terminated their education as 20 or above. The proportion of men who stated the age

[121] Dyhouse, *No distinction of sex?*, p. 142.
[122] C. Dyhouse, 'The British Federation of University Women and the status of women in universities, 1907-1939', *Women's History Review,* 4/4 (1995), p. 480.
[123] Dyhouse, 'The British Federation', p. 480.

at which they had terminated their education as age 20 or above was 2.4%.[124] In 1961 2.7% of females gave their Terminal Education Age as 20 or above. The proportion of males who had been involved in higher education were similarly small but slightly higher, with 3.7% giving their Terminal Education Age as 20 or above.[125]

A similarly small proportion of the population were or had been involved in higher education according to the 1961 Census for England and Wales. In the 1961 Census 49.5% of women aged 15 and over gave their Terminal Education Age as 14, and 19.2% gave it as 15.[126] If it is assumed that most university degrees would not have been completed until the age of 21, according to the 1961 Census only 1.7% of women stated the age at they completed their education as age 21 or above.[127]

Further analysis was provided by the Robbins Report, which found that in 1962 7% of nineteen-year-olds were in full-time education, most in higher education.[128] University entrants as a percentage of the age group was 4% in 1962, compared to 3.2% in 1954, but this had not kept pace with the increasing numbers of those obtaining university entrance qualifications.[129] In 1962 in Great Britain 5.6% of men were full-time students at university, compared with only 2.5% of women.[130] 1.3% of men were in teacher training, compared with 3.8% of women, and 2.9% of men in some other form of further education, compared with 1.0% of women.[131] In total, 9.8% of men were in some form of full-time further or higher education, compared with

[124] Table 43: Occupied population in 9 Age Sections each classified by 11 terminal Education Ages, General Register Office Census 1951 England and Wales General tables Comprising Population, Age and Marital Condition, Non-Private Households, Birthplace and Nationality, Education (London, 1956), p. 159.
[125] Table 1, General Register Office Census 1961 England and Wales Education Tables (London, 1966), p. 2.
[126] Table 1, General Register Office Census 1961 England and Wales Education Tables, p. 2.
[127] Table 1, General Register Office Census 1961 England and Wales Education Tables, p. 2.
[128] *Parliamentary Papers* (1962-3), Cm 2154, Higher Education Report of the Committee appointed by the Prime Minister under the Chairmanship of Lord Robbins 1961-63 (London, 1963), pp. 11-12.
[129] *Parl. Pap.* (1962-3), Cm 2154, p. 12.
[130] *Parl. Pap.* (1962-3), Cm 2154, p. 16.
[131] *Parl. Pap.* (1962-3), Cm 2154, p. 16

7.3% of women.[132] The sample of women that Klein collected responses from was, therefore, a highly educated one compared to the population at large.

Institutions attended for first degrees

Not all respondents gave details of the institution at which they had studied for their first degree. Of the 274 respondents for whom we have that information, 68 (24.8%) had studied at London University (Bedford, Kings and Westfield Colleges were all mentioned specifically, in addition to more general references to London). 57 (20.8%) had studied at the University of Oxford, and 54 (19.7%) at Cambridge. 17.9% had studied at Scottish Universities, with the majority having studied at Edinburgh (18 respondents, 6.6%), Glasgow (13, 4.7%) and St Andrews (10, 3.6%). 6.9% named institutions outside of the United Kingdom. The breakdown of the sample of 274, who specifically named their institution, is shown below in Table 1a.

In terms of the distribution of full-time students in institutions of higher education, the Robbins Report found that there were 118,400 students in universities in 1962/3. Of these 17,900 (15%) were at Oxford and Cambridge. The proportion of women graduates in Klein's sample who had been to Oxbridge (40.5%) was significantly higher than this. Unfortunately, we have no information on the occupations of the parents of Klein's respondents. However, it is likely most respondents came from middle-class families. Thane's study of Girton graduates found only approximately 5% of students came from 'upper class' families; most were middle-class women with fathers who worked as, for example, schoolmasters, clergymen and civil servants.[133] The Robbins Report also found that 23,100 (20%) full-time university students were in London, 36,200 (31%) at older civic universities, 13,200 (11%) at younger civic

[132] *Parl. Pap.* (1962-3), Cm 2154, p. 16.
[133] P. Thane, 'Girton Graduates: earning and learning, 1920s-1980s', *Women's History Review*, 13/3 (2004), p. 349.

universities, 7,800 (7%) in Wales and 20,200 (17%) in Scotland.[134] In Klein's sample a similar proportion had studied at Scottish Universities as that in the Robbins Report (17.9% compared with 17%), but a smaller proportion had studied in Wales (1.1% compared with 7%) and a slightly larger proportion in London (24.8% compared with 20%).

Table 1a below shows the institution attended for a first degree, for respondents who specified this detail in their completed questionnaire.

[134] *Parl. Pap.* (1962-3), Cm 2154, p. 14; please note that Chart A on p. 14 shows numbers of full-time students and percentages were calculated from these figures.

Table 1a: Institution attended for first degree (for those respondents who specified)

Institution	Number of respondents	%
Aberdeen	7	2.6
Birmingham	3	1.1
Bristol	3	1.1
Cambridge	54	19.7
Dundee	1	0.4
Durham	3	1.1
Edinburgh	18	6.6
Glasgow	13	4.7
Leeds	4	1.5
Liverpool	2	0.7
London	68	24.8
Manchester	8	2.9
Oxford	57	20.8
Sheffield	1	0.4
St Andrews	10	3.6
Wales	3	1.1
Australia & New Zealand	3	1.1
Europe	8	2.9
South Africa	2	0.7
US	6	2.2
Total	274	100.0

Klein's respondents graduated as early as 1917 and as late as 1958, but most had left university in either the 1930s (49.5%) or 1940s (39.9%). The numbers of respondents who graduated in the 1910s, 1920s, 1930s, 1940s and 1950s are shown in Table 1b.

Table 1b: Decade in which respondents left university

Decade	Number of respondents	%
1910s	1	0.1
1920s	28	3.0
1930s	453	49.5
1940s	365	39.9
1950s	61	6.7
Insufficient data to categorise	7	0.8
Total	915	100.0

Due to the nature of the questions asked in Klein's questionnaire, there was no information captured on the family or educational background of respondents, nor on their motivations for pursuing a degree. There is very little scholarship on graduates of the 1940s and 1950s. However, Dyhouse's survey of men and women who graduated prior to 1939 found that 54 per cent of women and 43 per cent of men were from middle-class family backgrounds.[135] To have been so highly educated during the early and mid-twentieth century implies that most of Klein's sample probably grew up in middle-class families.

[135] C. Dyhouse, *Students: A Gendered History* (London, 2006), p. 10.

Age range of the sample

The majority (76.1%) of the sample were aged between 40 and 59 years old. 43% were aged 40-49, and 33.1% aged 50-59. The full age range of the sample can be seen in the table below.

Table 2: Age Range

Age Range	Number of respondents	%
20-29	3	0.3
30-39	199	21.8
40-49	393	43.0
50-59	303	33.1
60-69	12	1.3
Insufficient data to classify	5	0.5
Total	915	100.0

This range of ages meant that a broad range of experiences at different stages of motherhood were represented, allowing for analysis of the differences between looking after pre-school and older children.

Marital status of the sample

Most of the women who responded were married (849, 92.7%), with 51 (5.6%) widowed and 15 (1.6%) divorced (see Table 3 below). Therefore, all the respondents had been married at some point in their lives. This is unsurprising as Klein was keen to understand the impact of family responsibilities on working lives. It is likely that she was directed to the contact details of married women for her study.

Table 3: Marital Status

Marital Status	Number of respondents	%
Married	848	92.7
Widowed	51	5.6
Divorced	15	1.6
Insufficient data to categorise	1	0.1
Total	915	100.0

The popularity of marriage in England and Wales in the period after the Second World War is confirmed by analysis of the 1951 Census. For example, 48.0% of women aged 20-24 were married in 1951, 79.8% of 25-34 year olds, and 82.1% of 35-44 year old women.[136] These proportions represent the highest proportions since records began in the 1851 Census.[137]

Most of Klein's sample of women were married to professional men. Some husbands were hospital consultants, general practitioners and dentists, others were headmasters and school masters. There were many academics, some working as professors, others as university lecturers. In business and industry husbands were working as directors, managers, research scientists and as manufacturers. Many were working in civil service roles, either as administrators, or in their role as an engineer or scientist. There were also solicitors, barristers, accountants, architects and journalists. The Appendix includes examples of the stated occupations of husbands in a sample of towns and cities.

[136] Table 22C, General Register Office Census 1951 England and Wales General tables Comprising Population, Age and Marital Condition, Non-Private Households, Birthplace and Nationality, Education (London, 1956), p. 68.
[137] Table 22C, General Register Office Census 1951 England and Wales General tables, p. 68.

Whilst the range of jobs husbands did was vast, husbands had clearly benefitted from the career progression that had resulted from their continuous employment since marriage. They were in more senior roles than their wives. For example, a woman GP might be married to a consultant, a teacher to a headmaster etc. Diana (1923), who had a PhD, had taught university students part-time when her eldest children were babies and she and her husband had lived in a university town.[138] She had then had a break from paid work for about six years after they moved away from that area, and since 1958 had been an assistant examiner for the London University Schools Examination Board.[139] Diana was about to return to part-time teaching. Now based in a village in Surrey, Diana seemed more reliant on what teaching was available within the county, being geographically removed from her university teaching network.[140] Since their marriage in 1947 her husband had risen from lecturer to professor.[141] Diana, as a result of their moves and her childcare responsibilities in relation to their large family, was settling for the only relevant and local part-time work that was available to her.

Husbands were generally working in professional occupations, whether they lived in towns, semi-rural or rural areas. For example, in Perthshire, those living outside of Perth were variously employed as a local authority dental officer, surgeon, medical practitioner, solicitor, bank manager accountant, farmer and hotel proprietor. In rural Hertfordshire, occupations included aircraft sales administration manager, research engineer and general manager for theatrical suppliers. In the small town of Harpenden, Hertfordshire chartered accountant, senior civil servant and soil scientist were the occupations listed, as well as working for the BBC. In rural Dorset a graduate living in Blandford was married to a farmer, whereas another living in Wimborne Minster was married to a solicitor. The sole respondent living in Cornwall

[138] MS 1215 26/1.
[139] MS 1215 26/1.
[140] MS 1215 26/1.
[141] MS 1215 26/1.

was married to a chartered accountant. This suggests that these middle-class women's households were likely to have been comfortably off as a result of their husbands' incomes, wherever they were living.

Family Size

Halsey and Webb illustrate that completed family size was just over two children for couples who had married in the period from 1941 to 1960, being 2.15 for the period of marriage 1941-45, 2.20 for 1946-50, 2.29 for 1951-55 and 2.27 for 1956 to 1960.[142] The majority of the sample did have children, but 121 respondents (13.2%) did not, and the same number (121, 13.2%) had one child. Over a third of the sample (36.0%) had two children, nearly one quarter (23.5%) had three children, and 10.3% had four children. 3.8% of the sample had over four children. Table 4 illustrates the complete breakdown of number of children amongst the sample.

Table 4: Number of children

Number of children	Number of respondents	%
0	121	13.2
1	121	13.2
2	329	36.0
3	215	23.5
4	94	10.3
5	24	2.6
6	10	1.1
7	1	0.1
Total	915	100.0

[142] A.H. Halsey and J. Webb, *Twentieth-Century British Social Trends* (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2000), p.36.

Region

The responses were drawn from across the UK, but most respondents were living in England in this study. 751 (82.1%) were living in England, 148 (16.2%) in Scotland and 11 (1.2%) in Wales, as shown in Table 5a below. Overall, the data on the location of the women in 1963 demonstrates that the England sample was broadly spread across regions. This, combined with representation of women living in Scotland and (albeit fewer) numbers in Wales, shows that the sample was not just centred on London and the southeast of England. Additionally, responses came from both urban and semi-rural and rural areas, meaning that a broad range of experiences were represented.

Table 5a: Region of UK

Region of UK	Number of respondents	%
England	751	82.1
Scotland	148	16.2
Wales	11	1.2
Ireland	1	0.1
Rest of world	3	0.3
Insufficient data	1	0.1
Total	915	100.0

Within the sample resident in England at the time of the survey, 31.5% (288) were living in southeast England in Middlesex, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Essex, Berkshire, Bedfordshire, Oxfordshire, Surrey, Sussex, Kent and Hampshire. 39 (4.3%) respondents were living in London. 69 (7.5%) were living in southwest England in Bristol, Bath and smaller

towns and villages in the counties of Devon, Cornwall, Somerset, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Dorset. 12 (1.3%) were living in East Anglia (Cambridgeshire and Norfolk; no respondents were living in Suffolk in this study). 92 respondents (10.1%) were living in the Midlands, either in Birmingham or the counties of Nottinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire and Lincolnshire. 251 respondents (27.4%) were living in northwest, north and northeast England, either in the cities of Manchester, Liverpool, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, Durham, York and Newcastle, or in smaller towns and villages in the counties of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cumberland/Cumbria, County Durham and Cheshire (see table 5b).

Table 5b: Regions of England

Region of England	Number of respondents	%
Southeast	288	31.5
London	39	4.3
Southwest	69	7.5
East Anglia	12	1.3
Midlands	92	10.1
North	251	27.4
Total	751	82.1

The number of respondents living in the Scottish city of Edinburgh was 19 (2.1% of the whole sample) and Glasgow 25 (2.7%). The remaining 11.4% living in Scotland were living in the cities of Aberdeen, Inverness, Dundee, Perth or towns and villages in Midlothian, East Lothian, Renfrewshire, Dunbartonshire, Lanarkshire, Ross-shire, Argyll, Bute, Fife, Angus, Perthshire, Dumfries and Galloway, Kirkcudbrightshire and Roxburghshire. The sample of 11

respondents (1.2%) based in Wales were mainly living near the University College of North Wales in Bangor, but there were also responses from Cardiff, Newport and Flintshire.

This breakdown of the regions in which respondents lived captures the situation at the time of the questionnaire in 1963. The questionnaire did not specifically capture information about house moves over the last ten years for example, or even how long the respondent had lived at their current address. However, analysis of comments made in different parts of the questionnaire, and in accompanying notes and letters reveals many references to house moves that had occurred, suggesting that this sample contained a mobile cohort. Many women moved area to join their husband on marriage. However, there were also numerous examples of wives leaving jobs due to a move related to their husband's work. This was particularly marked amongst those who were married to academics, teachers, civil servants, scientists, engineers, doctors and those in holy orders. Detail on the distances moved was rarely given, but many moves involved a change of region. One family 'moved North' when the husband became a housemaster in a school.[143] Another moved from Liverpool to Hull.[144] A few moves involved a change of country.

Historians have yet to give serious consideration to the connection between middle-class life and geographic mobility. Sections of this middle-class sample were geographically mobile, and this had implications for both husbands' and wives' careers. Cross-referencing details of a move or moves in the employment section, with details relating to their husband's occupation on marriage and in 1963, reveals that many husbands had experienced promotion. This reflects the work of the sociologist Colin Bell in his study of middle-class families in Swansea, that concluded that socially mobile families had been geographically mobile.[145] For example,

[143] MS 1215 26/1.
[144] MS 1215 26/1.
[145] C. Bell, *Middle Class Families: Social and Geographical Mobility* (London, 1968), p. 118.

academics had risen from the roles of research assistant and lecturer to senior lecturer, professor and head of department or even vice principal. School masters had been promoted to house masters at public schools, headmasters and roles within HM Inspectorate of Schools. Doctors in general practice had moved into work for the Ministry of Health. In business and industry, a petroleum chemist had been promoted to manager of the company's economics department,[146] and a bank clerk had risen to bank manager.[147]

The impact of moves due to a husband's career is confirmed by Dyhouse, who notes that the BFUW's Annual Report for 1967-68 referred to difficulties in recruiting new members due to the frequent moves of wives because of their husbands' careers, and the report recommended 'that a special effort should be made to enrol the wives of "young members of staff in large industrial or research establishments".'[148] Pahl and Pahl found evidence of 'frequent moves' in their 1971 analysis of managers and their wives.[149] Savage notes that 'higher social groups' are more mobile, but highlights that the reasons behind this, and the impact of increased female employment, have rarely been interrogated.[150]

There were many examples of wives' jobs being terminated due to moving area, reflecting the finding of Pahl and Pahl that the frequent moves of managers had a great impact on their wives' employment prospects.[151] Frequent moves for Alexandra's (1928) family had involved a change in status as far as she was concerned: 'in the course of moving house for my husband's career, my own career has taken on the characteristics of "casual labour"; ie planning and continuity are impossible'.[152] She had also found nursery provision impossible to find: 'out of

[146] MS 1215 26/1.
[147] MS 1215 31.
[148] Dyhouse, 'The British Federation', p. 480.
[149] J.M. and R.E. Pahl, *Managers and their Wives* (London, 1971), p. 136.
[150] M. Savage, 'The missing link? The relationship between spatial mobility and social mobility', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 39/4 (1988), p. 555.
[151] Pahl and Pahl, *Managers and their Wives*, p. 136.
[152] MS 1215 29/1.

5 county towns lived in not one has had suitable nursery schools or provision for the "under-five" children of career women'.[153] Whereas Hilda (1925), a full-time teacher of mathematics, felt that a family's geographical mobility did not help a mother's quest to continue her career: 'Moving to a different district when one's children are young is a disadvantage re work'.[154] She felt that a teacher's 'old school', presumably the school where she had taught prior to having children, would be more likely to provide flexible working arrangements.[155] With a move away from the area, this opportunity for work would be lost. Grace (1914), a doctor, explained that her own changes in employment had 'always been due to movement of my husband'.[156]

Mobility was frequently driven by a husband's career progression and women's work was impacted by the mobility of the household. This was often due to the breakdown of networks that would otherwise have offered opportunity for employment. Knowledge of job opportunities was often reliant on networks, with many women mentioning how they had heard of their job in this way. Constance (1923), a teacher, had benefitted from her membership of the BFUW, which she found 'invaluable'.[157] She had heard of part-time teaching vacancies at two different schools through the BFUW, and felt that she 'should have joined sooner'.[158]

Networks were also important in medicine, where many of those working were married to and even working with their husband. However, networks were operating to communicate and put women in touch with opportunities in other sectors too. Hattie (1925), now working in freelance indexing ('closely related to librarianship') described her experiences of returning to work after children through her membership of the Society of Indexers.[159] This involved work

[153] MS 1215 29/1.
[154] MS 1215 28/1.
[155] MS 1215 28/1.
[156] MS 1215 27/1.
[157] MS 1215 28/1.
[158] MS 1215 28/1.
[159] MS 1215 28/1.

that could be done at home, in her own time and although not well paid involved 'almost no overheads'.[160]

Moving house and the disruption involved in settling into a new area could disrupt women's networks and led to additional work for wives arranging the practicalities of packing, moving and unpacking. There were also references to the time it took to get acquainted to a new area. These moves could be referred to with resignation, for example Bertha (1914) referred to the four moves that had been necessary in the progression of her husband's career in the administration of the National Health Service as 'his own wish - not mine!'.[161]

Employment status

As explained in the introduction, this research has been informed by feminist economics, and this guided the construction of three categories of employment status: full-time paid employment, part-time paid employment and unpaid employment. The latter included all those who did not go out to work in a paid job at the time they completed their questionnaire, but were instead fully involved with running the home, and/or caring for children, and/or caring for relatives, and/or doing voluntary work.

223 (24.4%) were in full-time paid employment in 1963, 301 (32.9%) were in part-time paid employment, and 391 (42.7%) were in unpaid employment (see Table 6a below). Of those in paid employment, the vast majority were involved in either teaching, lecturing or medicine and the latter chapters of this thesis focus on the teaching and medical professions. Over two-thirds of all those in employment were involved in full-time or part-time teaching (and included all aspects of teaching) at the time of the 1963 survey. Of the 223 women who were working in full-time employment 153 (68.6%) were working in teaching. Thane found that 62% of

[160] MS 1215 28/1.
[161] MS 1215 28/1.

graduates of the early 1920s became teachers at some point, and about one third of those who had graduated 1944-1953.[162] This demonstrates the importance of teaching as an employer of graduate women in the long 1950s. Of the 77 women who had studied medicine or dentistry at university, 19 were in full-time jobs (as doctors or dentists) in 1963, 35 were in part-time jobs. Over two thirds of those who had studied medicine or dentistry were in paid employment related to their training. The numbers of Klein's sample involved in teaching and medicine reflects the take-up of paid opportunities as a result of the expansion of the welfare state. Opportunities in these areas were clearly available but they were not necessarily widespread or available on a part-time basis. Knowledge of part-time roles in teaching and medicine was often reliant on networks, and these could be disrupted where married couples were geographically mobile due to a husband's job.

Opportunities for part-time work beyond teaching and medicine/dentistry were hard, if not impossible, for women to find. This confirms McCarthy's argument that patterns of working for mothers were definitely changing in the 1950s and 1960s, but the types of work available were not.[163] Many of the professions that rigidly adhered to the unbroken career of full-time work, such as law and the senior grades of the Civil Service, offered very little in the way of opportunities for women who wanted to return to part-time work after a break to look after family.[164] Even the availability of part-time opportunities in teaching was dependent on region, with local authorities having different policies on part-time work. Certain other professions would not countenance part-time work, and other workplaces were hostile to women. For example, Constance (1923), a chemist, had left the oil industry in 1946, explaining that she felt

[162] Thane, 'Girton Graduates', p. 354.
[163] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 242.
[164] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 264.; for McCarthy's discussion of the work of local authorities to attract graduate women back to teaching see pp. 265-271; for a discussion of the recruitment of medics see pp. 271-4; see also H. Glew, *Gender, Rhetoric and Regulation: Women's work in the Civil Service and the London County Council, 1900-55* (Manchester, 2016).

there was '[n]ot much scope for women' in the field.[165] She turned to tutoring and then part-time teaching after spending her children's early years at home. Many of those who had at various times been successful in finding part-time opportunities remarked either with resignation or frustration on the piecemeal availability of such roles.

Table 6a: Employment Status

Employment Status	Number of respondents	%
Full-time paid employment	223	24.4
Part-time paid employment	301	32.9
Unpaid employment	391	42.7
Total	915	100.0

Part-time work is known to have grown considerably amongst women in the post war period, but the Census of 1951 and 1961 relied on women self-reporting part-time work and did not stipulate what qualified as part-time work in terms of number of hours per week.[166] Klein's survey was similarly open in its approach to a definition of part-time work. In analysing responses, a decision was taken to include any part-time work that included a paid element as a part-time job. The above table illustrates that 32.9% of the entire sample were involved in part-time paid employment at the time of the study in 1963.

Of those in paid employment in Klein's sample, 57.4 per cent were in part-time jobs, and 42.6% were in full-time roles. According to the 1951 Census about 11% of female workers were employed part-time, and in 1961 25 % of women's jobs were part-time.[167] Therefore, amongst

[165] MS 1215 28/1.
[166] Halsey and Webb, *Twentieth-Century British Social Trends*, p. 296.
[167] Halsey and Webb, *Twentieth-Century British Social Trends*, p. 297.

this very educated sample part-time work was proportionately more important than for the wider population of women workers.

Analysis of those part-time workers who had children reveals that the average age of the youngest child was 11.7 years old for all part-time workers with children, and 10.4 years old for mothers whose youngest child was 18 years old or younger. Further analysis of those respondents working part-time and with a youngest child aged 18 or under reveals that the majority (82.8%) had a youngest child aged 6 to 18 years old (see Table 6b below). Part-time work was more appealing to mothers once their youngest child was settled at school. This confirms Thane's assertion that from the late 1940s onwards more women took on paid work once their children were grown.[168]

Table 6b: Part-time workers with youngest child aged 18 or under

Age of youngest child	Number of respondents	%
0-5	42	17.2
6-11	98	40.2
12-18	104	42.6
Total	244	100.0

For full-time workers with children, the average age of the youngest child was 14.5 years old. However, by taking out of the analysis all those full-time workers whose youngest child was over 18 years old, there is an average age of 11.9 years old. Interestingly, of the sample of 116 respondents who were working full-time in 1963, 13.8% had a child aged five and under, and

[168] P. Thane, 'Family Life and "Normality" in Postwar British Culture', in R. Bessel and D. Schumann (eds.), *Life after death: approaches to a cultural and social history during the 1940s and 1950s* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 209.

24.1 % had a child aged between 6 and 11 years old, as shown in Table 6c below. This shows that although the majority (62.1%) had children who were 12 years or above, 37.9% of those mothers working full-time had a child still under 12. This analysis indicates that full-time work was being taken up by mothers with a youngest child most likely still at home, or at primary or junior school. Yet, full-time work was most popular where the youngest child was of senior school age.

Table 6c: Full-time workers with youngest child aged 18 or under

Age of youngest child	Number of respondents	%
0-5	16	13.8
6-11	28	24.1
12-18	72	62.1
Total	116	100.0

The above tables point to the importance of life-stage to mothers when considering taking on paid work, and this is explored in greater depth throughout the following chapters.

Conclusion

The long 1950s was an era which saw policy and legislation endorse assumptions that within marriages husbands would earn money and wives look after the home and family. However, the post-war years also saw greater acceptance of the idea of mothers returning to paid work once children were at school, even if financially they did not need to work. It was also a period when middle-class women benefitted from new opportunities for full and part-time paid work as the welfare state expanded, in education and in the new National Health Service. The number of women in this sample who were in paid employment in teaching and the NHS in

1963 demonstrates the importance of opportunities for work within the welfare state for women.

Life-stage was a very important factor in whether a mother took on paid work. Most workers had their youngest child at school. Chapter 2 further explores the importance of life-stage and argues that mothers could feel more comfortable about the idea of working once their children were at school. A significant section of this middle-class sample was geographically mobile, and that this could have a big impact on a wife's opportunities for paid work. This was largely due to the disruption of their networks and having to leave good positions when they moved. Husbands had clearly benefitted from the career progression that had resulted from their continuous employment since marriage until the time of the survey in 1963 and were in more senior roles than their wives.

This chapter has given an overview of the graduate sample and explained the extraordinary richness of the detail included by respondents in the questionnaires. Respondents' comments included in the questionnaires and accompanying notes and letters are analysed in detail in the remaining chapters.

CHAPTER TWO:

Educated women's work and sense of self in the long 1950s

'I think the whole success of a married woman going out to work depends on the husband's attitude and the availability of good reliable domestic help. So far, I have been fortunate in both respects.' (June b.1917) [1]

'I am naturally much lower down the ladder than I would be content to be were I without family commitments' (Aurelia b.1917)[2]

Graduate women's experience of higher education shaped their desire to find intellectual fulfilment in their lives. Where financial reward from employment was not a pressing concern, the motivation to work was intellectual fulfilment and a sense of self beyond that of wife and mother. Wives were influenced by their marital status. Married women saw themselves as responsible for running the home and looking after children, and this work was regarded as important. This was an expectation perpetuated by government policy, as explained in Chapter 1, frequently confirmed by the attitudes of husbands, and internalised by women themselves. If women chose to take on paid work, they viewed the delegation of domestic duties as their responsibility.

This chapter examines experiences of work since graduation and during marriage and motherhood. It analyses how women viewed their financial contribution to the household and how they delegated domestic duties by the employment of domestic help. Overall, it demonstrates that the decision regarding whether to take on paid work was a complex one, and the ways in which wives managed their dual role were frequently being re-evaluated to consider

[1] MS 1215 28/1
[2] MS 1215 28/1.

the changing needs of the family. Shouldering the burden of unpaid work within marriage affected a wife's career.

Combining intellectual fulfilment and domestic responsibilities

Klein's sample of graduate women demonstrated a pride in their education and a desire to put it to good use. Just as Virginia Woolf had understood the importance of a room of her own where she could cultivate her intellectual spirit, these women knew that they benefitted from time spent doing something that was separate to the interests of their children or spouse.[3] Throughout this and the following chapters, how women felt about their experiences of work is analysed alongside what work they did. This builds on the work of Langhamer, who argues that by analysing the role of emotion in the long 1950s, we may consider the 'relationship between people's working selves and their other selves'.[4] Langhamer concludes that '[w]ithin debates about work in the long 1950s 'private' feeling underpinned 'public' practice: in fact the spatial distinction between the two was increasingly blurred'.[5] Murphy has also showed, in her examination of the work and domestic identities of private secretaries, how 'making connections between home and work a more explicit part of historical research' aids our understanding.[6] Formulating a historical analysis of women's sense of self, their fulfilment and well-being at the intersection of the history of work and emotions advances our understanding of life in post-war Britain.

The graduate women most content with their lives were those who had felt able to be themselves, to use their skills and pursue their interests, whether that be in the home, through voluntary work or through paid work. They felt able to accommodate their interests and utilise

[3] See V. Woolf, *A Room Of One's Own And Other Essays* (London, 2000); The essay 'A Room Of One's Own' was first published in 1929.
[4] C. Langhamer, 'Feelings, Women and Work in the Long 1950s', *Women's History Review*, 26/1 (2017), p. 89.
[5] Langhamer, 'Feelings, Women and Work in the Long 1950s', p. 89.
[6] G. Murray, 'Taking Work Home: the private secretary and domestic identities in the long 1950s', *Women's History Review*, 26/1 (2017), p. 74.

their skills through different forms of work. Women who were not in paid work were able to find intellectual fulfilment through voluntary work, discussed in Chapter 4. Even though this often constituted a form of service to the community, it still satisfied an individual need to channel intellectual energy. Similarly, housewives who found fulfilment assisting their husbands with their work, or facilitating their children's emotional and academic success, were finding an outlet for their intellectual interests, albeit in service to the family. This is explored in more detail in Chapter 3.

During this period, recognition of the benefits of working beyond the financial were discussed more openly, and this had a long-term impact on the way married women's work was perceived.[7] It became more normal for married women to work, but they were expected to leave their return until their children were older, and to fit in with the current system; there were no sweeping concessions in terms of extended child-care provisions, and the male breadwinner model remained intact.[8] Women who wanted to work in the 1950s were navigating a complex landscape. As McCarthy concludes, 'working motherhood became increasingly "ordinary" in the 1950s and 1960s, but it was a narrowly conformist kind of ordinariness, like the narrowly conformist times which produced it'.[9] For graduate mothers, theoretically well placed to take up paid work, there was increasing acceptance that they might do so, provided they made adequate arrangements for the care of their (ideally older) children, and their home.

Wives saw looking after the home and caring for their children as their concern, and if they were to decide to work, then it would be up to them to delegate these responsibilities. Many

[7] H. McCarthy, *Double Lives*: *A History of Working Motherhood* (London, 2020), p. 223.
[8] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 231; for a discussion of similar tensions being evident in 1950s America, see J. L. Barker and K. Ellsworth, 'Introduction: Women inventing the 1950s', *Women's Studies: An inter-disciplinary journal*, 40/8 (2011), p. 970.
[9] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 231.

of those women in the sample who had carried on in some form of paid employment after marriage, gave up once they gave birth to their first child. Most of the graduate sample were mothers. When children arrived, there was a general acceptance that husband and wife would fulfil different roles. Only amongst the minority of women who chose to continue with full-time work did this differ. Even in these situations, there was an expectation that they would need to organise child and home care through the employment of domestic help.

A significant section of the sample had sought intellectual fulfilment through paid work. The benefits of finding interesting and flexible paid work were clearly expressed by many of Klein's respondents. Those who were able to find part-time jobs that interested them and provided a little extra income, felt a sense of contentment that their education was being used in a positive way alongside family life. There were many examples of what McCarthy terms the 'post-war model of working motherhood'.[10] Many married women who worked accepted jobs that would fit in with their domestic lives, but they could be less skilled and lower paid than the jobs they had held before having children.[11] Being paid for gaining intellectual fulfilment for a job was certainly an attractive proposition for many of Klein's sample, even if they already enjoyed a comfortable lifestyle. However, it was the opportunity to have a sense of self beyond that of wife and mother that seems to have been more important to those who worked. Paterson, in a study of women's experience of paid work, concludes that 'paid work was central to their identities and sense of self'.[12] Reflecting on their experiences since graduation, many talked of the importance of being able to employ their skills.[13]

[10] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 258.
[11] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 259.
[12] L. Paterson, 'I didn't feel like my own person': paid work in women's narratives of self and working motherhood, 1950-1980, *Contemporary British History*, 33/3 (2019), p. 420.
[13] For a discussion of how narratives of the self are revealed through oral history testimony, see L. Abrams, 'Liberating the female self: epiphanies, conflict and coherence in the life stories of post-war British women', *Social History*, 39/1 (2014), pp. 14-35.

Teachers, doctors, dentists and others discussed the satisfaction they got from their work. Constance (1923), found that '[e]ven quite small jobs, only an hour or two a week are worth the effort' for 'keeping in touch' and 'personal satisfaction'.[14] Her part-time job as a teacher was providing her with the contact and fulfilment she thrived on.[15] Aurelia (1917) enjoyed her work 'immensely', appreciating 'the contacts it brings' and considered it 'a form of recreation!'.[16] Ava (1910), a full-time teacher and mother of four children, described herself as 'deeply interested in the work', and foresaw her continuation of full-time work for some years, even though financially she now had less need to do so.[17]

This emphasis on intellectual fulfilment reflects Gavron's finding from her 1960s study that '[t]he main reason for working amongst middle class mothers was a combination of emotional and intellectual needs'.[18] Enid (1918), an academic and lecturer, explained that she worked 'mainly because I enjoy teaching undergraduates'; she was also very interested in her subject.[19] Enid also recognised that she worked 'partly because I think I would find it dull to stay at home and not work….after the children are full-time at school', so she had an eye on the future, and what life with older children might be like.[20] Geraldine (1910) had taken over the running of her husband's fruiterer and floristry business after his death in the late 1950s. She had realised that by running the business, she would be able to 'provide for' her sixteen-year-old and eleven-year-old children 'much better' than returning to teaching.[21] She learnt about markets, buying and P.A.Y.E. and said that '[a]lthough it was quite a new departure' she had enjoyed the work and found it 'quite absorbing'.[22] Kath (1914), who had gone into her husband's legal practice

[14] MS 1215 28/1.
[15] MS 1215 28/1.
[16] MS 1215 28/1.
[17] MS 1215 27/1.
[18] H. Gavron, *The Captive Wife: Conflicts of Housebound Mothers* (London, 1966), p. 140.
[19] MS 1215 27/1.
[20] MS 1215 27/1.
[21] MS 1215 26/1.
[22] MS 1215 26/1.

when short-staffed ‘to help for a week’ in her early forties, had ‘remained there ever since’ as she found the work ‘varied and interesting’.[23]

Nessa’s (1917) experience illustrates how mothers with obligations to fulfil caring labour for their children and labour supporting their husband’s work, were choosing part-time work as a means of carving out a professional and intellectual life of their own. Nessa, who was in her mid-forties in 1963, was married to a minister of religion. She had a first-class degree in modern languages and had also completed a postgraduate course in teacher training. She had worked full-time from 1937 to 1939 as a French and German teacher, then been promoted to head of the French Department, but had left this post in 1942. She explained that this had been due to her marriage: ‘I felt and still feel a married woman has enough to do in her own home’.[24] In 1943 she gave birth to the first of four children, the last of whom was born in 1953. Then in January 1962, she took a temporary part-time teaching post ‘merely filling in for a mistress who was ill’, but subsequently took up a role at the Workers’ Educational Association, teaching a German class for one and a half hours per week.[25] She described this work at the WEA as ‘really more of a hobby than for financial gain’ but gave the reason for continuing this work as ‘I like teaching’.[26] She was managing to fit this into what already seemed to be a very hectic life, explaining that a ‘minister's wife has a very busy life both in her own congregation and in visiting other congregations’.[27]

Post-war debates about working motherhood for graduates were characterised by conceptions of the issue as one of ‘individual commitment rather than external constraints’, whereas second-wave feminists would frame the issue in terms of the effects of patriarchy and the

[23] MS 1215 26/1.
[24] MS 1215 28/1.
[25] MS 1215 28/1.
[26] MS 1215 28/1.
[27] MS 1215 28/1.

required collective response.[28] Klein's graduates saw their responsibility as being to work out how they could fit in paid work to their lives if they wanted it. There were some rumblings about the lack of provision of part-time training courses for returners, and the anomalies of the availability of part-time work between local authorities, but generally these middle-class women looked to themselves to negotiate the challenges and the opportunities and find a path that suited them. McCarthy argues that it seems many women took Hubback's advice to find their own solution to combining an intellectual and personal life.[29] Whilst Klein's sample didn't cite Hubback's book specifically, they were relying on their own abilities to negotiate a path to self-fulfilment, whether it be through paid part-time work, voluntary work, domesticity or a combination of all of these.[30]

Klein's sample also did not overtly articulate their value of their domestic responsibilities in terms of the ethics of care or feminist economics, but they felt keenly the importance of caring for their spouses, children and elderly relatives.[31] Although Beveridge had recognised the need for someone to take on the burden and privilege of care, both Labour and Conservative post-war governments did not successfully grapple with the complexities surrounding the question of how unpaid caring work should be recognised. Family allowances went some way to acknowledging that a value could be put on child-rearing, but they were small, and concentrated on children, not elder care.

---

[28] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 287.
[29] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 286.
[30] For a discussion of the role of self-help organisations such as the National Housewives' Register, the National Childbirth Trust and the Pre-School Playgroups Association in middle-class women's pursuit of autonomy, see L. Abrams, 'The Self and Self-Help: Women Pursuing Autonomy in Post-War Britain', *Royal Historical Society Transactions* (2019), pp. 201-221.
[31] Klein's respondents gave some detail about the nature of their degree subject, but there is insufficient detail in the completed questionnaires to know if any would have been exposed to scholarship relating to the treatment by economists of unpaid labour within the household; for a consideration of the work of Mabel Atkinson, an economics tutor at King's College of Household and Social Science in the early twentieth century, see J. Garnett, 'Political and domestic economy in Victorian social thought: Ruskin and Xenophon', in S. Collini, R. Whatmore and B. Young (eds.), *Economy, Polity, and Society: British Intellectual History 1750-1950* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 205-233.

The amount of emotional labour involved in negotiating challenges and finding solutions is extremely difficult to quantify. Mothers were required to perform caring labour at home and in the paid work they took up. The growth of the welfare state created new opportunities for doctors, nurses, social workers and teachers, where the natural abilities of caring women were perceived to have were viewed as important.[32] Langhamer concludes that women were required to do enormous amounts of emotional labour, whilst also being denied career advancement for being '*too* emotional'.[33] Langhamer's point suggests the dominance of the male breadwinner employee in the workplace, and the resulting assumptions by employers that their employees' wives would take care of family responsibilities. These assumptions made career success for women even harder to achieve. One of Klein's respondents, Una (1913), gave her assessment of the emotional labour involved in trying to 'have a family and home and a job'.[34] She highlighted that women who felt they were 'not serving either their family or their employer with full efficiency' would be apt to 'blame themselves', believing that others were more successfully managing their professional and personal lives.[35] Instead, they should recognise, Una thought, that 'it is never easy to be a woman riding two horses; nor even to be a woman; nor yet to be human being'.[36]

The consequence of a woman believing that it was a personal responsibility to succeed in having a professional and family life, was that failure could be seen as personal failure. Yet, women were trying to succeed in workplaces that frequently ignored the implications of caring responsibilities. One respondent was convinced that her own high standards at work and at home had led to 'mental stress and eventual physical breakdown'.[37] Others were negotiating

[32] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 264.
[33] Langhamer, 'Feelings, Women and Work in the Long 1950s', p 86.
[34] MS 1215 13/3.
[35] MS 1215 13/3.
[36] MS 1215 13/3.
[37] MS 1215 28/1.

resistance from colleagues and expressed their frustration at the attitudes they were forced to endure. Full-time lecturer Beatrix (1928) employed a nanny to look after her young daughter, and a housekeeper to look after the family home, and found that 'the disapproval of some of my colleagues (and their wives!) is the biggest discouragement I have to continuing to work'.[38] She felt that some of her 'junior colleagues' saw her as 'a stumbling block to their personal promotions', whilst others thought 'we must be extremely wealthy because of my husband's and my joint salaries'.[39] Beatrix was irritated that 'they conveniently forget that it costs approximately £1100 p.a. (including tax) for the wages of a nanny and a housekeeper for five days a week'.[40] The fulfilment that Beatrix found in her work, and the confidence she had in her nanny in looking after her child, appeared to have been just enough to outweigh the negative reactions she had from colleagues and their wives, and the costs of her domestic help.

Many of those involved in part-time teaching work appeared to be thriving, having found an outlet for their desire for intellectual fulfilment. But there was also clear evidence of the difficulties being faced managing domestic labour and teaching work. To illustrate this, the experiences of two respondents, Karen and Annabel, are worth recounting in detail.

In 1963, when she filled out the questionnaire, Karen (1914) described herself as doing brief spells of supply teaching, which was a pragmatic choice, since it fitted in more readily with her other commitments.[41] Karen (1914) had found it relatively easy to get teaching work, once she had gained experience, but this did not necessarily mean it was fulfilling or fitted in easily with family life. She had graduated in the mid 1930s with a BSc in household and social science and her first job was as a hospital and then school cook.[42] But Karen was hungry for

[38] MS 1215 13/3.
[39] MS 1215 13/3.
[40] MS 1215 13/3.
[41] MS 1215 26/1.
[42] MS 1215 26/1.

opportunities to travel and more free time, so she took herself off to Germany to learn the language and found work in a school in Berlin.[43] In January 1939 she had returned home to England where she '[k]ept house' for her father whilst her mother went to South America.[44]

Karen's next paid job was as a domestic science teacher, training girls to be maids, but when her place of employment closed, she embarked on a year's teacher training course.[45] At this point she was only twenty-five years old, but had a degree, experience as a cook, and due to her brave move to travel abroad, she had experience as a teacher. She took her first post as a qualified domestic science teacher in 1940 but married in 1941 and left to have a baby in 1942. She went on to have three more children, the last being born in May 1950.[46] Karen gave details of her attempts to return to teaching in the autumn term of 1958 (when her youngest child would have been eight years old) and the spring term of 1959. She had found it challenging, describing how it had been '[i]mpossible to get my husband's dinner' and that her teaching work meant that she was '[a]lways getting behind with domestic chores'.[47] In terms of job satisfaction, she explained that '[a]fter the cooking lesson was over the clearing up was too much like the part of housework I disliked most at home'.[48]

Karen had returned to teaching not for financial gain, as she stated it was '[n]ot necessary to earn extra money'.[49] It seems she was seeking something else, perhaps a sense of independence, and a sense of self beyond being a wife and mother. However, her work was too similar to the aspects of domesticity that she really disliked. Her final comment is revealing: 'If I became a general science teacher I would need some re-training'.[50] Perhaps

[43] MS 1215 26/1.
[44] MS 1215 26/1.
[45] MS 1215 26/1.
[46] MS 1215 26/1.
[47] MS 1215 26/1.
[48] MS 1215 26/1.
[49] MS 1215 26/1.
[50] MS 1215 26/1.

Karen had considered what could be a more interesting avenue of teaching to pursue in the future. Teaching domestic science on a supply basis might be flexible and easy work to obtain, but there is no sense that Karen saw this as likely to be fulfilling in the long term.

Annabel (1928) was also struggling with how to combine her professional and domestic work.[51] She was working part-time as a university academic and was seven months pregnant with her first child at the time she completed the questionnaire. She had employed domestic help in the past, but recently had decided to manage without it and admitted that this had 'resulted in severe overwork'.[52] Annabel wrote at length about her situation, trying to identify the causes of her move to part-time rather than full-time work. She began by expressing in a letter accompanying her questionnaire, how important she thought the topic of the survey was: 'I feel that the proper employment of married professional women is one of great importance in the country, to their families and to themselves'.[53] She offered further assistance to Klein if required and said that she hoped 'the survey will lead to some significant results'.[54] The emphasis on the topic being of importance to the nation, as well as to individuals and their families is striking. Annabel had a science PhD and was involved in scientific research in a university. It may be that she felt her work was of national importance, as indeed it may have been. But one senses that here she was making a more general point about fulfilment at work being important for women and their families, and about the need to harness potential and skills.

Annabel continued to reflect on her experience of eight years of married life, six and a half of which had been spent working full-time, nine months part-time with a period of nine months

[51] MS 1215 28/1.
[52] MS 1215 28/1.
[53] MS 1215 28/1.
[54] MS 1215 28/1.

of illness in between.[55] She found 'it impossible to isolate a single basic cause which has made continuation of full-time work impossible for the present'.[56] She said that she was 'clear that at a personal level my refusal to compromise the standards of professional service and filial and marital duty which I had set myself' had affected her mental and physical health.[57] Interestingly, she said that she saw herself as having 'inherent rather low physical vitality coupled to an irresistible impulse to certain types of intellectual activity'.[58] Annabel recognised that she had a strong desire for intellectual fulfilment and seems also to have concluded that her failure to continue full-time work could be attributed to what she perceived as physical weakness.

Annabel had been only the second woman employed by her director, and the first woman to marry.[59] She described the effect of the 'threatened marriage-bar' in her small department, explaining that it had been 'completely and generously withdrawn after I had demonstrated for a couple of years that intended and actual marriage produced no diminution in standard or output'. [60] But Annabel acknowledged that the strain had been 'very great' but she had learnt 'a degree of self-discipline I should probably not have learned any other way'.[61] This highlights how women could feel compelled to adapt themselves to suit their working environment. Annabel was trying to pursue her career in a male-dominated university department, where she seemingly had no female peers to look to for support or mentoring. Her anguish illustrates how being a woman in a male-dominated sphere such as academia could cause great stress.

Annabel had not yet had her child at the point when she filled out her questionnaire. She explained her concerns about how her working life would continue once the baby had arrived

[55] MS 1215 28/1.
[56] MS 1215 28/1.
[57] MS 1215 28/1.
[58] MS 1215 28/1.
[59] MS 1215 28/1.
[60] MS 1215 28/1.
[61] MS 1215 28/1.

and detailed the plans she had made for the year ahead. She anticipated that her mother would be able to 'give limited amount of help' so Annabel would 'continue teaching one day a week during term time'. [62] She hoped to return to her research 'if time allows and as opportunity arises'.[63] She saw her main challenges to resuming work as finding good domestic help and pre-school childcare.[64] What comes across strongly is that Annabel felt responsible for working out how her and her husband's child would be cared for, and their house cleaned. Having explained how she had spent her earnings (mainly on supporting her mother) Annabel detailed how the remainder was almost entirely spent on 'house-keeping expenses', costs she felt obliged to shoulder to make up for the fact that her long working hours had 'detracted to some extent from my husband's comfort'.[65]

Implicit in the comments made by Annabel is a sense of weariness, perhaps to be expected at seven months pregnant. But one senses this had been a feature of her life for a while, particularly when she concluded that the ability to work full-time throughout marriage depended 'to a large extent on the type and standard of work one is attempting and on the temperament and health of the person concerned'.[66] Annabel was keen to know if Klein's 'meticulous fact-finding bears this observation out at all'.[67] What Annabel so clearly articulates reflects other respondents' references to their sense of responsibility for keeping the family happy and managing the home. These responsibilities were felt to be firmly *their* responsibilities, and not those of husbands. Annabel's story is particularly interesting as it highlights how this burden of responsibility hampered her health and resilience, such that continuing full-time work had become, for the time being, a perceived impossibility. These

[62] MS 1215 28/1.
[63] MS 1215 28/1.
[64] MS 1215 28/1.
[65] MS 1215 28/1.
[66] MS 1215 28/1.
[67] MS 1215 28/1.

internal struggles, combined with an external workplace environment unused to, or even resistant to the working mother, would understandably make full-time work unappealing.

The intense struggles experienced by Annabel highlight how graduates might know that they were doing the right sort of professional work in terms of their own intellectual fulfilment but were finding it very difficult to pursue it alongside domestic responsibilities. Annabel seems to have felt forced to scale back her work dramatically, unable to see how she could continue to work as she had as a single woman. There is an indication that these difficult decisions and the work involved trying to prove that being married made no difference to her work had caused her great stress. It is important not to view patriarchy as 'a static and ahistorical concept'.[68] To do so is to disregard the complex interplay of ever-changing factors such as age, class and gender. However, Annabel's narrative could easily have subsequently evolved into a feminist critique of patriarchal oppression. Instead, in 1963 she had decided to compromise, reduce her hours and was now worrying about what would happen when her baby arrived.

Other women who had left behind careers in other sectors to teach in schools reveal that many compromises were being made by women in order to accommodate domestic and family commitments. Dora (1916) had a science degree and a diploma in dietetics, and had previously worked at the Ministry of Food.[69] She was at home for eight years looking after her children, and when she returned to work part-time in the mid-1950s, it was as a technical college lecturer.[70] She explained that she would have 'preferred to continue' her work at the Ministry of Food, 'but obviously the hours and holidays would not fit in with a family, and my husbands [sic] employment is not in London'.[71] This acceptance that the husband's career and the

[68] Todd, *Young Women, Work and Family* (Oxford, 2005), p. 167.
[69] MS 1215 31.
[70] MS 1215 31.
[71] MS 1215 31.

children's well-being must come before a graduate woman's own career was widespread amongst Klein's sample.

The reflections of these middle-class mothers show how complex thought processes were in the consideration of whether to take a job, or to continue with it. June (1918), a GP, recognised that her own flexible employment and the ability to employ domestic help made her situation manageable but felt that she would not be able to cope with full-time work in a busier practice 'without too much neglect of my children, or too much exhaustion of myself'.[72] Edie (1924), a teacher who had three primary school age children, predicted that at the end of a full-time working day her 'patience and sympathy' would be 'exhausted'.[73] As a result she preferred to teach part-time at a local primary school so that she could give her young children 'the attention which is their due'.[74]

Opportunities for part-time work were not abundant. When Amy (1905) graduated with a degree in medicine in the 1930s, she wanted to work in public health but could not, due to the marriage bar.[75] She took on general practice work but found it 'very exacting' with young children, 'not only time and irregular hours, but the additional responsibility'.[76] So, when the war ended and male GPs returned to work after service, and when 'normal family activities were more possible' she stopped working as a GP and took on a few locum jobs in public health.[77] Amy described her situation in 1963 as a fortunate one, being the only part-time female public health worker in the county.[78] Cassandra (1925), a part-time PA doing twenty hours per week, concluded that 'part time jobs very few and far between'.[79] Part-time jobs do

[72] MS 1215 29/1.
[73] MS 1215 27/1.
[74] MS 1215 27/1.
[75] MS 1215 27/1.
[76] MS 1215 27/1.
[77] MS 1215 27/1.
[78] MS 1215 27/1.
[79] MS 1215 28/1.

seem to have been more readily available in teaching, although this was not consistently the case across the regions. Choosing work that was available part-time had led many women to teaching, even if that had not been their chosen field before having children. It also led many qualified medics to general practice, locum and sessional work, which was often more flexible than hospital appointments.

Even when an opportunity had been found and was being considered, whilst a graduate women might hope to achieve intellectual fulfilment, there was a complex and continual assessment of the benefits of work, the impact on time with the family, the impact on their husband and children and possibly members of the extended family who also needed care. These considerations were important to them, and they only wanted to continue with paid work if they could feel comfortable that their marriage and family life would not suffer as a result.

Concerns about how the family were being or might be affected by a job were ongoing. They varied according to the circumstances of the family such as the husband's workload, the age of the children, illness etc. In order to feel content about the balance of paid work with family life, some women had scaled down the number of hours they worked. They might scale them up again later, when their family situation changed. These changes across life-stage were described with acceptance. For example, Roberta (1921) had enjoyed being a housewife which she described as having 'many compensations', as well as being a 'working wife and mother', which had given her a 'strong feeling of security and independence'; there were 'very definite pros and cons for both types of life' in her view.[80] Mothers understood that children's needs changed, spouses and relatives might need more care and attention at different points, their own energy levels might vary, and they might become ill.

[80] MS 1215 26/1.

It was the changing needs of children which were regarded as having most impact on paid work. Many workers had preferred to be at home with their children in their early years and then returned to the workplace when they were older. Fiona (1907) was in her mid-fifties at the time of Klein's questionnaire and had three grown-up children.[81] She had 'felt it right to devote most of my energies to home-life' when her children were small.[82] Now her children were older and studying at undergraduate and postgraduate level, Fiona was 'much happier working outside the home'.[83] Pride was evident in the way she detailed her three daughters' achievements at university. Fiona had successfully moved from short periods of teaching in her children's early years to full-time work when the youngest was at secondary school. She felt the choices she had made about when to remain at home and when to take a job had facilitated her children's success.

Even though a working mother might accept the compromises she was making because of family, she might also be aware of how things could be different. Aurelia (1917), an interviewer, responsible for her 'own share of the survey' and with no management responsibilities, considered herself lucky to have found a part-time job in her 'own field'.[84] But she also recognised that she was 'naturally lower down the ladder than I would be content to be were I without family commitments'.[85] Just as husbands' careers had benefitted from continued employment and the chance to capitalise on opportunities for progression through geographical moves, wives' careers were impacted by the lack of continuous employment and the disruption of their networks through geographical moves.

[81] MS 1215 29/1.
[82] MS 1215 29/1.
[83] MS 1215 29/1.
[84] MS 1215 28/1.
[85] MS 1215 28/1.

Mothers believed they were the best judge of what was right for their family. These graduates had thought very hard about how to reconcile their intellectual self with their caring self and took pride in their ability to combine paid work with family life. McCarthy concludes that a recognition of the constraints on consumption in the post-war years, such as going on a waiting list for a car for up to a year, 'was probably behind some of the 'pickiness' exhibited by women registering for part-time jobs'.[86] If the hours were insufficiently flexible, child-care was unavailable, and consumer goods were hard to obtain, McCarthy argues, 'many women may have decided that working was simply not worth their while'.[87] This assessment underestimates the complexity of the decision making process and underplays the influence of employers' sexist practices and assumptions. Additionally, it overplays the role of consumerism for middle-class women. It also underestimates the agency that women could feel in making their own decisions about what work to take on and what domestic help to employ.

Earning an income and paying for domestic help

Decisions about whether to pursue paid work were complex, but they were not necessarily dominated by a financial need to increase the family's income. These middle-class women were generally married to professional men and appeared from comments about their houses and gardens, and references by many to private education for their children, to be financially comfortable. Valerie (1919), married to a director of a pharmaceutical firm, stated that she worked 'for interest primarily and income only second'.[88] The financial privilege that many of Klein's sample of women experienced meant that the single income of their husband was generally enough that life was comfortable on that alone, so whether they took on paid work

[86] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 210.
[87] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 210.
[88] MS 1215 27/1.

was frequently a question of choice. These positions of privilege need to be borne in mind, along with the fact that married women's contribution to household income, frequently termed 'pin money', was routinely considered as subsidiary to that of the male breadwinner.[89]

Occasionally, income was very important, particularly amongst the divorced and widowed sample. For some women in Klein's sample there was often no choice but to work. Gillian (1918), a divorced doctor, needed to work full-time for financial reasons. Gillian felt that it was difficult to give sufficient attention to her child, the running of their home, and her full-time job: 'Unfortunately I have no alternative but to do both. At the first opportunity I would give up my job to look after my home and child'.[90] However, for most of Klein's sample the extra money from employment was nice to have and not essential.

Some of the scholarship on consumerism in the 1950s has raised interesting questions on the role of individualism, and its effects on women's perceptions of themselves and their role within the family, and of employment. The ways in which products were advertised, and consumed reveals much about shifting perceptions of self in the decade. For example, Ritchie suggests that attitudes towards beauty and glamour by the National Federation of Women's Institutes and the Women's Co-operative Guild were indicative of their success or failure to react to changing consumer culture, since consumption of cosmetics increased hugely and greater interest in personal beautification was concomitant with shifting definitions of the importance of the individual.[91] It has also been argued that the 1950s saw increasing complexity in terms of femininity, via changes in work and sexuality.[92] In addition to greater uptake of products as a result of the changing attitudes towards the importance of the self, the

[89] D. Kynaston, *Family Britain, 1951-7* (London, 2009), p. 573.
[90] MS 1215 26/1.
[91] R. Ritchie, ''Beauty isn't all a matter of looking glamorous': attitudes to glamour and beauty in 1950s women's magazines', *Women's History Review*, 23/5 (2014), p. 737.
[92] S. Brooke, 'Gender and Working Class Identity in Britain during the 1950s', *Journal of Social History*, 34/4 (2001), p. 789.

ways in which consumers constructed their self-identity through consumption were also changing.[93] As noted above, McCarthy argues that difficulties to obtain consumer goods may have influenced a woman's decision to take a job.[94]

Experiences of the women in Klein's sample suggest they were less likely to identify material objects that they had gained from their extra income and were more focused on private education, experiences and the overall benefit to the family's standard of living. This reflects Wilson's finding that reasons for working were couched in terms of increasing 'the family's standard of living'.[95] Where information was given on how additional income (beyond the cost of domestic help) made a difference, it had facilitated spending on more expensive holidays and private education. Imogen (1914), married to a civil servant, stated that all her earnings had been devoted to the education of her children.[96] Patricia (1909), explained how the combined salaries of herself and her husband had benefitted their children, enabling 'a fuller and wider education than we could have managed otherwise'.[97]

Some workers were clear that their earnings had been spent on private education. Vera (1923), married to a clerk in holy orders, was very clear that her reasons for working were financial, specifically to pay for her children's education.[98] She had studied chemistry at university and had a teaching qualification.[99] Vera had tried working full-time in a laboratory as a chemist in 1950 for three months, when her youngest child was still a baby, but had left the job as she had found full-time laboratory work difficult to combine with her family commitments.[100] From

[93] See for example A. Levene, 'The Meanings of Margarine in England: Class, Consumption and Material Culture from 1918 to 1953', *Contemporary British History*, 28/2 (2014), p. 160.
[94] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 210.
[95] D. Smith Wilson, 'A New Look at the Affluent Worker: The Good Working Mother in Post-War Britain', *Twentieth Century British History*, 17/2 (2006), p. 217.
[96] MS 1215 26/1.
[97] MS 1215 26/1.
[98] MS 1215 26/1.
[99] MS 1215 26/1.
[100] MS 1215 26/1.

1952 to 1959 she had worked part-time as a teacher but had been forced to leave this job when her family had moved to a new area.[101] She had been working full-time as a teacher since 1959, when her youngest child had been about eight years old.[102] She explained that she would 'by inclination rather not accept employment as a married woman (I'm no feminist!) but I am driven to it by lack of money to educate my own children'.[103] However, she acknowledged that she did gain satisfaction from her current position: 'Since accepting last post, where work is so rewarding and pleasant I should now hesitate to leave if it were offered to me'.[104] This implies that Vera was motivated to work by self-fulfilment as well as money, but perhaps felt it easier to justify her job by focusing on her desire to fund her children's education.

Other respondents felt their earnings had contributed to the family's higher standard of living, which could encompass greater well-being as well as private education and holidays. Evelyn (1919), a full-time teacher and married to another teacher, described what she saw as her family's 'higher standard of living' that had been achieved through their joint income such as 'more outings' and 'foreign travel', which they took 'delight' in.[105] As well as the benefit of holidays and outings, Evelyn seems to have recognised that her own enhanced well-being as a result of her work was integral to the family's overall happiness. She wrote that she was 'happy and well adjusted, without the frustrations which are complained of by many educated women who find themselves tied to the kitchen sink'.[106] Her use of the term 'well adjusted' is interesting, perhaps suggesting that she was familiar with some of the language used by psychologists.[107]

[101] MS 1215 26/1.
[102] MS 1215 26/1.
[103] MS 1215 26/1.
[104] MS 1215 26/1.
[105] MS 1215 27/1.
[106] MS 1215 27/1.
[107] MS 1215 27/1.

So, financially and emotionally, a graduate wife's job and salary could raise the family's standard of living still further, but net financial gains after expenses and tax might not be great. Most working mothers were relying on the employment of domestic help to delegate domestic responsibilities, and this could be expensive. GP Vera (1921) stated that she was 'not altogether sure that my working has benefitted us financially up to the present'.[108] Part-time teacher Valerie (1919) had made detailed calculations as to how much money she made from her work and concluded that she was 'barely earning enough' after tax and sur tax 'to cover my expenses'.[109] But Valerie acknowledged that financial gain was not her main motivation for working; interesting work was more important than financial gain. Christina (1923) had opted to change from full-time teaching to part-time, explaining that it had not been worthwhile financially as she had needed to employ someone who acted as a housekeeper and nanny, for which she had to 'pay insurance', and '[o]ur joint incomes reached the super tax level'.[110]

Margaret (1921), a part-time doctor, found that what she paid out for 'costly' domestic help, combined with the tax system of treating both spouses' income as one amount, meant that she was left with little as a result: 'Having to pool income with husbands put us in a higher tax group. Net financial gain very small'.[111] Others agreed about the issue of taxation. One part-time locum doctor, Ethel (1913), concluded that she could not 'really complain about my professional fate except on the score of taxation!'.[112] She felt that the tax system, along with the high cost of domestic help, discouraged full-time work. Rosie (1921), a part-time teacher had calculated that it was not worth going full-time, saying that the 'taxation position is such

[108] MS 1215 28/1.
[109] MS 1215 27/1.
[110] MS 1215 13/3.
[111] MS 1215 26/1.
[112] MS 1215 31/1.

that full-time employment for me with a reasonable amount of domestic help would involve us in financial loss'.[113]

Every situation was unique, and many women had clearly done a lot of research on the costs and benefits involved with work. Travel costs incurred through work could also be important. A car might be necessary for travel to work, particularly in a more rural area. This could be costly, as Mabel (1910) had found; in her case she and her husband already had a 'family car', but she needed her own car to get to and from work.[114] Priscilla (1911) had also concluded that a car was 'the real essential for coping with a family and a job'.[115]

What we learn from these discussions is that despite the small financial gains being made from work after costs, many women continued to work. This was because their work interested them. This confirms Mackinnon and Gregory's study of Australian women graduates that found those combining paid work and motherhood in the 1950s were often motivated by the opportunity to contribute financially to the well-being of the family, but intellectual stimulation and work satisfaction were just as important.[116] Their research highlights the requirement for 'considerable courage to live beyond the dominant prescriptions of the popular culture of the time, devoted as it was to the image of the happy wife, embedded in family and consumerism', and the fact that graduates were more likely to have such confidence.[117] Graduates in Klein's sample who had found work did seem confident that they knew best how to manage this alongside their domestic commitments.

---

[113] MS 1215 31.
[114] MS 1215 29/1.
[115] MS 1215 31.
[116] A. Mackinnon and P. Gregory ''A study corner in the kitchen': Australian graduate women negotiate family, nation and work in the 1950s and early 1960s', *Australian Historical Studies*, 37/127 (2006), p. 78.
[117] Mackinnon and Gregory ''A study corner in the kitchen': Australian graduate women negotiate family, nation and work in the 1950s and early 1960s', p. 79; for an additional rich account of the lives of four women living in Britain and Australia (using letters and oral history interviews) see A. Thomson, ''Tied to the kitchen sink'? Women's Lives and Women's History in Mid-Twentieth Century Britain and Australia', *Women's History Review*, 22/1 (2013), pp. 126-147.

Workers also appreciated the fulfilment their jobs gave them. Full-time lecturer Beatrix (1928) felt that her 'full and interesting life more than compensates for my relatively low financial gain'.[118] She had made the pragmatic decision that her 'only financial interest' was that her 'budget should balance', and that the amount she paid 'to replace' herself 'in the home' did not exceed her net salary.[119] Another full-time lecturer, Gwendolyn (1924), who had three children under ten years old, said: 'I should not work unless I enjoyed my career as the ultimate financial reward (after expenses of maid etc.) is far too small to outweigh the strain of two careers'.[120] But Gwendolyn also was of the opinion that 'unless better help is available on the whole and expenses are allowed for tax purposes, many women graduates will not think the effort worthwhile'.[121]

Many women thought that the costs they had to pay out for help with childcare and the home should be recognised by the tax system. Milly (1919) had 'only found it possible to return to full time Grammar School teaching by employing full-time domestic help'.[122] She thought that she should be able to claim this as an expense against income tax.[123] Christine (1919) who worked in secondary schools which involved 'heavy home correction and preparation', and who regularly entertained at home, felt that the wages of the 'full time help' she employed 'should be treated as an allowance not liable for Income Tax'.[124] Evelyn (1919), a full-time teacher, had 'always relied entirely on paid help, both for the normal running of the home and in times of domestic crisis, such as illness of the children'.[125] She too felt 'strongly that a tax

[118] MS 1215 13/3.
[119] MS 1215 13/3.
[120] MS 1215 27/1.
[121] MS 1215 27/1.
[122] MS 1215 31.
[123] MS 1215 31.
[124] MS 1215 26/1.
[125] MS 1215 27/1.

relief should be allowed for the cost of domestic help, which in my case is £200 per annum'.[126] This cost had been higher when her children were younger.

Behind these views on taxation was an assumption by women that they would have to pay for domestic help to compensate for the time they spent doing paid work. Ella's (1922) view is representative of the prevailing view amongst those who mentioned the tax system. She felt that the tax allowance on a married woman's salary did not leave sufficient funds to pay for enough hours of 'really good domestic help' and 'leave some money over for personal use'.[127] She added that '[i]t is not impossible by employing a number of different people, to organize a home, do a job properly and give adequate time to children who are at school most of day, but it is a very expensive thing to do'.[128] Did these middle-class women also want recognition that the domestic work that needed to be done was worth something? It is harder to find evidence that they were formulating the arguments that feminist economists would assert in later decades. None of their responses went as far as stating that domestic workers themselves should be paid more and more highly valued by society, despite arguments that the tax system should make allowance for what they spent on domestic help. That said, some women were explicit about the importance of the work of their employees in enabling their work such as Beatrix (1928) who felt her daughter was thriving in her nanny's care,[129] and Freda (1918), whose nanny had become her 'most reliable and loyal' housekeeper.[130]

Delegating domestic responsibilities

The relentlessness of housework in the post-war era was documented by Mass Observation: in 1951 a forty-five-year-old housewife described her attitude to housework:

[126] MS 1215 27/1.
[127] MS 1215 31.
[128] MS 1215 31.
[129] MS 1215 13/3
[130] MS 1215 13/3.

> Housework leaves me quite cold. It is a duty that has to be done but I have no real interest in it. Perhaps I like best turning out a room because when it is finished everything looks spick and span and I am thus well rewarded.[131]

Another respondent to a Directive Questionnaire in 1951 described housework as 'such a recurring event' and said that she was beginning to feel like a 'household drudge, a slave'. This twenty-six-year-old married social worker contrasted her current situation as a wife, dealing with the demands of her fussy husband, with that of her pre-married life in a flat where she could live with mess if she wanted to. Interestingly, she referred to her husband's messy life as a bachelor yet remarked on his 'sad complaint' if she did not 'polish the furniture or dust'.[132]

Middle-class women viewed domestic work as their responsibility, and they either did it themselves or employed help to do so. Giles identifies a distinction between 'homemaking' and 'housework', 'homemaking' being seen as a more acceptable pastime than 'housework' by middle class women.[133] For these middle-class women domestic help with housework was desirable, even if it wasn't affordable or available. There were some full-time workers who were employing substantial domestic help to facilitate their careers. Yet there was no evidence that the nannies and housekeepers employed were seen as incompatible with a modern working woman's life. Those employing daily help with cleaning and childcare saw this as a solution to modern living.

Much of the literature relating to the decline in domestic service has focused on such aspects as middle class women's desire to retain status despite expectations to live without servants. Delap argues that the development of the home as a modern, private space in the twentieth century, was still compatible with the keeping of servants.[134] She also argues that being

[131] Mass Observation Directive Questionnaire March 1951, Respondent 5209.
[132] Mass Observation Directive Questionnaire March 1951, Respondent 5209; for further discussion of reactions to the mundanity of housework in the period see A. Myrdal and V. Klein, *Women's Two Roles* (London, 1956) and J. Hubback, *Graduate Wives* (London, 1957).
[133] J. Giles, 'Help for housewives: domestic service and the reconstruction of domesticity in Britain, 1940-50', *Women's History Review*, 10/2 (2001), p 317.
[134] L. Delap, 'Housework, Housewives, and Domestic Workers', *Home Cultures*, 8:2, (2011), p. 191.

'servantless' was linked to narratives of middle-class 'decline' and 'degeneration'.[135] Writers and journalists, describing middle-class homes and lifestyles, continued to use the 'haunting presence' of servants as a reference point.[136] Where domestic help was employed, it did not appear to be done to retain status. Instead, it was to lessen the burden of a continual and repetitive set of tasks, and free up time for other activities such as voluntary work and paid work.

The comments of those who had been unsuccessful in finding such help illustrate that the need for help still existed, it just could not always be adequately met by local labour. These women may well have been 'fantasizing about domestic help',[137] but what they wanted to do was to employ someone else to lessen a domestic workload that they felt was *their* burden. Delap concludes that there was 'a surprising mood of optimism amongst middle-class women' during the post-war period 'that domestic service could and should be perpetuated'.[138] The experiences of these middle-class women suggest that they knew what work was required to enjoy a clean and tidy home, clean clothes and everything else the family took for granted and wanted to delegate some of it if possible. This does not mean that they wanted to return to a life of live-in servants. Instead, they were trying to find a modern solution to old domestic problems. One of the study's respondents expressed resentment at having 'skivvied' for husband and children', an occupation which had no use of extensive education.[139] She explained that '[o]ur men are not yet really "with us" on the need of the mother. "But I EARN it", has been said all too often to me, while I skivvied for three young children as no char would (or could) do'.[140] But even here, when anger leaps off the page, there is no sense of entitlement

[135] L. Delap, *Knowing their place: domestic service in twentieth-century Britain* (Oxford, 2011), p. 128.
[136] L. Delap, *Knowing their place*, p. 129.
[137] L. Delap, *Knowing their place*, p. 133.
[138] L. Delap, *Knowing their place*, p. 128.
[139] MS1215 28/1.
[140] MS1215 28/1.

to servants. The fury finds its cause more in the juxtaposition of a husband's ability to have a fulfilling (remunerated) job and enjoy family life, without having to wash nappies, and his inability to understand the hard work involved in domestic work.

Some of the women had evidently grown up with servants, but this could mean that they appreciated the increased privacy that their lives afforded. There were references to the desire for live-out help. Annabel (1928) stated that she and her husband 'lived in too modest a fashion to have resident help', even if that was 'possibly theoretically superior', and would 'both deplore the loss of personal privacy this would entail'.[141] Full-time lecturer Diana (1922), had employed a live-in housekeeper in the past but now employed a live-out nanny and 'a morning help for cleaning', a change she attributed to her husband, who had been unhappy with another person in the house.[142] This preference for live-out help reflects what has previously been identified as a trend across the twentieth century towards creating a more private space for the family.[143] Women with paid jobs who employed a nanny or housekeeper generally seemed to have employed live-out help, although detail was not always given.

For those who had experienced a life with servants whilst living overseas there was a general assumption that this kind of life would not be replicated in Britain. For example, Olive (1928) had spent time in Ghana when her husband was posted there in the 1950s. Combining teaching work and motherhood had been possible partly as a result of a relaxed attitude of her employer on bringing her children with her to work, but also due to 'plenty of domestic servants – a cook, steward, washman and gardener' who 'took care of the domestic work which takes up so much time and energy'.[144] Yet there was no sense that Olive expected a life with servants now the family was back and settled in Britain.

[141] MS 1215 28/1.
[142] MS 1215 29/1.
[143] See for example Delap, 'Housework, Housewives, and Domestic Workers', pp. 189-209.
[144] MS 1215 29/1.

Across the sample, there were many women who complained of the difficulties in finding reliable domestic help, and managing employees once they had been found.[145] For Hope (1909) this had 'always been a problem'.[146] Diana (1913), a full-time teacher, felt that there was 'a great need for trained and devoted domestic help – with dignified status'.[147] Annabel (1928), working part-time at the time of the study, had learnt from experience that any domestic help needed to be of a reasonable quality in order to be useful: 'Unless the housework is done to a standard at best as high as one would do it oneself, it is no use: I would sooner do the job than undo someone else's botched attempts.'[148] Annabel lived on the outskirts of a city, where presumably there were plenty of opportunities for women who wanted to work beyond jobs doing other people's cleaning and laundry. Annabel also recognised that due to her long working hours, she had been 'unable to give any supervision', confirming that she saw it as her role, and not her husband's, to supervise any domestic worker they employed.[149]

Domestic help might be difficult to find in some areas, but in others it was readily available. This meant that in an affluent household, where the husband's salary was sufficient, a wife might choose to employ domestic help regardless of whether she worked. It was more often the women who did work who mentioned the domestic help that they employed, and this might even extend to the costs involved and the detail of the number of hours help per week. But one comment made by a part-time worker indicates that she assumed all middle-class housewives would employ some form of domestic help. Dorothea (1924) felt that 'the whole system depends on getting rather more domestic help than the average housewife', which in her case meant the employment of a cleaner for twelve hours per week and an au pair.[150] The

[145] For discussion of middle-class women's management of domestic help in other periods, see for example A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter* (London, 1998) and A. Light, *Mrs Woolf and the Servants* (London, 2008).
[146] MS 1215 28/1.
[147] MS 1215 29/1.
[148] MS 1215 28/1.
[149] MS 1215 28/1.
[150] MS 1215 28/1.

implication that the average middle-class housewife employed some domestic help is only suggestive, but interesting. It may be that many or even most of the non-working sample were employing domestic help. Unfortunately, there is not sufficient detail given in the questionnaires to confirm this.

Obstacles to pursuing paid employment

Complex decisions were being made by middle-class women about whether to pursue paid employment. These decisions involved a delicate balancing of desires for intellectual fulfilment, concerns about the family's well-being and how to delegate domestic responsibilities. The costs of employing domestic help were also weighed up. The number of references to the role of taxation implies that it was important in the decision-making process. The financial end benefit of working might not look very attractive once the costs of employing domestic help to cover what they saw as their own domestic responsibilities were deducted. This put some women off, and caused others to continue to work, but with reservations as to whether financially it was worth it. This indicates that although intellectual fulfilment was very important, it was not necessarily enough to outweigh a negligible or negative financial outcome from taking a paid job and paying for domestic help.

Chapter 1 demonstrated how frequent moves made by the family could disrupt the networks of married women, making it more difficult for them to find work in a new area. Moving house also created more domestic work for wives such as packing and unpacking and making a new house into a home. This energy and time required for this work was weighed up when considering whether to look for a job. The responsibilities of husbands' jobs left some wives in sole charge of looking after the home and family. Where wives were acting as sole parent some of the time, taking up paid work was much more difficult. Sophia's (1911) husband was

'v. heavily committed to work so home and children (and lately parents) a sizable burden'.[151] Marianne's (1915) husband was a chaplain to the military.[152] She explained that now her children were at school she would 'like some part-time academic employment' but her 'husband's very full programme and periods away on Army duty make this almost impossible.'[153]

A husband's attitude to his wife working was also an important part of the decision-making process. The comments of some women in Klein's sample illustrated how they also felt required to accommodate their husbands' wishes and sought to ensure harmony rather than pursue their own wishes. Freya (1920) was married to a university professor who worked long hours.[154] She had worked full-time as a teacher before her marriage in 1945 and then part-time, which had been difficult to juggle with her husband's expectation that he should not be inconvenienced by her work outside the home.[155] She left paid employment in July 1950, before her first child was born in October 1951.[156] Freya felt that the most important factor influencing whether a married woman pursued paid employment was her husband's attitude.[157] If he resented her being absent from home, or her having her own interests, and was not prepared to accommodate her work 'it can well mean either the break-up of the marriage or the wife stays at home'.[158] She now found she did not have 'time or energy for an outside job'.[159] She had four children and three acres of garden to manage, was required to entertain

[151] MS 1215 26/1.
[152] MS 1215 26/1.
[153] MS 1215 26/1.
[154] MS 1215 31.
[155] MS 1215 31.
[156] MS 1215 31.
[157] MS 1215 31.
[158] MS 1215 31.
[159] MS 1215 31.

undergraduates and visiting professors for her husband and knew of no other professors' wives in the college who had a paid job.[160]

Freya was unusual in that she went into a lot of detail about the struggles she had encountered. But comments made by other respondents also alluded to the opinions of husbands and shed light on the resistance that wives could come up against to pursuing their own careers. Freda (1924) said that her 'husband disapproves of "career girls"'.[161] Whereas Juliet (1923) had married in the late 1940s and explained that unfortunately her husband's view had 'always been that of "woman's place is in the home" and once our children were born, I felt my first duty lay towards them'.[162] If she had been able to pay a housekeeper or nanny, she said she would have tried to train for a career, but this had not been possible.[163] Instead, she had been 'so bogged down by family responsibilities over the past 11 years that it requires a real effort to include any serious reading from day to day'.[164] The frequent moves required by her husband's career had made the goal of further training to enable a career even harder to realise.

One respondent's husband had asked that his views be included in the further comments of the questionnaire. Emma (1922) wrote that his opinion was that the emancipation of women had not brought them greater happiness, and that he was continually seeing miserable expressions on the faces of women on the London Underground.[165] She added that he did not want her to tie herself to paid work but was happy for her to do voluntary work, on the understanding that the family must come first.[166] Emma seems to have held similar views, stating that '[m]y husband and I do feel so strongly on this subject'.[167] So, in her case, apparently, her husband's

[160] MS 1215 31.
[161] MS 1215 26/1.
[162] MS 1215 27/1.
[163] MS 1215 27/1.
[164] MS 1215 27/1.
[165] MS 1215 28/1.
[166] MS 1215 28/1.
[167] MS 1215 28/1.

views had not been an obstacle to her pursuing a career. We cannot know if she secretly held different views. However, the comments of Freya, Freda, Juliet and Emma clearly reveal the prejudices of some middle-class husbands in post-war Britain.

Shouldering the burden of unpaid work within marriage affected a wife's career.[168] One respondent chose to write about her experience of marriage and raising children in detail. Her comments reveal the complexity of emotions that could exist when women felt a range of barriers were preventing them from pursuing the career they might have had if they had not married and had children. Kay (1910) examined her resentment and expressed her despair with force. 'We intellectuals are expected to retreat from the lecture theatre or laboratory to the nursery and the kitchen sink, with never a backward look'.[169] Kay had given birth to four children over the period of 1943 to 1952 and had remained at home to raise them during the 1950s.[170] She described how she had become so frustrated that she was not using the skills she had acquired during her science degree, so irritated that she had no access to the facilities she had enjoyed whilst at university, that she had built herself a rudimentary laboratory in the garden where she was continuing her research on plants.[171] She thought she had made some interesting discoveries, which called into question accepted scientific opinion, but she must continue with her research to prove her theories.[172]

After years of cleaning and laundry for her family, Kay felt relieved to be pursuing scientific research once again, albeit in an unpaid capacity.[173] Kay also alluded to the unfairness of domestic work being unpaid, the difficulties of relying on a husband for money, and the

[168] For further discussions of unpaid caring work in the context of feminist economics see for example A. Philips and B. Taylor 'Sex and Skill: Notes towards a Feminist Economics', *Feminist Review,* 6 (1980), pp. 79-88.
[169] MS 1215 28/1.
[170] MS 1215 28/1.
[171] MS 1215 28/1.
[172] MS 1215 28/1.
[173] MS 1215 28/1.

unrealistic perceptions of unmarried women on the benefits of companionship and security in marriage.[174] Her frustration is evident when she writes about 'divided loyalties, between one life and the other, one generation (one's own) and another (in laws and children), of adjusting from the doubled salary to the shared'.[175] She was keen that future generations would have more opportunities to use their intellect and education.[176] Kay's frustration was acute, and unusual, but her comments on the challenges of the lack of economic independence through staying at home to care for children reflect the concerns of other housewives, who wondered what the future held for them in terms of opportunities for employment.

Penny (1910) also expressed her frustration at living in Berkshire, too far from the opportunities in her specialised field which were all in London.[177] She felt her family disapproved of her returning to the work she had done prior to having children, and that the practicalities of insufficient domestic help and the needs of her children meant that her happiness had to be weighed against the happiness of her husband and two children.[178] The latter had won, but Penny seemed to resent this. Other women had experienced objections to them working from their wider family. Alison (1928), a qualified teacher with two children, was now doing private coaching work at home rather than working in a school.[179] Edwina (1913), who trained as a dentist, had not intended to practice after the marriage but had done so during the war.[180] She explained that her '[w]hole upbringing' was 'against married women working outside home'.[181]

[174] MS 1215 28/1.
[175] MS 1215 28/1.
[176] MS 1215 28/1.
[177] MS 1215 28/1.
[178] MS 1215 28/1.
[179] MS 1215 27/1.
[180] MS 1215 26/1.
[181] MS 1215 26/1.

Kay and Penny felt there were several factors preventing them from pursuing careers. Other women too had experienced a complex mix of factors that had made pursuing a career impossible and expressed regret rather than frustration. Agatha (1918) had found it impossible to use her BSc in the way she would have liked, due to a lack of confidence and life events that required her time and energy.[182] She was living in Berkshire with her husband and two children when she filled out the questionnaire and had worked seven hours a week for the past four years as a children's librarian in the local branch library.[183] Agatha would have preferred to have worked as a teacher but had been hesitant because she had lacked training.[184] In recent years she had been beset with problems, including the death of her father, the sudden death of her sister, and the resulting responsibilities of the care of her sister's young family.[185] Now facing health problems of her own, there is a sense of resignation in her comment: 'My life would definitely have been richer (and I don't mean financially) if I'd had the opportunity and the drive to have undertaken a career again'.[186] Agatha's experience clearly demonstrates how vulnerability of others could directly impact on the need for caring work, and how that had implications on women's ability to participate in the paid economy.

There were examples of graduate women in Klein's sample who had assessed the potential advantages and disadvantages of taking up or increasing the amount of paid work and feared that their physical and mental health would not withstand the challenge. Enid (1915), married to a lawyer and not in paid employment in 1963, reflected that it was 'extremely difficult' for a married woman with school-age children and 'a house and garden to cope with, to do a part time job outside the home without neglecting something or somebody at home and getting quite

[182] MS 1215 28/1.
[183] MS 1215 28/1.
[184] MS 1215 28/1.
[185] MS 1215 28/1.
[186] MS 1215 28/1.

exhausted'.[187] Enid had experienced part-time work as a teacher but found it had not been what she had expected. Instead, there had been 'no free periods, and full share of marking, etc' and she had 'had to take more work home than any full time colleagues'.[188] A mother of a young child, who was making regular care visits to her own and her husband's mothers, as well as elderly aunts, felt that she would 'have no mental or physical energy to spare for a job'.[189] Enid's experience reflects the work many women were doing managing the emotions of others, and aware of the robust health they needed to maintain in order to do so.

Other women worried about what would happen if there was a family crisis, like their children being ill, if they were holding down a job. Some limited their hours in order to alleviate their concerns. For example, as Beverley (1928) had limited her part-time work to only one and a half hours a week, having previously been doing the equivalent of more than two and a half days a week.[190] She put this down to a 'fear of being unreliable' due to her children's illnesses and 'decreasing energy with increasing age'.[191] Beverley was only in her late thirties but had three children under seven years old.[192] She knew that there would be moments when her caring work would increase due to episodes of vulnerability as a result of illness. The strength of the sense of responsibility to care for the vulnerable is explored further in Chapter 3.

Experiences of being a working mother

By focusing on the experiences of those women who had school-aged children, it is possible to understand how working mothers managed domestic responsibilities. The following sections analyse the experiences of part-time and full-time workers with children aged five

[187] MS 1215 13/3.
[188] MS 1215 13/3.
[189] MS 1215 13/3.
[190] MS 1215 28/1.
[191] MS 1215 28/1.
[192] MS 1215 28/1.

years old and under, the time at which childcare pressures were most pronounced, and the experiences of workers with school-age children who still needed care and support.

Part-time workers with children aged five years old and under

The majority of the 42 part-time workers with children aged five years old and under were working as teachers, lecturers and doctors, but there were also two writers, a medical practice manager, a social worker, an administrator, an interviewer, a translator and a few who were combining jobs such as teaching and school examining work. Part-time hours ranged from a few hours a week to a few days. It included all sorts of combinations of hours and ways of working, depending on what was available and what fitted in with family life. Those with the smallest work commitments included Grace (1928), a vicar's wife, who was doing three hours of maths coaching a week.[193] Beverley (1928), a part-time lecturer, had recently reduced her hours from 'more than half time' to one and a half hours a week.[194] Francesca's (1923) part-time work as an examiner amounted to 'short periods – usually 1-2 weeks each year'.[195] For all three women, part-time work had been limited to what was manageable alongside domestic responsibilities.

Working from home was a method of managing part-time employment and domestic duties for some mothers with young children. Grace, the maths coach, hoped to move on to part-time school teaching when her children had all reached school age.[196] Her view was that '[e]ven with excellent domestic help' that 'small children need their mother at home'.[197] Dinah (1918), was self-employed as a translator, and did 'not feel that full-time work or any work outside the home is feasible until the children are older', so had chosen to do translation work at home.[198]

[193] MS 1216 29/1.
[194] MS 1215 28/1.
[195] MS 1215 31.
[196] MS 1216 29/1.
[197] MS 1216 29/1.
[198] MS 1215 27/1.

She appeared keen to do more though, saying that she 'should welcome some kind of register of graduate mothers willing to do work at home'.[199] Deirdre (1929), a freelance journalist and broadcaster, felt that '[h]ousewife-cum-freelancing is a most desirable combination' but still felt that 'both tend to suffer!'. [200] She added that the 'ability to work at home without distractions' was vital.[201] Rita (1929) had also found work that she could do at home which involved marking correspondence course lessons.[202] The combination of this work, her voluntary work and family life worked well for her: 'A domestic life, with some social work and only "tutorial" correspondence course work is fully satisfactory for me'.[203]

Those who wanted to teach more than just a few hours a week needed to go out to work in a school or college. Opportunities to take a refresher course or gradually increase part-time hours could help women in the return to work after children. Hyacinth (1927) worked as an assistant mistress for five mornings a week.[204] She explained that she found 'teaching ideal to combine with family life (home for holidays with family)'.[205] She had taken a refresher course before returning to work and gradually increased her working hours. She thought that '[i]t would have been much more difficult to plunge into full-time teaching after nearly 10 years away from academic work'.[206] The ability to start back at work part-time after having children, and then scaling up hours as working outside the home became more normal and the family adapted to it, appears to have given Hyacinth confidence both in her ability to teach, and for her family's capacity to cope with her job.

[199] MS 1215 27/1.
[200] MS 1215 27/1.
[201] MS 1215 27/1.
[202] MS 1215 28/1.
[203] MS 1215 28/1.
[204] MS 1215 29/1.
[205] MS 1215 29/1.
[206] MS 1215 29/1.

Another way in which mothers could feel more comfortable in taking on part-time work outside the home was by doing short periods of work covering for other teachers (supply teaching) or doctors (locum work). In Harriet's (1920) case, her part-time teaching work in a sixth form was a temporary post, covering the illness of a teacher in a boarding school.[207] She explained that she had 'occasionally done short periods of coaching by request, on home premises', but regular part-time work had not been a feature of her employment history since the birth of her first child in 1954.[208] Many teachers had benefitted from these opportunities to fill-in at schools who needed help, seeing them as a chance to use their skills for a short time, and then return to family life. This is not to imply that mothers were always able to pick and choose the work they wanted. For example, a doctor might find that locum work was most widely available in school holidays, a time when she needed to be at home to look after her children.

The variety of part-time working styles was reflected in a variety of child-care support systems. Only one of the part-time workers with children five or under referred specifically to employing a full-time nanny. Enid (1918), married to a professor and with two children, employed a nanny 'to look after the children', cook/housekeeper 'to provide meals etc.' and cleaner 'to keep house respectable (probably would be essential if I did not work)'.[209] Her eldest child was at infant school and the youngest was '[a]t home with Nannie'.[210] Enid described her work as involving part-time teaching and demonstrating at a university, part-time consultancy work, and research in her 'spare time'.[211] She did not classify her job as full-time, and indeed had stopped her full-time job as a demonstrator in 1962 as she found she did not have enough time with her children.[212] Perhaps Enid had set up her domestic arrangements in 1959 and decided

[207] MS 1215 26/1.
[208] MS 1215 26/1.
[209] MS 1215 27/1.
[210] MS 1215 27/1.
[211] MS 1215 27/1.
[212] MS 1215 27/1.

to continue employing all the help, even though she was now working part-time, not full-time. Clearly this paid help gave her the luxury of time to teach, research and write, as well as spend the time she wanted with her children. Wendy (1918) did mention employing a 'part-time nanny' at some point during the mid-1950s but did not give details of the arrangement, only acknowledging that the temporary loss of this part-time nanny due to the nanny's own family issues had made it difficult to carry on part-time work at this point.[213]

The rest of these part-time workers who had young children relied on less structured arrangements. Domestic help of some type was seen as necessary, although detail on the exact nature of domestic help employed was scant. Penelope (1928), a part-time locum GP, had given full-time work consideration but felt that it would not be financially viable because of the amount of income tax she would have to pay, and the need to employ 'more domestic help and trained children's 'nannie'…to cope with housework and two young children'.[214] This suggests that she already had domestic help of some sort but had not yet employed a nanny. Others referred in passing to the help they had, such as Deirdre's (1929) reference to 'adequate domestic help' being 'absolutely vital',[215] and Aurelia's (1917) comment that she had 'to pay someone else to mind the youngest child and also the practice telephones (my husband is a GP)' whilst she was working.[216] Olive (1928), who was working as a tennis coach whilst looking out for suitable teaching work in a school, was confident her baby was 'left in good hands' during her working hours, but did not say if this was employed help or a friend or relative.[217]

[213] MS 1215 28/1.
[214] MS 1215 29/1.
[215] MS 1215 27/1.
[216] MS 1215 28/1.
[217] MS 1215 29/1.

Piecing together the domestic help required to facilitate part-time work may have been accepted by most women as their responsibility, but there were rumblings of bemusement and frustration from a couple of teachers, Jacqueline (1927) and Rebecca (1925).[218] Jacqueline was sending her three-year-old to a 'nursery play-group for 15/- a week' in Middlesex, whilst she worked one and a half days each week as a biology mistress in a private girls' school.[219] However, she also relied on her mother, who lived with them.[220] Her mother had been invaluable when Jacqueline's three-year-old had suffered from first the mumps and then the measles.[221] But previous experience of better nursery provision in Oxford, where the family had previously lived, had prompted Jacqueline to write 'to the local Education Officer about opening a nursery school on similar lines to the one in Oxford, especially as I have received a letter from him asking me to return to teaching. He has been unhelpful.'[222]

Rebecca, living in Warwickshire, was angry at the lack of local authority initiative: 'Deplore lack of good nursery schools, and lack of interest on part of local authority to meet married teachers half way in their efforts to return to work'.[223] She had found private schools more willing to be flexible about hours and children's illness, managing to find a part-time role teaching in a private school when her eldest child was only a year old, which ended only when the family moved from the area.[224] She was back at work shortly afterwards, working one and a half hours in the afternoon at a kindergarten department of a private boys' school in their new area, taking her youngest child (aged three and a half) with her.[225] Her hope was to scale up her work to five mornings a week in September 1963 when her little boy would be starting at

[218] MS 1215 27/1, 29/1.
[219] MS 1215 27/1.
[220] MS 1215 27/1.
[221] MS 1215 27/1.
[222] MS 1215 27/1.
[223] MS 1215 29/1.
[224] MS 1215 29/1.
[225] MS 1215 29/1.

nursery school.[226] Both Jacqueline and Rebecca found it hard to reconcile being encouraged to return to work by local authorities, when they could not access local authority pre-school childcare, or found it to be inadequate for their needs.

Another mother of three children, who had confined her work to evening classes at a technical college and occasional supply teaching during the day, felt that she 'would have been willing to have undertaken a regular teaching appointment, if there had been nursery school facilities in this area'.[227] She said several of her peers in her area who were ex-teachers had also made this comment.[228] This suggests that there was a desire amongst some middle-class mothers for better state nursery provision, which would allow consideration of more part-time work.

Even though some women articulated a need for state or local authority involvement in childcare, most of those with young children who were working part-time time accepted that in order to do so they had to arrange childcare and help with the home themselves. Help with childcare might take many forms, depending on what was available locally and relatives and friends who were close by and willing to help. The very limited references to nannies by this group suggests that they may have relied more on ad hoc assistance from family and friends or pieced together childcare arrangements with hired domestic help as and when required.

Few part-time workers claimed to have had a strategy at the beginning of motherhood regarding how they would manage childcare and a job. Instead, they responded by assessing what was possible and doing what they felt comfortable with. All children required attention. A baby might need breastfeeding, whereas an older child might need the reassurance of their mother being in the house. But mothers too experienced different feelings, and a longing to be with a child might take them by surprise.

[226] MS 1215 29/1.
[227] MS 1215 29/1.
[228] MS 1215 29/1.

Part-time workers were evolving strategies to cope with childcare as well as take advantage of opportunities. Wendy (1918) commented that the 'amount of work done at any given period has a direct relation to the family situation'.[229] She noted how breastfeeding each of her four children had meant that looking for work again after birth coincided with when they were weaned.[230] Breaks from paid employment had been enforced, albeit seemingly without regret, by the physical need to be near to a baby to be available for feeds. Wendy also noted that what was happening in the lives of those she relied on for help also had an impact.[231] She explained that the birth of her third child was at the same time as losing a valued 'part-time nanny', who had to leave due to problems with her own child.[232] Wendy turned to evening work as a result, presumably relying on her husband to mind the children and occasional help from friends.[233] When her part-time nanny was able to return, Wendy returned to working for two days a week herself.[234] The arrival of her fourth child coincided with the 'end of college session – so life went on as usual in the following September – child had one artificial feed (per day)!'.[235]

Mothers were constantly reassessing how their paid work affected the family and as with Wendy, this might mean altering the part-time hours they worked. Alexandra (1928) had felt it necessary to leave one part-time position as a remedial reading teacher in a secondary school in June 1961.[236] The job involved three afternoons per week but she found that her third and youngest child, aged around eighteen months old at that time, was 'upset by my absence from home'.[237] Alexandra resumed work the following year as a teacher at a technical college, lecturing one evening a week.[238] Her experience highlights how mothers could find it very

[229] MS 1215 28/1.
[230] MS 1215 28/1.
[231] MS 1215 28/1.
[232] MS 1215 28/1.
[233] MS 1215 28/1.
[234] MS 1215 28/1.
[235] MS 1215 28/1.
[236] MS 1215 29/1.
[237] MS 1215 29/1.
[238] MS 1215 29/1.

difficult to continue in a role which they could see was having a negative impact on one or all of their children.

Reassessing the family's needs might result in moving from full-time to part-time work. Enid (1918) had felt it necessary to take on a full-time opportunity when she returned to work after four years away, as she feared another might not present itself.[239] However, she would have 'preferred to have a part-time job only' because she liked 'to spend time with the children' and later she reduced her hours.[240] Jennifer (1930), a GP, had stopped full-time work on the birth of her second child, and subsequently moved into part-time term time sessional work in a school.[241] Others did not take on work if they knew it would mean they would be away from the home for too many hours. Jobs with a long commute were less appealing. Diana (1923) was about to return to part-time teaching.[242] The posts available in grammar schools, her preferred option, had been 'at a considerable distance and would have involved too much travelling time', so she had taken a job at a local secondary modern.[243]

Finding a balance between taking a job and managing the family's happiness was not necessarily easy, but job satisfaction and general contentment was particularly high for those who had managed to find part-time work in either the field of work they had been in prior to the birth of their children, or something closely related. Enid (1918) was engaged with her academic research and teaching and glad to have found a part-time role.[244] Aurelia (1917), who had worked as a social worker prior to having a family, was now employed part-time as an interviewer on a child development study conducted by a university.[245] She felt fortunate to have found such work: 'I consider that I am very lucky to have found a part time job in what

[239] MS 1215 27/1.
[240] MS 1215 27/1.
[241] MS 1215 26/1.
[242] MS 1215 26/1.
[243] MS 1215 26/1.
[244] MS 1215 27/1.
[245] MS 1215 28/1.

I consider to be my own field'.[246] These women felt fortunate to have found stimulating part-time work that they could do as well as being a wife and mother; combining professional work with family life had been a hope rather than an expectation.

Overall, the experiences of part-time workers with young children reveal a reactive approach to opportunities and to the implementation of childcare and domestic help systems to facilitate work.

Full-time workers with children aged five years old and under

Full-time workers with young children, like part-time workers, were also continually mindful of their families' needs. They seemed to be more proactive about making plans for help with childcare which would allow them to work, and there were more mentions of the employment of a nanny amongst this group.

Those full-time workers with children aged five years old and under were working as teachers, lecturers and doctors. Vera (1921), a GP in her early forties, had worked full-time since graduating in medicine in 1947, apart from six months during the early 1950s when she could not find suitable employment after a move to a new area.[247] Since 1953, when she set up her own general practice, she appeared to have been working full-time, giving birth to two children in 1956 and 1959.[248] Vera made reference to the domestic help that she employed, but did not give specific details, only stating that she had 'been fortunate in this respect'.[249] However, taking on a partner in the practice when her first child arrived had also 'made life considerably easier in all but a financial respect'.[250] So, a proactive decision to take on a new partner was taken to allow her the flexibility she wanted within her own medical practice. Presumably she

[246] MS 1215 28/1.
[247] MS 1215 28/1.
[248] MS 1215 28/1.
[249] MS 1215 28/1.
[250] MS 1215 28/1.

had envisaged being able to step back slightly from her work commitments when necessary, perhaps making a maternity leave possible. June (1918) also appeared to have worked full-time as a partner in general practice since 1955, having worked there as an assistant from 1954.[251] June had three children, born in 1956, 1957 and 1960, and referred to domestic help being available in her rural area, implying that she was employing help with childcare and possibly housework as well.[252]

Whilst delegating domestic and childcare duties allowed a woman to work full-time, full-time domestic help could be expensive. Mildred (1928) had worked full-time throughout her career, and was clearly very interested in Klein's survey, saying so in a letter accompanying her completed questionnaire.[253] She was married to an insurance broker, an occupation presumably providing financial comfort for the family. She employed a nanny but said it was 'so difficult…to get experienced residential help for looking after small children and yet this is surely is essential if a married woman is going to continue her career without going "rusty"'.[254] Having read an article in the *Sunday Times* about the cost of 'replacing oneself in the home if one has young children' she had initially thought the figure of 'about £1000' ridiculous, but had calculated her own costs for employing a live-in nanny and 'found it to be exactly so'.[255] Her financial calculations also demonstrate the potential costs involved with employing full-time childcare.

Even though a nanny might be a great expense, their expertise could be useful. Beatrix (1928), a full-time senior lecturer, employed a nanny. She and her husband, who actively encouraged her to work, had agreed that if their young daughter showed any signs of 'suffering' due to

[251] MS 1215 29/1.
[252] MS 1215 29/1.
[253] MS 1215 28/1.
[254] MS 1215 28/1.
[255] MS 1215 28/1.

Beatrix's absence, Beatrix would 'discontinue' her career until their daughter reached school age.[256] However, Beatrix felt that the opposite was the case, explaining that her daughter appeared 'to be thriving more under the influence of a professionally trained children's nurse than she would under my well-meaning, but rather amateur efforts'.[257] Beatrix also employed a housekeeper.[258] Beatrix's employment experience reveals that she had been given '5 months' leave of absence' when her daughter had been born, three of which had been on full pay and two months on half pay.[259] With the encouragement of her husband, a housekeeper to run the home, and a professional nanny who left her confident her child was in good hands, Beatrix appeared to be thriving.

Not every married couple had similar views on the employment of domestic help. Diana (1922), a full-time lecturer at a technical college, already had three children (the youngest being two years old) and a fourth baby was due.[260] She had employed domestic help over the years, such as a live-in housekeeper for six years during the 1950s when her eldest children were very young, and now had a live-out nanny from 8.45am to 5.30pm, and 'a morning help for cleaning'.[261] This change in arrangements she attributed to her husband, who had been unhappy with another person in the house.[262] Diana seemed unsure whether the current arrangements would suffice in the future, as she knew what the imminent arrival of a new-born would entail; '[i]t is difficult if you have bad nights, as it means the mother doing about 1.5 jobs!'.[263] Diana's concerns demonstrate that full-time workers were having to react to family

[256] MS 1215 13/3.
[257] MS 1215 13/3.
[258] MS 1215 13/3.
[259] MS 1215 13/3.
[260] MS 1215 29/1.
[261] MS 1215 29/1.
[262] MS 1215 29/1.
[263] MS 1215 29/1.

pressures in just the same way as part-time workers, and that husbands' opinions were taken into consideration when considering the type of domestic help employed.

An opinionated husband might make domestic arrangements more complicated, but a supportive husband made managing domestic concerns much easier. Patricia (1909), a full-time teacher, explained that she 'had no difficulty, at any time, in finding adequate household assistance' and that she 'had no opposition from husband or from family'.[264] Doris (1929) was managing childcare with the 'tremendous support' of her husband.[265] A university research fellow, she worked on projects with her academic husband, and they were both dedicated to their work and family. Doris and her husband were having '6 mornings' help in the house', which she described as making 'all the difference'.[266] They did not have a nanny and 'never have had one'.[267] Doris was 'still working mainly at home, which is necessary as the baby is not yet 2'.[268] She explained that her 'husband is still involved in helping with the children, and it is he who is in charge when I am lecturing or interviewing'.[269] Doris's situation illustrates how a husband's support, both in practical and emotional terms could be hugely important. Many working women stressed the importance of their husband's attitude towards their work, and this reflects Dyhouse's work which notes that those women 'who wrote most confidently about the ways in which they had combined childrearing with professional work' were 'often married to successful professional men whom they described as having been supportive of their careers and cooperative in domestic arrangements'.[270]

[264] MS 1215 26/1.
[265] MS 1215 28/1.
[266] MS 1215 28/1.
[267] MS 1215 28/1.
[268] MS 1215 28/1.
[269] MS 1215 28/1.
[270] Dyhouse, 'Graduates, Mothers and Graduate Mothers', p. 333.

Doris felt strongly that her work 'could not have been done without tremendous support from my husband, who was prepared to share housework and care of the children'.[271] She explained that most of the time she was working from home, but during term time would go out to work two afternoons a week, and 'much more' in vacations, to do interviews for her research.[272] But Doris also seems to have felt that this put a burden on her husband, who was unusual in being able to shoulder it: 'I think that even a man who is deeply concerned (as my husband is) to see that his wife should carry on with her chosen profession must find it very difficult to help as much as has been necessary in our case'.[273]

Interestingly, Doris added a caveat, explaining that '[h]owever much he had my interests at heart, I don't think he could have been so sympathetic if I had, for instance, wanted to write a book about something outside his interests'.[274] Doris recognised that if her work had not been so closely related to that of her husband, he might not have felt so invested in her career and her situation would most likely be very different. The fact that she felt she was 'extremely fortunate' illustrates that she saw herself as being in the unusual situation of having a husband who was prepared to be 'in charge' when she was 'lecturing or interviewing'.[275] It also seems to be a recognition of her good fortune in being able to pursue fulfilling full-time work *and* have children.

Like part-time workers, full-time workers were continually assessing their families' needs alongside what opportunities were available and were adapting their hours of work if necessary. There had been switches made between part-time and full-time roles and even changes of field. Rose (1924) had started her career as a tutor in adult education, but after moving to London in

[271] MS 1215 28/1.
[272] MS 1215 28/1.
[273] MS 1215 28/1.
[274] MS 1215 28/1.
[275] MS 1215 28/1.

1945 had become a journalist.[276] In 1961 she took up an opportunity to return to full-time work as a lecturer and consultant in industrial psychology, and had been doing so since, apart from a break of three months in 1962, when her third child was born.[277] Mildred (1928) had worked as a physiologist, then lecturer and schoolteacher. She was about to move from her full-time teaching job to part-time research. [278]

Even those who had graduated in medicine did not necessarily remain in the same area of medicine throughout their careers. Norma (1915) was a full-time GP in 1963.[279] Her youngest child had been born in January 1962, when the youngest of her three older children was eleven years old, and the eldest fifteen, so there had been a large age gap between her third and fourth child.[280] Norma had managed to work continuously as a doctor throughout her career, working part-time as a registrar in a hospital between 1946 to 1949 and then moving into part-time general practice in 1950.[281] In 1953 she returned to full-time work as a GP, explaining that her small practice allowed 'plenty of time in the home'.[282] These moves between hospital and general practice work, and between part-time and full-time work suggest that Norma had moved to ensure she was working in a way that fitted in with her family life.

Overall, there was more mention of the employment of nannies by this group, and of the role of husbands in either supporting the employment of domestic help, helping with childcare themselves, or putting their foot down at the idea of live-in domestic help.

[276] MS 1215 27/1.
[277] MS 1215 27/1.
[278] MS 1215 28/1.
[279] MS 1215 28/1.
[280] MS 1215 28/1.
[281] MS 1215 28/1.
[282] MS 1215 28/1.

Full-time and part-time workers with children of school age

Good childcare and help with running the home facilitated both full-time and part-time work for mothers with older children too. This might be employed help, help from a mother or aunt or a combination of childcare options. Annette (1926), a full-time teacher, had her mother living with the family and felt that 'her presence at home is invaluable'.[283] Annette employed daily domestic help, whilst she ran the house and cooked for the family herself.[284] Her husband was 'most sympathetic and encouraging on my attempts to return to professional life'.[285]

Those who could not or did not want to rely on their mother's help found that the benefits of a good nanny in facilitating work, and in particular full-time work, were great. Finding a good nanny could be viewed as a stroke of luck. Evelyn (1921) had worked full-time in industry as a research chemist in the late 1940s until the birth of her son in 1951.[286] After a ten month break she was asked to return by her employer and she was able to do this because she employed a live-out nanny, a 'young married woman' who came in 'daily' and 'who proved to be 100% efficient, reliable and kind'.[287] When the nanny left Evelyn's employment, Evelyn decided to resign from her full-time job, but was asked by her employer to consider part-time work.[288] She worked from 9am to 1pm five days a week, doing administrative and personnel work for the research department where she had worked as a scientific researcher, writing up technical reports at home in the afternoons and evenings.[289] She emphasised that if she had 'not had the good fortune' in finding a nanny, she would have been unable to continue working after the birth of her child, even part-time.[290] She had clearly known at the point that she became a mother that to stop work altogether for about five years, until her child went to school,

[283] MS 1215 29/1.
[284] MS 1215 29/1.
[285] MS 1215 29/1.
[286] MS 1215 13/3.
[287] MS 1215 13/3.
[288] MS 1215 13/3.
[289] MS 1215 13/3.
[290] MS 1215 13/3.

would make it impossible to return to industry. Whilst employing a nanny, she had been able to continue in her research role after a short maternity leave. Now with her child at school and without a nanny, she had left her scientific research behind and was doing less skilled part-time administrative work, but she did not reference this as a disappointment. Freda (1918) also stressed the important role her nanny, then housekeeper had played in her household, and put her success down to this domestic help, and supportive husband and parents-in-law.[291] Freda praised her 'very good domestic help who has been with me first as Nannie, then as housekeeper since 1951. She does not live in and works only mornings – except Sundays. She is most reliable and loyal'.[292]

Full-time workers with older children relied heavily on other domestic help as well. Carol (1925), who was recently divorced and working full-time as a lecturer, said that she was 'assisted by 'au pair' girls at home' which allowed her to work.[293] Dorothea (1924), a part-time worker with four children, was employing a 'char-woman' for twelve hours per week, and an 'au pair girl'.[294] The au pair did 'quite a bit of work' but to Dorothea was 'even more valuable as a deputy "Mum"', which meant that the au pair listened to the children, sympathised and acted as referee in Dorothea's absence.[295]

This group also acknowledged how a husband's support could make a big difference to how they felt about their work. June (1917), a full-time maths teacher, said that she thought 'the whole success of a married woman going out to work depends on the husband's attitude and the availability of good reliable domestic help. So far, I have been fortunate in both respects'.[296] Cathy (1920) regarded her husband's role as 'absolutely essential'.[297] Cathy

[291] MS 1215 13/3.
[292] MS 1215 13/3.
[293] MS 1215 27/1.
[294] MS 1215 28/1.
[295] MS 1215 28/1.
[296] MS 1215 28/1.
[297] MS 1215 26/1.

worked full-time as a maths teacher in a grammar school. Her husband's work as a self-employed businessman meant that he could be at home when their children left for and returned from school.[298] He had given his wife 'every help and assistance and sympathetic understanding' in support of Cathy's wish to carry on teaching.[299] Nelly (1915), a full-time teacher in a girls' grammar school, described how her husband's encouragement had helped her overcome her anxiety surrounding returning to work.[300] She explained that she had 'a sympathetic and educated husband', without whom 'it would have been harder to return'. [301] He had encouraged her to go on a week-long residential course before returning to teaching.[302]

Support from the wider family or an employer was also appreciated, although infrequently mentioned. Freda (1918) had benefitted from the support of her mother-in-law, also a graduate who 'worked most of her life', and who lived with their family.[303] Freda, a full-time teacher of deaf children and head of the nursery department at the school where she taught, felt that this had also had an impact on her husband's perception of working mothers: 'my husband grew up used to having a working mother in the house'.[304] Whereas for Hilda (1914), it had been her employer's actions that had assisted her; a lecturer in chemistry at a university, she described her employer as giving her 'excellent treatment'.[305] Her employer had allowed her to 'do as much work as I could fit in, gradually regaining a full time status' over about eight years.[306]

As discussed above, a willingness to adapt according to the family's needs was seen as essential. Ruth (1924) summed up the pragmatism that was required when she stated that she

[298] MS 1215 26/1.
[299] MS 1215 26/1.
[300] MS 1215 26/1.
[301] MS 1215 13/3.
[302] MS 1215 13/3.
[303] MS 1215 13/3.
[304] MS 1215 13/3.
[305] MS 1215 27/1.
[306] MS 1215 27/1.

felt 'very much I do not want to bury my one talent (i.e. ability in French) yet would not wish to sacrifice my family in order to do so'.[307] Good organisational skills were also identified as necessary to combine motherhood and work. Evelyn (1919) felt that 'the double role involves much planning, and it is necessary to have a system of priorities'.[308] Fiona (1916) saw these skills as more important than intellect: 'Not brains but organizing ability is what enables women to run a household of children and a full time job'.[309] Constance (1923) too saw their importance: 'As much mental activity as is involved in a part time job, is used up devising domestic help, baby sitters etc. Organising ability is a must if one is to get away from the "bog down" effect of full time domesticity'.[310]

Overall, the experiences of this group confirmed the need for a willingness to adapt to the needs of the family, the importance of good domestic help and the role of a husband's support. This group also stressed the importance of good organisational skills when trying to combine paid work with family life.

Conclusion

University education shaped middle-class women's lives and their desire to have intellectual fulfilment alongside family life. Where financial reward from employment was not a pressing concern, the motivation to work was intellectual fulfilment and a sense of self beyond that of wife and mother. Married women saw domestic responsibilities as their concern, and if they took a job, they had to feel confident that they had effectively delegated their domestic work. They often delayed a return to work after having children until their youngest was at school and continued to evaluate and respond to the changing needs of their family. After paying for

[307] MS 1215 26/1.
[308] MS 1215 27/1.
[309] MS 1215 27/1.
[310] MS 1215 28/1.

domestic help, the net financial gain of work could be small, but the benefits meant that many continued to work. Disposable income was being spent on private education and holidays.

Middle-class mothers believed they were the best judge of what was right for their family, had thought very hard about how to reconcile their intellectual self with their caring self and took pride in their ability to combine paid work with family life. They also tended to accept that they needed to review and potentially reduce their hours if their job was having a negative impact on the family, and that their career progression would be affected by their family responsibilities. Part-time jobs and flexible hours were not always available and frequent family moves disrupted networks that helped women hear about opportunities. Mothers could gain a sense of agency in negotiating what they felt to be appropriate ways of combining professional work and family.

The main obstacles to taking on paid work were the difficulties finding domestic help, the way domestic help costs were treated by the tax system, and husbands being negative about their wives working. Those who had ruled out taking a job tended to cite their concerns about how their caring responsibilities could be managed, whilst some questioned whether they had the energy to be a working mother. A woman was much more likely to take a job if she had been able to find good domestic help and felt supported and encouraged by her husband to work.

CHAPTER THREE:
Middle-class marriage and caring for the family

'I find my time completely occupied making most of my daughter's and my own clothes, decorating the house and gardening - so I have no wish to take a job' (Felicity b.1927)[1]

This chapter focuses on experiences of marriage and caring work for children and elderly relatives. A graduate education shaped marriage because wives sought intellectual fulfilment through either paid or unpaid work. Motherhood was also integral to these graduates' sense of self. This chapter examines how women felt about caring work. A picture of loyalty and obligation to husband, children, home and wider family emerges. Domestic work and caring labour being done in the home was regarded as important work, mothers were heavily invested in the success of their children and unpaid caring work could be very fulfilling. Housewives' contentment in domesticity and family life appeared to be genuinely felt.[2] This chapter identifies the positive experiences women had of unpaid work and the emotions associated with it, as well as the frustrations. Some housewives expressed concerns about their working future, once children were grown up. Their experiences and concerns confirm the complexities of fulfilling the ideal of companionate marriage, but also the consequences for women of removing themselves from paid work in order to perform unpaid caring work.

[1] MS 1215 27/1.

[2] For an alternative take on the experience detailed some of Klein's respondents, see H. McCarthy, *Double Lives: A History of Working Motherhood* (London, 2020), pp. 285-6: 'Some of the non-working respondents of Klein's 1963 survey were deeply invested in this alternative 'career' as the wives of parsons, diplomats, senior managers and university dons, although it was possible to detect a hint of defensiveness in their replies. One maths graduate wrote rather acidly that she had never been 'gainfully employed' but at was present 'fully employed as mother, housewife, doctor's receptionist, telephonist, gardener, seamstress, tailoress & specialist in house decoration. All done for the love of a wonderful husband and children.''; for an oral history study which has also found evidence of contentment with domesticity, see A. Haggett, 'Desperate Housewives and the Domestic Environment in Post-War Britain: Individual Perspectives', *Oral History*, 37/1 (2009), pp. 53-60.

Middle-class marriage in the long 1950s

There has been much debate amongst historians over whether the post-war era was, in fact, the zenith of companionate marriage. Indeed, some have questioned whether it even existed at all. Finch and Summerfield argue that the phrase 'companionate marriage' had been used from the 1920s but became more prominent after the war.[3] Summerfield states that the cooperative element of marriage became important in this era, such that the Royal Commission on Population in 1949 referred to the 'wife's role as companion',[4] but acknowledged that this was an ideal, not necessarily reflective of lived experience.[5] Sociologists in the 1950s and 1960s claimed to see a different type of marriage in this era; marriage was less an institution defined by societal norms, and more a relationship defined by the parties themselves.[6] Roberts found companionate marriage most likely to be evident amongst childless couples, but even some of these marriages were not filled with joy.[7] Whereas Fisher and Szreter conclude that middle-class as well as working-class oral history interviewees found it difficult to achieve their aspiration for a loving marriage whilst also doing all that was required by the very gendered roles characteristic of this period.[8] King's research on fatherhood in the post-war era highlights a shift towards the small 'nuclear family as self-sufficient in terms of its emotional and recreational needs'.[9] That said, 1950s family life should not be viewed as solely inward looking, as evidenced by Ramsden's oral history research into working-class communities in

[3] J. Finch and P. Summerfield, 'Social reconstruction and the emergence of companionate marriage, 1945-59' in David Clark (ed.), *Marriage, domestic life and social change. Writings for Jacqueline Burgoyne (1944-88)* (London, 1991), p.7.
[4] P. Summerfield, 'Women in Britain Since 1945: companionate marriage and the double burden' in James Obelkevich and Peter Catterall (eds.), *Understanding Post-War British Society* (London, 1994), p. 59; see also *Parliamentary Papers* (1948/9), Cm 7695, Royal Commission on Population 1949 (paragraph 103), p. 41.
[5] Summerfield, 'Women in Britain Since 1945', p. 67.
[6] Summerfield, 'Women in Britain Since 1945', p. 58.
[7] E. Roberts, *Women and Families: An Oral History, 1940-1975* (Oxford, 1995), p. 105.
[8] K. Fisher and S. Szreter, *Sex Before the Sexual Revolution: Intimate Life in England 1918-1963* (Cambridge 2010), p. 225.
[9] L. King, 'Hidden Fathers? The Significance of Fatherhood in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain', *Contemporary British History,* 26/1 (2012), p. 38.

Beverley, which argues that even those who had not had much contact with neighbours in the post-war decades had not simply focused on home and family and avoided socialising with neighbours.[10]

The post-war period saw increases in openness regarding the complexities of relationships, with the National Marriage Guidance Council being state funded by 1949.[11] However, the ideal of companionate marriage drove the marriage guidance movement and was apparent in government reports and women's magazines.[12] Langhamer argues that in the twentieth century couples generally desired to create a home together,[13] and the 'importance of sexual compatibility grew alongside the increasing importance of romantic love'.[14] Men and women were less likely to tolerate 'loveless' marriages.[15] These increased expectations of the role of romantic love in sustaining commitment were identified as a threat to the stability of marriage by the Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce of the early 1950s.[16] The media characterised the ideal wife and mother as one who cared for her children, maintained a presentable home and attractive personal appearance, whilst ensuring her husband remained top priority and certainly did not feel neglected.[17]

The average age of marriage across the whole of Klein's sample was twenty-seven years old. This compares with a national average age in England and Wales at first marriage of between a low of 23.1 years (1961) and 25.5 years (1921) during the period 1921 to 1961.[18] So, this

[10] S. Ramsden, 'Remaking Working-Class Community: Sociability, Belonging and 'Affluence' in a Small Town, 1930-80', *Contemporary British History,* 29/1 (2015), p. 15.
[11] C. Langhamer, *The English In Love: The Intimate Story of an Emotional Revolution* (Oxford, 2013), p. 14.
[12] C. Langhamer, 'Adultery in Post-War England', *History Workshop Journal*, 62 (2006), p. 90.
[13] Langhamer, *The English in Love*, p.179.
[14] Langhamer, *The English in Love*, p. 184.
[15] Langhamer, *The English In Love*, p. 208; for further discussion of romantic love see M. Collins, *Modern Love: an intimate history of men and women in twentieth-century Britain* (London, 2003).
[16] Langhamer, *The English in Love*, p. 188.
[17] L. Golding, 'Having it all in the 1950s: Expectations and experiences of motherhood in women's magazines' (Unpublished MA Thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2012).
[18] J. Lewis, 'Marriage', in Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.), *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2001), p. 71, Table 5.1 which shows mean age at first marriage of women in England and Wales as 25.5 in 1921, 25.4 years in 1931, 24.6 years in 1941, 24.4 years in 1951, 23.1 years in 1961, using sources OPCS,

educated sample seems to have married slightly later than average. When graduate women married, they often continued their careers, but usually stopped work once they had children, even if they were to return later. A graduate education shaped marriage because wives sought intellectual fulfilment through either paid or unpaid work.

The experiences of Klein's sample of graduate women demonstrate that a companionate marriage was possible in a range of different situations. This confirms Langhamer's conclusion that we need to consider the complex renegotiations of roles and definitions of partnership that occurred within marital relationships.[19] Chapter 2 demonstrated that there was a common assumption amongst these graduate wives that caring for the home and children was a wife's responsibility. The unpaid work required to either do this work, or in delegating it, was taken for granted, but it was substantial and contributed to the success of marriages. Marriages were also shaped by the unpaid work wives did supporting their husbands' careers and their children's academic and emotional development, and by the paid and voluntary work in which they channelled their intellectual energy.

A large proportion of Klein's graduate women were housewives, a term used by some when stating their employment status.[20] Housewives spent time on domestic tasks such as cleaning, laundry, cooking, sewing and gardening, cared for babies and children, husbands (particularly when ill), nursed sick children and looked after elderly relatives. They did not necessarily see this as a form of work, nor did they categorise it in this way. However, the way some respondents detailed their employment status as housewife, confirms the value they placed on the role, and the reality of its elements constituting a full-time occupation. 43% of the sample

Marriage and Divorce Statistics: Historical Series 1837-1983, Table 3.2a and b, 3.5a and b, 3.7a and 3.7b, FM2 No. 16 (London, 1995), and ONS, *Population Trends* 88 (Summer 1997).

[19] C. Langhamer, 'The Meanings of Home in Postwar Britain', *Journal of Contemporary History,* 40/2 (2005), p. 356.

[20] Examples can be found in MS 1215 26/1, 27/1, 29/1, 31.

were not in paid employment at the time of completing their questionnaire. A few of these women were married with no children. The majority had children, but the children ranged in ages from babies to teenagers and adults. 23% of these women had some caring role for elderly parents or other relatives at the time of the study or had done in the past.

Wives expected to live with their husbands on marriage, and there were examples of extensive moves across the UK and the world to countries such as Malaya, Australia and Nigeria to join husbands.[21] Those women who married prior to the war were often subject to marriage bars, which forced them to resign from their employment on marriage. Although many did return to some form of work, perhaps part-time, but also full-time, particularly throughout the wartime period 1939 to 1945.[22] Those who had endured separation from their spouse during the 1939 to 1945 war years were keen to take advantage of the opportunity to be together in the post-war years, and some had chosen to give up paid work and concentrate on setting up home together.

There were many references to the work that was involved in setting up and running a marital home, and for some this had led to a decision to stop their own paid work on marriage. This confirms Spencer's conclusion that housewifery could be constructed as an unpaid job that was part of a woman's 'career'.[23] Esther (1914), married in 1939 and left her job of three years as a secretary.[24] She explained that her marriage 'had entailed removal 240 miles' and added that 'domestic duties' were 'deemed at that time' to be a 'full-time occupation'.[25] Similarly, Irene (1918) left her full-time job as a grammar school maths teacher when she married in 1941, explaining that she had 'no desire to do two jobs, coupled with husband's disapproval of

[21] MS 1215 26/1, 29/1.
[22] See Chapters 5 and 6 for a detailed discussion of experiences of paid work in teaching, medicine, dentistry and science.
[23] Stephanie Spencer, *Gender, Work and Education in Britain in the 1950s* (Basingstoke, 2005), p. 187.
[24] MS 1215 29/1.
[25] MS 1215 29/1.

"housework in the evenings"'.[26] Edna (1923) left her grammar school teaching job upon marriage in 1947 as she had 'no desire to continue work'.[27]

For those women who married during the war, this could involve a sudden move to a new area when their husband was posted by the military if they wanted to stay together. Christine (1919) married in December 1941. Her husband was in the RAF, and there was an opportunity to live together, but it was in a very remote area of Scotland, where there would be no teaching job available for her.[28] Other wives made various moves during the war, to be closer to the military bases where their husbands were stationed. Making such moves could be interpreted as an effect of the disruption of war, but there was a clear sense across the sample of women who had married before, during and after the war, that marriage involved making a home together, just as Langhamer has argued.[29]

Marriage was the point at which some women chose to stop work, or in the case of those who married when marriage bars were still in operation, were required to. Zweiniger-Bargielowska highlights the importance of housewifery in terms of identity of the individual but also of the whole family, and argues it had economic value too.[30] There are many references made by those who stopped work on marriage to a desire to 'devote' themselves to home and family. Alison married in 1952 and left her full-time job as a research chemist in 1951, explaining that she had 'devoted' herself to 'home-making'.[31] Eleanor married in 1952 and left her full-time teaching job in 1953, giving the reason that at the time she also wanted 'to devote myself entirely to home and family'.[32]

---

[26] MS 1215 29/1.
[27] MS 1215 28/1.
[28] MS 1215 26/1
[29] C. Langhamer, *The English in Love: The Intimate Story of an Emotional Revolution* (Oxford, 2013), p.179.
[30] I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'Housewifery', in I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.) *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2001), p. 153.
[31] MS 1215 29/1.
[32] MS 1215 29/1.

This use of language here is interesting. The women in Klein's sample had married in the period from 1925 to 1962, an era when many weddings were still held in church, and when enrolment of children in Sunday school was still popular.[33] This could possibly account for the high number of instances of the use of the word 'devote' in the study, 'devote' having some religious connotations.[34] It may also be helpful to consider the background to experience for many of these women. The First and Second World Wars had brought numerous references to duty into people's lives. Donald Winnicott's 1949 radio broadcast series was also entitled *'The Ordinary Devoted Mother and Her Baby'.*[35] Carolyn Steedman, reflecting on her mother's approach to parenting in the 1950s and Winnicott's radio series, concludes: 'My mother went on being good enough: a certain liberality directed her behaviour; perhaps she even listened to Donald Winnicott on the wireless'.[36]

The women in this study would also have been familiar with the then Princess Elizabeth's televised speech of 1947, on the occasion of her twenty-first birthday. In this she stressed her devotion to the country: 'I declare…that my whole life whether it be long or short shall be devoted to your service…'.[37] However, it is also important to consider that in her initial letter to respondents, Klein did include the phrase 'wanted to devote myself entirely to home and family' as a possible response to a prompt to give a reason for 'discontinuing' a career.[38] It is perhaps most likely that respondents recalled this language, and felt that this would give Klein sufficient detail to explain why they had decided to become a housewife.

---

[33] See C. G. Brown's discussion of the British fondness for church baptisms, marriages, funerals and Sunday school in *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding secularisation 1800-2000*, (London, 2009), p. 166.
[34] The Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford, 2018) defines 'devote' as 'To appropriate by, or as if by, a vow; to set apart or dedicate solemnly or formally; to consecrate *(to)*, and lists examples of its use in a religious context, see "devote, v.".
[35] The Collected Works of D. W. Winnicott, Audio Recordings, http://www.oxfordclinicalpsych.com/oxford/page/608/the-ordinary-devoted-mother-and-her-baby (27 September 2018).
[36] Carolyn Steedman, *Landscape For A Good Woman* (London, 2005), p. 92.
[37] Princess Elizabeth's 21st Birthday Speech (1947), https://www.royal.uk/21st-birthday-speech-21-april-1947 (7 October 2018).
[38] MS 1215 26/1.

The experiences of many housewives confirm Giles' view that homemaking was an acceptable activity for middle-class women in this period.[39] The creation of a home, looking after their husband and in time their children was seen by many as enough work to fill their time sufficiently. Annette (1910) left her teaching job in 1936 because she 'wished to concentrate on domestic life'.[40] Susan (1915) explained her decision and opinion on working wives: 'Twenty-two years ago I took on an entirely happy, satisfactory and full-time job – marriage. I feel very sorry for wives who go out to work whatever their reason'.[41]

The amount of labour required to run a home was viewed as extensive. How much domestic help housewives were employing is hard to assess from Klein's study, but many who had thought about taking on paid work had considered what help they would need to employ to undertake the domestic work they were doing. There were many concerns raised that to return to paid employment would require full-time domestic help, and this was perceived as unlikely to make economic sense. Hannah (1914) had considered the economics of paid employment and paying for domestic help: 'Unless my earning power was considerable it would not pay me to employ a whole-time domestic help to do my work'.[42] Other housewives who had thought about returning to paid work had considered the complexities of the tax system. Chapter 2 demonstrated that many workers voiced their wish that their earnings be treated separately to those of their husband. Some housewives also made the same point. Daphne (1911), who was married to a senior medical administrative officer, stated: 'Return to full or part time teaching would be more readily considered if married women's earnings were assessed separately'.[43]

[39] J. Giles, 'Help for housewives: domestic service and the reconstruction of domesticity in Britain, 1940-50', *Women's History Review*, 10/2 (2001), p 317.
[40] MS 1215 28/1.
[41] MS1215 26/1
[42] MS 1215 26/1.
[43] MS 1215 26/1.

The literature on domesticity has tended to focus on the absence of domestic servants.[44] Yet the joy housewives experienced through their unpaid work in the home deserves attention. Felicity (1927) was 'completely occupied making most of my daughter's and my own clothes, decorating the house and gardening', adding that she had 'no wish to take a job'.[45] Elizabeth (1911) enjoyed running her home (with help once a week) and explained that she would 'never return to my former work unless it is financially essential'.[46] Philippa (1909) had 'always found sufficient interest' in her husband, his work, her children and home, 'had plenty to do' and had 'never wished to have any other career'.[47] Briony (1916) liked being on good terms with her neighbours and being able to offer help when needed, having the flexibility to attend an exhibition with a friend on occasion, and found joy in knowing where everything was in the home, 'from the special, favourite shirt to the odd-shaped nut that fell off the record-player last week'.[48] All these middle-class women were clearly at ease with their decision to be housewives and enjoyed their lives. Their experiences demonstrate that housewifery could be sufficiently rewarding for graduates where they felt they were using their skills. These skills might involve creativity and find an outlet in dressmaking, interior design or gardening. Organisational and intellectual skills could be used in the overall management of the house and garden, and in supporting children's schoolwork (discussed below) and a husband's work. These activities also took up a lot of time, so that women felt that they were actively employed, albeit in an unpaid capacity.

Husbands' jobs could generate secretarial, proof-reading work and client entertaining for their wives. Taylor's research on the role of the corporate wife in the US identified the 1950s as the

[44] See for example Giles, 'Help for housewives', pp. 299-324; see also L. Delap, 'Housework, Housewives, and Domestic Workers', *Home Cultures*, 8:2, (2011), pp. 189-209; see also L. Delap, *Knowing their place: domestic service in twentieth-century Britain* (Oxford, 2011).
[45] MS 1215 27/1.
[46] MS 1215 27/1.
[47] MS 1215 27/1.
[48] MS 1215 31.

decade when US corporations realised the social capital of corporate wives, and discouraged them from paid employment but encouraged civic involvement.[49] McCarthy charts the role of the 'incorporated wife' in her research on the British diplomatic service, which only abolished its marriage bar in 1973.[50] McCarthy highlights how the way in which wives were incorporated by the diplomatic service had a detrimental effect on married women's own career opportunities within the diplomatic service, due to the logic that it was impossible or undesirable for husbands to be incorporated, and stresses the potential for further research to analyse whether this was the case in other employment sectors.[51] It is worth emphasising that Klein's respondents who elaborated on their unpaid work to support their husbands' careers did so in neutral or positive terms. Mary (1912) was married to an insurance broker, who had the role of development director within his firm; this required 'a considerable amount of home entertaining'.[52] Charlotte (1917), married to a mathematician, described how she gave 'a great deal of assistance, clerical and otherwise' to her husband with his 'books and papers'.[53]

Interestingly, this unpaid work in support of husbands' jobs was not confined to housewives; part-time workers were also involved in such work. Stella (1922), who did some part-time tutoring, said that she 'wouldn't really call it "employment"' but she did a lot 'to help with proofreading and similar "donkey work"' for her husband, a professor.[54] Carolyn (1920), a medic who worked part-time, described how she spent 'some time and energy "backing up" my husband's position – i.e. with phone messages, very irregular meals, some entertaining and anything which will save him time'.[55] Her husband was a medical consultant, and Carolyn saw

[49] C. D. Taylor, 'The Worth of Wives: 1950s Corporate America "Discovers" Spousal Social Capital, Essays in Economic and Business History, 26/1 (2008), p. 43.
[50] H. McCarthy, 'Women, Marriage and Work in the British Diplomatic Service', *Women's History Review,* 23/6 (2014), p. 855.
[51] McCarthy, 'Women, Marriage and Work in the British Diplomatic Service', p. 869.
[52] MS 1215 26/1.
[53] MS 1215 26/1.
[54] MS 1215 28/1.
[55] MS 1215 29/1.

it as her role to support her husband's career as well as doing her own paid work and look after the home, saying that she felt 'an active household needs someone constantly to keep everything running smoothly'.[56] Those women married to clergy were frequently involved in work connected to their husband's ministry.

Both unpaid and paid work were shaping marriage. Unpaid work helping husbands with their jobs and contributing to their careers was seen as integral to the role of wife. It was accepted, sometimes with resignation, but more generally with a sense of enjoyment. Being intellectually involved and invested in a husband's career could contribute to a sense of intellectual fulfilment. Wives seem to have felt intellectually closer to their husbands as a result of their high level of education and their involvement in their husbands' work. Chapter 2 demonstrated how working wives benefitted from the support and encouragement of husbands. Some of these women referred to the sense of working towards the same goal with their husband. This led to positive feelings of partnership and teamwork in a marriage, as described by Evelyn (1919) who explained that her husband was 'extremely helpful at home'.[57] She said that they shared 'the jobs and we are partners in a way we could never be if he alone was the breadwinner and I was the "little woman" at home'.[58] The shared academic interests of Doris (1929) and her husband had been an important factor in the way they shared childcare responsibilities.[59] However, their situation had not been easy; Doris described the 'pressure' that they had experienced as being 'very great' and concluded that it was their common 'professional goal' that had 'carried us through'.[60]

[56] MS 1215 29/1.
[57] MS 1215 27/1.
[58] MS 1215 27/1.
[59] MS 1215 28/1.
[60] MS 1215 28/1.

Findings from Mass Observation confirm the importance of common interests in middle-class marriage. The 1945 Mass Observation publication *Britain and Her Birthrate* included findings from a question asked to the National Panel, a 'predominantly middle class, thoughtful sample'.[61] The National Panel were asked which factors they thought essential to a successful marriage. 61% of replies mentioned 'like interests'.[62] Graduate women had been shaped by their education, but their desire for intellectual fulfilment also shaped their marriages too. A wife's involvement in her husband's job through unpaid work may have benefitted both husband and wife; a husband gained support for his career, a wife could employ her intellectual and organisational skills, and they had more in common as a result. Where a husband was supportive of his wife's professional work this could strengthen marriage.

Motherhood and the care of children

The testimony of those women who were married, but who had not had children, indicates the societal expectation in the long 1950s that a married woman would have a family. This confirms Webster's conclusion that '[m]otherhood was mandatory for most married women in constructions of white femininity and seen as a sign of psychological maturity'.[63] Zita (1915) had married in 1950 in her mid-thirties.[64] She had studied French at university but had worked as a finance clerk in an accounts department, before moving into the Youth Employment Service.[65] Now lecturing in book-keeping, she felt well qualified to do so given her practical experience in business.[66] However, she mentioned that having married late and had no children: 'I am therefore something of a 'spare part' as far as keeping an eye on the aged and

[61] Britain and Her Birthrate: A report prepared by Mass-Observation for the Advertising Service Guild The sixth of the 'Change' Wartime Surveys (London, 1945), p. 64.
[62] Britain and Her Birthrate, p. 64.
[63] Wendy Webster, *Imagining Home: Gender, 'Race' and National Identity 1945-64* (London, 1998), p.120.
[64] MS1215 27/1.
[65] MS1215 27/1.
[66] MS1215 27/1.

invalids in the family, scattered over the country'.[67] Her use of the phrase 'spare part' seems to imply that she both felt unusual through not having children, and also that there was an expectation from relations who were parents that she had the spare time to attend to elderly relatives, wherever they lived.

Some of those without children expressed disappointment that they had not been able to have them. When Alma (1920) married, she was keen to make a home for her husband, step-children and the children she hoped to have.[68] It did 'not even occur to me at the time that I might try to go ahead with my own career especially as the move to London on my marriage took me away from the Glasgow publishing firm where I was exceedingly happy'.[69] However, the children of her own she hoped for did not arrive and she admitted that a 'certain amount of discontent with' a 'suburban housewife's life' ensued.[70] Winifred (1921) was married to a doctor and found herself busy with work to support his career, as well as her own voluntary work interests.[71] She spoke of how she had 'failed to produce the family I would have liked', suggesting that as well as her own regret, she felt she had not lived up to other people's expectations.[72] A few of the other women who did not have children described their fulfilling careers. For example, Ivy (1927) described how she and her husband, when they realised they would not have a family, 'began to plan our careers as a more equal, or joint, project'.[73] This reference to equality is striking. It seems that where parenthood had not been possible, Ivy and her husband had re-evaluated their future, and saw both their careers as important.

Mothers felt that they were primarily responsible for childcare; engagement with children from babies to teenagers and beyond was seen as largely their concern. Many mothers chose not to

[67] MS1215 27/1.
[68] MS1215 28/1.
[69] MS1215 28/1.
[70] MS1215 28/1.
[71] MS 1215 27/1.
[72] MS 1215 27/1.
[73] MS 1215 26/1.

work when their children were pre-school age, but children could be demanding of caring labour at all times of their development, and this was discussed at length. There was no consensus as to which stage was more labour intensive. Some thought babies more easily left with a responsible relative or employee for part of the day, whereas others felt they should not be. Small children were particularly demanding of time and care, and this could be compounded by the multitude of infectious diseases that predominated in the early years that required intensive periods of attention. There might be a little more time available for other types of work once children were off to school, but the early afternoon finish and long holidays were not reflective of the demands of the standard paid working day. In any case, many mothers acknowledged how much even older children needed a parent around.

The literature on childrearing has tended to focus on the influence of the psychologist John Bowlby's work and attachment theory on mothers. Mothers of young children were subject to the evidence of psychologists that their efforts with young children were of great importance in guarding against 'social breakdown'.[74] There was a firm sense that parents were investing in children for future society to benefit.[75] Progressive ideas of parenting were demanding for mothers.[76] Thomson argues that the influence of Bowlbyism was complex, but concludes that 'the broad currency of Bowlbyism helped justify and support a role for mothers as unpaid carers which was important to the economic basis of the welfare state'.[77] Bowlby's theory, highlighting the stark dangers of maternal deprivation, had a strong influence on the

[74] P. Thane, 'Exploring Post War Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 9/2 (2012), p. 272.
[75] L. King, 'Future Citizens: Cultural and Political Conceptions of Children in Britain 1930s-1950s', *Twentieth Century British History*, 27/3 (2016), p. 390.
[76] L. Tisdall, 'Education, Parenting and Concepts of Childhood in England c. 1945-1979', *Contemporary British History*, 31/1 (2017), p. 36.
[77] M. Thomson, *Lost Freedom: The Landscape of the Child and the British Post-War Settlement* (Oxford, 2013), p. 103.

continuation of the prevailing view that it was best for pre-school children to be looked after by their mother.[78]

In the past, feminism has perceived complicity between government and psychologists to encourage married women of working age to embrace domesticity.[79] More recent analysis by Davis concludes that although there may not have been an organised campaign as such, Bowlby had a great influence.[80] Yet Thane and Evans argue that Bowlby was not the overwhelming influence on 'professionals dealing with families'.[81] Rather, 'many of them were sceptical about his work'.[82] Shapira notes that the English edition of *Child Care and the Growth of Love* sold in excess of four hundred thousand copies.[83] Bowlby was frequently quoted in the popular press.[84] Shapira cites the example of an advice column in the Glasgow *Bulletin* which noted that 'Dr Bowlby admits that mothers need a break sometimes but advises them never to leave the child too long and to leave him with someone he knows'.[85] Overall, it seems likely that Bowlby had an influence on middle-class women, but it is extremely difficult to calculate the exact extent to which his work influenced mothers. Some women, who had experienced miscarriages or still births were wary of continuing paid work throughout pregnancy. It is unlikely Bowlby had any influence on the decision to leave their job for these women. More likely, they were responding to a concern that their pregnancy proceeded without difficulty.

---

[78] For an analysis of the impact of Bowlby in Australia, see for example E. Martin, 'Social work, the family and women's equality in post-war Australia', *Women's History Review,* 12/3 (2003), pp. 445-468; see also J. Bell, 'Putting Dad in the Picture: fatherhood in the popular women's magazines of 1950s Australia' *Women's History,* 22/6 (2013), pp. 904-929; for an analysis of the influence of Bowlby in the US, along with the influence of 'momism', a term describing the destructive potential of overbearing mothering, see E. Singer More, 'The Necessary Factfinding Has Only Just Begun: Women, Social Science, And The Reinvention of the "Working Mother" in the 1950s', *Women's Studies: An inter-disciplinary journal,* 40/8 (2011), pp. 974-1005.
[79] D. Riley, *War In The Nursery: Theories of Child and Mother* (London, 1983), p. 11.
[80] A. Davis, *Modern Motherhood: Women and Family in England c. 1945-2000* (Manchester, 2012), p. 114.
[81] P. Thane and T. Evans, *Sinners? Scroungers? Saints? Unmarried Motherhood in Twentieth-Century England* (Oxford, 2012), p. 82.
[82] Thane and Evans, *Sinners? Scroungers? Saints?*, p. 82.
[83] M. Shapira, *The War Inside: psychoanalysis, total war, and the making of the democratic self in postwar Britain'*, (Cambridge, 2013), p. 211-2.
[84] Shapira, *The War Inside*, p. 229.
[85] Shapira, *The War Inside*, p. 231.

However, most mothers had not worked when their children were babies, confirming Davis' conclusion that there was a general presumption that very young children were best cared for by their mothers.[86]

Additionally, some comments made by mothers have echoes of Bowlby's work. Meredith (1929), who had left her full-time teaching job when pregnant with her eldest child, made reference to the need to be physically present in her children's lives, adding that '[o]ne hears all the time that young children need the security of their mother's continual presence, and that consideration has prevented me from working, even part-time, until now'.[87] She had married in the early 1950s and had three children, the youngest of whom was born in 1958 and attended a private nursery school, so she was only just about to reach the stage when all three children would be at school full-time.[88] Jacqueline (1927), living in Middlesex with her husband and four children, was working one and a half days a week as a biology teacher in a private girls' school in 1963.[89] Her youngest child had been born in 1959 and was attending infant school.[90] She wrote that she felt a mother should look after her own child until the child reached three years old, when the child 'should be able to cope with and to enjoy nursery school, even if it is a morning school'.[91] This suggests that she thought that at age three a child could safely be left at a nursery school.

What seems to have been just as important as Bowlby in the decision to remain at home with young children was the frequent occurrence of childhood illnesses, which were a real concern. Even though families could now rely on the NHS, mothers knew that someone would have to nurse a sick child, and they viewed this as their responsibility. Mothers felt their presence was

[86] A. Davis, *Pre-school childcare in England, 1939-2010: Theory, practice and experience* (Manchester, 2015), p. 221.
[87] MS 1215 26/1.
[88] MS 1215 26/1.
[89] MS 1215 27/1.
[90] MS 1215 27/1.
[91] MS 1215 27/1.

necessary when children were ill. Some questionnaires were accompanied with notes apologising for delays caused by illness in the household. Sophia (1911) summed up the situation explaining 'children v. frequently ill when young - throat infections etc. as well as infectious diseases!'.[92] For Daisy (1916), the demands of nursing sick children and the burden it put on her had been important in her decision not to look for part-time paid employment.[93] She wrote, 'I would now be reluctant to embark on a career again with a small child liable to develop childish ailments and no living-in domestic to cope if this arose'.[94] For Erica (1917), long-term health problems had influenced her career choices: 'One of my sons is asthmatic so I could do very little outside work until he grew stronger'.[95] Clearly, mothers felt a need to be physically near their children when they were ill and vulnerable.

These middle-class mothers felt a sense of duty to focus their skills gained from the university-level education on the upbringing of their children. They saw their education as useful preparation for parenting, believing they could play an important role in helping their children to achieve their potential; their input could enable academic success and emotional well-being. There was a sense that many felt they were using their skills to provide a supportive environment and help their children with schoolwork to secure their success. This is in line with the idea of investing in children, as identified by King, Todd and Young.[96]

What is distinctive of this graduate sample is that they often cited helping with schoolwork as something that they were involved with. Mathematics graduate Nancy (1923) anticipated 'spending several hours each week helping with reading, arithmetical tables, English coaching etc., until the youngest is 11' to compensate for what she saw as poor teaching at her children's

[92] MS 1215 26/1.
[93] MS 1215 26/1.
[94] MS 1215 26/1.
[95] MS 1215 31.
[96] See L. King, 'Future Citizens', pp. 389–411; see also S. Todd and H. Young, 'Baby Boomers to Beanstalkers', *Cultural and Social History*, 9/3 (2012), pp. 451-467.

school.[97] Just being present in the house could mean there were more opportunities to participate in conversations with children about their learning and therefore guiding their development. For example, Harriet (1911), concluded that her daughters' 'outstanding success' educationally 'might have been less had I not been available as required during their teens'.[98] In their study of education and the working-class published in 1962, Jackson and Marsden included a small study of middle-class parents and found that they were confident navigators of the state education system, supporting their children to succeed and also advocating on their behalf when things went 'wrong' at school.[99] Middle-class women were sitting down with their children to do homework and support their learning, and it is likely that their own extensive education contributed to a confident understanding of what was required by the education system and how they could give their children the best chance in it.

Some mothers mentioned the importance of being physically present in the house to provide reassurance and to attend to emotional needs. Margaret (1913), for example, explained that she did not like the thought of her 'small girl returning from school' to an 'empty and cold home'.[100] Kit (1922) felt that whilst her children needed her 'presence at home I feel it is my duty to be a full-time mother'.[101] Ethel (1929) also felt that she 'must be at home and not too tired when they arrive home from school'.[102]

Eleanor (1908) perceived that her presence was required at home to provide for her child's emotional needs. Eleanor referred to her daughter, born in 1943, who like other children in that age-cohort 'needed assurance that home was there, i.e. tea ready, fire lighted and a welcome'. [103] Eleanor had talked to friends about her daughters' peers, and found that they

[97] MS 1215 26/1.
[98] MS 1215 26/1.
[99] B. Jackson and D. Marsden, *Education and the Working Class* (London, 1986), p. 56.
[100] MS1215 26/1.
[101] MS 1215 31.
[102] MS 1215 26/1.
[103] MS 1215 26/1.

were 'having many difficulties'.[104] She described her now grown-up daughter as having suffered homesickness at her job at a boarding school, but had benefitted from 'enough reassurance to overcome it'.[105] It seems that Eleanor believed that being a housewife when her daughter was young had long-term positive consequences; she had supported her daughter emotionally as a child, which then allowed her daughter to cope with homesickness as an adult. Eleanor's reference to the birth year of her daughter is possibly significant; Eleanor would have been pregnant and given birth to her daughter during the war, and perhaps she had speculated that this time of turmoil could have had longer term effects. Having discussed her daughter's need for reassurance with friends of children of a similar age, she had found that they had experienced similar problems.

Eleanor's experience, although unique amongst the questionnaire responses, anecdotally appears not to have been. This is interesting when considered alongside the experiences of wives who had wanted to concentrate on making a home after being separated from husbands during the war. It is also suggestive of an understanding of developments in attachment theory. Such theories gained ground, according to Thomson, partly because of the 'perceived crisis of human nature' caused by the trauma of war and put emphasis on the role of mothers in raising future democratic citizens.[106] This intellectualised view of parenting should also be considered alongside the emotions graduate mothers experienced. Many articulated the joy of being with their children. Jessica (1925) was mindful of the opportunity to do certain things with her five-year-old and seven-year-old that having paid part-time work would not allow: 'I like to provide

[104] MS 1215 26/1.
[105] MS 1215 26/1.
[106] M. Thomson, *Psychological Subjects: Identity, Culture, and Health In Twentieth Century Britain* (Oxford, 2006), p. 222; see also J. C. Lerner and N. Newcombe, 'Britain between the Wars: The Historical Context of Bowlby's Theory of Attachment', *Psychiatry*, 45 (1982), 1-12.

the pleasures of early childhood - such as being read to at night'.[107] There was 'no financial necessity' to earn, and Jessica could see that this stage of childhood would not last forever.[108]

Mothers wanted to ensure they had enough time and energy to give to their children, regardless of their ages. The care and attention children required did sometimes necessitate compromise. The pragmatism evident amongst workers was also evident amongst housewives. Nancy (1923) admitted that she would like to do some paid teaching work but was pragmatic that economically it made little sense in terms of what she could expect to be paid on an hourly basis given the amount of preparation involved.[109] She had also had to balance her desires with the needs of her children. Their school was perceived by Nancy to be hampered by large class sizes and poor teaching.[110] So, in Nancy's case her comments suggest that ideally, she would have liked to work, but saw that her children would benefit more from her being around to help with schoolwork than they would from the small financial benefit of working.

Nancy was not alone in sacrificing what she would really like to do for the benefit of her children. Ethel's (1929) use of language is a good example of the obligation that mothers felt towards their children. Ethel, from Yorkshire, had three children and was not in paid employment at the time of the survey, and her hopes of working at that time were 'rather in the future'.[111] She hoped when she was ready to return to paid employment that a teaching job would fit in best with her children.[112] She also hoped to undertake training to allow herself to teach in a junior school.[113] She admitted she was more interested in social work but felt that this would be unlikely to fit with school holidays.[114] The immediate future would be focused

[107] MS 1215 31.
[108] MS 1215 31.
[109] MS 1215 26/1.
[110] MS 1215 26/1.
[111] MS1215 26/1.
[112] MS1215 26/1.
[113] MS1215 26/1.
[114] MS1215 26/1.

on her children: 'I've still got several years at home to get through first! I feel the children's needs must come first at the moment'.[115]

One particular response from a mother suggests that embracing domesticity and time with children might be influenced by childhood experiences. Anne's (1912) experience suggests that those who had been brought up in households with servants, and who had experienced a lack of interaction with their own mothers, might wish to be more involved with their own children. Anne had been 'brought up almost entirely in charge of a nurse' and had 'rarely seen' her parents, even though 'we were all in the same house'.[116] This had informed Anne's own approach to parenting, and as a 'deliberate policy' she had 'devoted' herself to her children when they were young.[117] Anne's own private income from property had also ensured that she had no need to work, and that she had her own financial independence.[118]

As Tisdall has noted, there has been little examination in the scholarship of parents' experiences of the societal shift towards more child-centred parenting.[119] There is clear evidence here of mothers being mindful of their children's needs, which developed as they grew and changed; babies needed regular feeds, small children needed to be engaged in conversation suitable for their age and read stories, older children required help to become more confident and independent, all children needed nursing when ill. Mothers were enjoying being involved in their children's lives. They appreciated the joys of time spent with their children, but also investing in their children's futures by spending this time with them. This correlates with the work of Todd and Young on working-class teenagers and their parents,

[115] MS1215 26/1.
[116] MS 1215 31.
[117] MS 1215 31.
[118] MS 1215 31.
[119] L. Tisdall, 'Education, Parenting and concepts of childhood in England c. 1945-1979', *Contemporary British History*, 31/1 (2017), p. 24.

which found relationships between parents and teenagers characterised by support and assistance.[120]

Many mothers talked about what they enjoyed about looking after children, but the picture painted of caring for children was not entirely positive, and there was evidence of the occasionally challenging nature of children's care. Kay acknowledged that very young children were particularly in need of maternal care, and that listening to their 'chatter' was important but hoped that this period could be seen as a sabbatical rather than a complete exit from intellectual stimulation.[121] She appealed to Klein to help other graduate mothers who were languishing at home without sufficient intellectual stimulation: 'It is not enough for the trained mind, any more than the trained athlete would be expected to content herself with the few paces of the newly walking child. These women need help'.[122] It is useful here to contrast Kay's words with those of Helen, a Royal Air Force wife born in 1921, detailed in James Hinton's biography of seven Mass Observation contributors.[123] Seven years after the birth of her second child and aged forty-two, she became pregnant with a third baby and 'felt 'a crushing sense of bewilderment…a rat in a trap'.[124] The birth of her daughter was a delight, but sleepless nights and the renewed demands of childcare left her deeply, if inarticulately, angry with her fate'.[125] Kay's and Helen's comments reflect the complex emotions surrounding childcare for mothers.

Whilst children required care and mothers felt it was their responsibility to provide this care, they could also feel exhausted and overwhelmed by this responsibility at times. Delegation of childcare was sometimes possible, and the full-time and many part-time workers had found

[120] Todd and Young, 'Baby Boomers to Beanstalkers', p. 452.
[121] MS 1215 28/1.
[122] MS 1215 28/1.
[123] J. Hinton, *Seven Lives from Mass Observation: Britain in the Late Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 2016), p. 84.
[124] Hinton, *Seven Lives from Mass Observation*, p. 84.
[125] Hinton, *Seven Lives from Mass Observation*, p. 84.

some childcare help. However, there were also many housewives who preferred to retain the responsibility for childcare, rather than delegate. It was also notable that delegation of childcare during the daytime, where it happened, was usually to nannies or mothers, rather than husbands.

Many housewives appeared to view the decision of other graduate mothers to take up paid work or not with equanimity. However, some housewives made it clear that they felt that it was much better not to take up paid work. Deirdre (1909), felt 'very strongly' about married women teachers trying to combine paid work with their domestic responsibilities.[126] Her experience of sending her two children to two separate schools, one where there were married women teachers, led her to bemoan the absence of 'the old fashioned "dedicated" – or at least "single path" teacher'.[127] By using the term 'single path', she seems to have meant an unmarried teacher, or a teacher without children of her own. She attributed the difference in the standard of teaching largely to 'married women having too much to do physically, mentally and emotionally'.[128] For Hattie (1914), looking after children was a full-time job: 'I am perfectly convinced that there is no kind of employment which ought to take precedence (for a woman) over the job of raising her children properly herself'.[129] She raised the vexed questions of how to cover the period of school holidays, and how to manage childhood illness.[130] Betty (1925) agreed, saying that she felt 'very strongly that a married woman cannot satisfactorily [her emphasis] hold down a responsible full-time post as well as looking after her family and home - something has to give!'.[131]

[126] MS 1215 26/1.
[127] MS 1215 26/1.
[128] MS 1215 26/1.
[129] MS 1215 26/1.
[130] MS 1215 26/1.
[131] MS 1215 31.

For one respondent there was a perception that the stakes were even higher and that mothers taking on paid work would have wider implications for society. Emma (1922) felt that even with part-time paid work there was '<u>a divided duty</u>' [her emphasis], which in time she felt would create tension.[132] She saw this as 'the thin end of a wedge which will in time undermine our social structure, the strength of which can only be in the stability of the home'.[133] Emma's views seem to have been shaped by what she saw around her. She reported that she knew graduates who worked full-time, whose children returned after school to an empty house and were supposedly becoming self-reliant.[134] But she could not reconcile this with her observation of the child of one such working woman who still sucked his thumb age nine, and his teenage sister who she termed 'difficult'.[135] For Emma, it was important to be at home when her three children were at home, and she perceived there could be grave repercussions for society if children were left to fend for themselves. These views are reminiscent of Mary Ward and Louise Creighton, both actively involved in Oxford women's education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, who believed that education would prepare women for their family life and social work at the local level, but not for paid professional work.[136] Emma's views give some insight into the opposition that feminism would encounter in the 1960s and 1970s. Emma felt that it was a fallacy that there would be more time for paid work once the children went to school: '[a]s they get older, one's energy goes out in different ways'.[137] She enjoyed having the time and energy to cope with whatever eventualities ensued after the children returned home from school at four o'clock in the afternoon, or if they were to pop home from school at lunchtime to eat, to collect sports kit or get changed for games.[138] But she also stated

[132] MS 1215 28/1.
[133] MS 1215 28/1.
[134] MS 1215 28/1.
[135] MS 1215 28/1.
[136] J. Bush, 'Special strengths for their own special duties': women, higher education and gender conservatism in late Victorian Britain, *History of Education*, 34/4 (2005), p. 397.
[137] MS 1215 28/1.
[138] MS 1215 28/1.

that it was not possible to 'do two jobs well'.[139] This concern that women working might undermine society in some way was unique amongst the sample. However, Emma's views confirm Thane's finding that concerns regarding societal breakdown were influential in this period.[140]

Tensions and concerns in the 'companionate marriage'

There are examples in literature written by women in the period immediately after the war that detail the idiosyncratic balance of power that could exist between husband and wife.[141] Contemporary social surveys also demonstrated the differences in perspectives between spouses.[142] Gavron concluded that amongst her sample of women interviewed in the 1960s, there was 'a fair degree of plain 'muddle' as to what marriage means and involves'.[143] But Gavron also concluded that middle-class mothers were less likely to feel isolated than working-class mothers.[144] Asked whether they felt their marriages 'to be more egalitarian than that of their parents', 65% answered yes.[145] Gavron quoted one middle-class wife's comment on her marriage: '"My husband doesn't help in the home as much as my father," said the wife of a copywriter, "but when it comes to sharing responsibilities – well then there's no comparison, we are much closer"'.[146] However, Gavron also concluded that 'it is children not marriage that present problems of role and expectation' to the women in her survey.[147] Gavron's findings on the clear sense of responsibility for children that wives felt confirms the comments of mothers in Klein's sample.

---

[139] MS 1215 28/1.
[140] Thane, 'Exploring Post War Britain', p. 272.
[141] See for example E. Jenkins, *The Tortoise and the Hare* (London, 1954).
[142] J. Hubback, *Wives Who Went to College* (London, 1957), p. 69; see also H. Gavron, *The Captive Wife: Conflicts of Housebound Mothers* (London, 1966); see also G. Gorer, *Exploring English Character* (London, 1955).
[143] Gavron, *The Captive Wife*, p. 134.
[144] Gavron, *The Captive Wife*, p. 70.
[145] Gavron, *The Captive Wife*, p. 57.
[146] Gavron, *The Captive Wife*, p. 57.
[147] Gavron, *The Captive Wife,* p. 58.

> Certainly the general impression gained from the interviews was that despite the presence or absence of help with children most mothers felt psychologically tied to their young children, and felt themselves compelled to stay at home whatever their own personal desires. 'Of course I must be with them all the time,' said a teacher's wife, 'though I must confess that sometimes I *long* to get away.'.[148]

Gavron described the 'impact' of the arrival of a first baby as being 'tremendous', and this was due to the change 'from being a new kind of woman to being the traditional woman' and led to a 'loss of independence'.[149] The tension between 'carrying out a highly complex task in being a mother' and the need for some form of independence was dependent 'on the attitudes of the husband and the availability of help with the children, either family, friends, domestic help, or nursery school'.[150]

Geoffrey Gorer's 1955 study *Exploring English Character* found that husbands rated good housekeeping highly in marriage.[151] Hubback's study highlighted the experiences of wives who saw their husbands believing that it was their job to look after the children and them.[152] Hubback detailed the experiences of wives who seemed content with their lot, but also those who seemed unhappy.[153] She wrote that '[m]any of the correspondents were obviously being very careful not to complain. The general tone of their letters, time after time, was: 'Of course I'm very lucky to be so happily married, but…'. They were trying to be reasonable'.[154] The tiredness accompanying life as a wife and mother was much discussed.[155] One of Hubback's respondents expressed her view that a wife needed firm boundaries if she was to remain in good health:

> …And I get annoyed with those who say *"You can't afford to be ill."* It seems to me that a woman needs (a) a strong constitution, (b) very firm views about looking after

[148] Gavron, *The Captive Wife*, p. 69.
[149] Gavron, *The Captive Wife*, p. 135.
[150] Gavron, *The Captive Wife*, p. 136.
[151] Langhamer, 'Adultery in Post-War England', p. 92.
[152] Hubback, *Wives Who Went to College*, p. 69.
[153] Hubback, *Wives Who Went to College*, p. 54.
[154] Hubback, *Wives Who Went to College*, p. 54.
[155] Hubback, *Wives Who Went to College*, p. 60.

> herself and (c) not to be too sympathetic to the rest of her family if she is to be healthy and happy under the present régime.[156]

The effort in maintaining well-being was not the only form of affective labour undertaken within marriage. According to this respondent a mother had to be good at caring for herself and not too sympathetic to other members of the family, whereas amongst Klein's respondents there seems to have been much work being done managing the emotions of other members of the family.

Perhaps due to reluctance to criticise their husbands in a questionnaire that was not anonymous, most women did not give much if any detail on the challenges of an unsupportive or chauvinistic husband. Kay's frank discussion of her experiences (described above) was unusual. This lack of detail about husbands' involvement in domesticity and childcare, or lack of involvement, should be borne in mind when examining the experiences of housewives. However, it is also important to consider the number of comments relating to the enjoyment mothers felt from being at home with their children. The responses from Klein's respondents do not lead to the conclusion that all those who were housewives were unhappy with their lot.

Despite the paucity of detail given about marriage by Klein's sample, there was some evidence of tensions that reflect those documented by historians, which highlight the difficulties of sustaining marriages where romantic love is the basis.[157] Some mothers voiced their feelings on the tensions they felt between the desire to use their education and skills, and the needs of their family. For example, Ruth (1924) wrote of not wanting to 'bury' her talents, whilst also recognising the needs of her family.[158] This reflects the findings of Judith Hubback, who found that some of her sample were 'fatalistic; others, rueful; some, even, bitter'.[159]

---

[156] Hubback, *Wives Who Went to College*, p. 69.
[157] See for example Langhamer's discussion of Collins and Roberts in C. Langhamer, 'Adultery in Post-War England', *History Workshop Journal*, 62 (2006), pp. 86-115.
[158] MS 1215 26/1.
[159] Hubback, *Wives Who Went to College*, p. 54.

Some housewives also expressed concern, even anxiety, about what the future would hold for them. These generally related to fears about being seen as too old once in a position to take up paid work, or being out of touch with their field, due to the time they had been away. Louise (1918), a widow, expressed a wish to make more of her skills in a paid role but saw 'no prospect of doing so until my children are both independent – by which time I shall undoubtedly be considered too old for breaking into any other field!'.[160] Rachel (1910), who had worked as a biology teacher in the past, felt that she was now unfamiliar with some aspects of her subject.[161] Dora (1929) hoped to return to part-time work when her youngest child started school.[162] She did not think it would be easy to find work in her subject and anticipated difficulties finding help to assist if the children became ill, but she thought that it would be preferable not to leave her return until the children were older, when she would be 'still more "out-of-touch"'.[163] The consequences of removing oneself from employment to care for a family, in terms of limited opportunities for employment in later life, could be clearly seen by some housewives.

Alongside worries about being too old or out of touch, there was concern that it would be too challenging dealing with the demands of professional and family life. Meredith (1929) was an English graduate and had worked as a teacher.[164] Her children were born in 1955, 1957 and 1958, and she felt that 'from my own experience I have found teaching such a very demanding profession, if it is to be carried out as it should, that I have doubted as to whether I could cope with it, while part of my mind would undoubtedly be concerned with my husband, home and three children'.[165] But despite these concerns, she thought she would most likely try to return to teaching within the next five years.[166] Meryl (1913) also felt that she lacked the 'physical

[160] MS 1215 26/1.
[161] MS 1215 31.
[162] MS 1215 31.
[163] MS 1215 31.
[164] MS 1215 26/1.
[165] MS 1215 26/1.
[166] MS 1215 26/1.

energy' to run her home, keep up her hobbies and teach as well.[167] Some housewives had investigated, or already tried part-time paid employment, and were pessimistic about future part-time opportunities.

Other housewives were more optimistic about the future. Even those who had very young children with extensive care needs were able to anticipate a time in the future when their situation would be different. Brenda (1926), for example, was working part-time as an A-level examiner in 1963 but she anticipated returning to full-time teaching at a specific point: 'when my child is five-years-old (1965).[168] There was also acknowledgement that with a good education already behind them, training for certain jobs could potentially be shorter. Greta (1912) had been in discussions with other women in her area on 'the subject of women like me working again'.[169] She reported that a lot of her contemporaries, although 'prepared to give up our lives to our children', felt that there 'should be some machinery to help us return to our old jobs or more important take to new ones as soon as we can'.[170] She highlighted the need for teachers, almoners and probation officers and concluded that graduates would only need 'shortened courses' to train to fill these positions.[171]

Amongst housewives there were seemingly successful companionate marriages, where husbands were busy with their paid work and developing their careers, whilst wives were using their skills to support their husbands, manage their homes, and care for their children in a way that they were confident would propel them towards successful lives of their own. There were also examples of successful companionate marriages where wives were working but managing to delegate domestic responsibilities. However, there were also concerns expressed by

[167] MS 1215 26/1.
[168] MS 1215 13/3.
[169] MS 1215 31.
[170] MS 1215 31.
[171] MS 1215 31.

housewives about the future when children were grown up. These concerns confirm the complexities of fulfilling the ideal of companionate marriage, but also the consequences for women of removing themselves from paid work in order to care for children.

Caring for elderly relatives

Whilst caring for children was universally accepted as a mother's responsibility, opinions on caring for elderly relatives appear to have been more complex. Older relatives could certainly be seen as vulnerable and in need of care, but whether wives saw this as their moral duty alone to provide this care is questionable; it appears that there was a more fluid consideration of who was responsible for that care. Caring for elderly relatives was going on across the sample. Respondents in full-time jobs were fitting in visits to elderly relatives – usually parents, but sometimes elderly aunts and uncles – around their paid work responsibilities, as well as housewives and part-time workers.

Thane argues that historians should not regard older people as necessarily dependent on benefits or the community around them.[172] But recently there has been greater consideration of the inevitability of needing care in later years, and this has perhaps focused historians' interest on the way the elderly were cared for in the past. Light had cause to reflect on this in the preface to her analysis of Virginia Woolf's relationship with her servants, describing how she returned to the book after her husband Raph Samuel's death:

> It also made the question of our dependence on others look and feel different: this suddenly had an inevitability about it, which I had seen face to face. Dependence was no longer a question of whether so much as when. And I also came to think that the capacity to entrust one's life to the care of others, including strangers, and for this to happen safely and in comfort, without abuse, is crucial to any decent community and to society worth the name.[173]

[172] P. Thane, 'Ageing – Older Women', in I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.) *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2001), p. 115.
[173] A. Light, *Mrs Woolf and the Servants* (London, 2008), p. xxii.

Amongst the experiences of these graduate women, interactions with their elderly mothers, fathers, aunts and uncles were diverse. There was evidence of older family members being actively involved in the workings of the family, for example where resident in the family home and providing practical and emotional support. In these situations, older relatives were valued for their contribution to the family unit. Chapter 2 highlighted the experience of Jacqueline (1927), a teacher, who relied on her mother for childcare.[174] Jacqueline's mother's help had been invaluable when one of the children had contracted first the mumps and then measles.[175] In this family there appeared to be a reciprocal arrangement for care-giving. Jacqueline's mother required nursing care each winter as she suffered from recurrent bronchitis, but when well she was able to look after her grandchild whilst her daughter taught.

There were many other examples of older relatives who needed care. In many cases this need appeared to be accepted without any resentment. For example, Jean (1924) who cared for 'my own and my husband's mothers, and three or four elderly aunts'.[176] Also, Deirdre (1913) who '[d]uring the first 10 years of my married life my mother - the victim of a very prolonged illness lived near and later with me'.[177] However, there were also comments that demonstrated the sacrifices elder care could entail. There were details given in the questionnaires of situations where caring for parents had impacted either on education or choices immediately after graduation, such as Nelly (1926) who left university in 1948. In the August of that year her mother died, and she explained that the reason she had not been in paid employment was that she had 'kept home' for her father for two years until she married in 1950.[178]

[174] MS 1215 27/1.
[175] MS 1215 27/1.
[176] MS 1215 13/3.
[177] MS 1215 27/1.
[178] MS 1215 27/1.

Other comments demonstrated the resentment or strain women could feel. At the time of the study in 1963 many older women had found themselves with a burden of elder care to contend with as well as the demands of their own home and immediate family. This elder care could take a variety of forms, from visiting relatives nearby, having them to stay for periods of time, or caring for them in the family home. The emotions associated with this type of care were sometimes complex. Guilt and resentment were occasionally evident. There were examples of parents who were living with the women who responded to Klein's questionnaire, or coming to stay for long periods. There was evidence of the demands and expectations of these elderly relatives, which could be like those of small children. For a woman who had a parent or parent-in-law living with the family, it could mean being tied to the home in a similar way to how they had been as a mother of small children.

Those women who had been at home when their children were small and were at a point in their lives when they had the opportunity to seek some paid employment, could find themselves tied to the home once again by the needs of elderly relatives, and feel particularly frustrated as a result. There could be a relatively short window of opportunity for a mother to find a chance to get back into paid employment before the demands of elderly relatives had an impact. If they missed that opportunity, they could find themselves sucked back into family responsibilities; their commitments at home, or around home were so great that they could not get back to paid work.

Some women were very honest about their feelings about caring for elderly relatives, such as Eleanor (1908) who admitted that she did 'rather resent this problem of the old people', which friends were experiencing too.[179] Her mother was sufficiently financially secure to have the possibility of going into a home open to her, but she had refused and was about to move in with

[179] MS 1215 26/1.

Eleanor. Eleanor had already had to deal with her father-in-law living with them, when she 'was really needed to keep the peace and balance of home!', indicating that this had not been a harmonious situation.[180] She elaborated further, saying '[t]hese old people make terrific physical, mental and emotional demands'.[181] She concluded that she did not have the capacity to 'cope with a job outside' and then come home to 'Grandma's chatter and inquiries and gossip', whilst also having 'enough energy to give attention to my husband and family when home as well'.[182] However, she said she would not change her situation, even if she could, and seemed reconciled to enjoy the escape afforded by a study she shared with her husband, where she could do some translation work.[183]

So, although there were instances of older family members playing an important and valued role in the workings of the family, and routine visits to elderly parents, aunts and uncles, there was also evidence of resentment at the expectation to take responsibility for those older relatives who needed assistance and care. This could be most obvious where children were more independent or had left home and women were considering a return to paid employment themselves, but felt their options were being limited by the expectations they faced regarding elder care. What can be inferred from this resentment is that women felt this burden was more heavily laid on them than their husbands, and that elder care was more generally a personal and family issue than a state responsibility. Where elder care was outside the state's involvement, women were required to take up the burden.

In considering these experiences and feelings of duty, it is pertinent to consider some of the literature relating to the ethics of care. Carol Gilligan's work argues for an appreciation of women's perspective of responsibility and duty within morality. In 1977 she wrote:

[180] MS 1215 26/1.
[181] MS 1215 26/1.
[182] MS 1215 26/1.
[183] MS 1215 26/1.

> For the present, my aim has been to demonstrate the centrality of the concepts of responsibility and care in women's constructions of the moral domain, to indicate the close tie in women's thinking between conceptions of morality, and, finally, to argue the need for an expanded developmental theory that would include, rather than rule out from developmental consideration, the difference in the feminine voice.[184]

Writing more recently and in the context of a much more developed field of study, Virginia Held argues for ethics of care providing 'a way of thinking about and evaluating both the more immediate and the more distant human relations with which to develop morally acceptable societies'.[185] Held's explanation is worth quoting in full:

> The ethics of care builds relations of care and concern and mutual responsiveness to need on both the personal and wider social levels. Within social relations in which we care enough about one another to form a social entity, we may agree on various ways to deal with one another. For instance, for limited purposes we may imagine each other as liberal individuals in the marketplace, independent, autonomous and rational, and we may adopt liberal schemes of law and governance, and policies to maximize individual benefits. But we should not lose sight of the deeper reality of human interdependency and the need for caring relations to undergird or surround such constructions. The artificial abstraction of the model of the liberal individual is at best suitable for a restricted and limited part of human life, rather than for the whole of it.[186]

It is suggested that the resentment felt by graduate respondents towards elder care stemmed from a reaction to the dissonance between what they saw as a moral duty relevant to all and their lived experience of elder care being presumed to be the province of women. Sometimes caring for elderly relatives was hard, and this perhaps raised more questions about who should be doing such caring work and why. That performing this moral duty to care might also prevent a woman's participation in the workplace and thereby gaining intellectual fulfilment and financial independence was seen as unjust, particularly by those who had been hoping to return to paid work. It is important to compare the moral duty to care for elderly relatives with that of children. As described in Chapter 2, a few women questioned why local authorities had not provided nurseries when they were appealing for married women teachers to return to work.

---

[184] C. Gilligan, 'In a Different Voice: Women's Conceptions of Self and Morality', *Harvard Educational Review*, 47/4 (1977), p. 516.; see also C. Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1993).
[185] V. Held, *The Ethics of Care: Personal, Political and Global* (Oxford, 2006), p. 43.
[186] Held, *The Ethics of Care*, p. 43.

For these women, pre-school care had become a question of collective, rather than individual concern. Questions relating to where the responsibility for childcare lay would be taken up by second-wave feminists, at a point when discussions regarding where the responsibility lay for the care of elderly relatives were much more limited.

Conclusion

Middle-class marriage was shaped by both paid and unpaid work in the long 1950s. The experiences of Klein's sample of graduate women demonstrate that a companionate marriage was possible in a range of different situations. There was a common assumption amongst these graduate wives that caring for the home and children was a wife's responsibility. The unpaid effort required to either do this work or in delegating it was taken for granted, but it was substantial and contributed to the success of marriages. Marriages were also shaped by the unpaid work wives did supporting their husbands' careers and their children's success, and by the paid and voluntary work in which they channelled their intellectual energy. Many housewives had actively chosen to embrace life as a housewife, however, and were finding contentment by using their creative, organisational and intellectual skills in the management of their homes, supporting husbands' careers and the enabling their children's emotional and academic success.

Overall, a picture of loyalty and obligation to husband, children, home and wider family emerges. The care needs of children were accepted by mothers as their responsibility, and the experiences of dealing with children's illnesses clearly demonstrate the demands placed on mothers. Whilst willing to focus on their children's needs, and often experiencing great enjoyment from doing so, many housewives were keen to use their education more directly at some point in the future. Mothers with older children could find themselves prevented from returning to work by the appearance of new caring responsibilities for elderly relatives.

Attitudes towards caring for the elderly were more nuanced than those relating to childcare, suggesting that they were not automatically considered as a wife's concern. Mothers felt they had a moral duty to care for their children but there was a suggestion that caring for the elderly should not be solely the responsibility of women.

CHAPTER FOUR:
Experiences of voluntary work

'I feel one ought to give some unpaid service to the Community' (Ruby b. 1919)[1]

This chapter focuses on voluntary work; unpaid work that was generally conducted outside the home. Klein's questionnaire asked one question about voluntary work, but the quantity of different roles listed by respondents demonstrated the amount of involvement. Voluntary work could provide intellectually fulfilling work on a flexible, family-friendly basis. Graduate women were aware of the opportunities that their university education had given them, and those who were most financially comfortable were also mindful of the privilege of their situation. This could lead to a determination to use their education in service to the community, through voluntary work. This took many forms, from delivering cooked meals to the elderly and running Brownie packs, to sitting on hospital management committees and serving as magistrates. Many women were involved with more than one voluntary role.

This chapter engages with the scholarship on voluntary work in the post war period, whilst also considering scholarship relating to voluntary, philanthropy and self-actualization in the interwar years. It agrees with Thane's assessment that graduates could employ their education and abilities 'by making careers in voluntary work'.[2] It argues that through this work middle-class women, both housewives and those with part-time and full-time jobs, were making significant contributions to the state through their voluntary work in medical and educational services, social work and the judiciary.

[1] MS 1215 29/1.
[2] P. Thane, 'Girton Graduates: earning and learning, 1920s-1980s', *Women's History Review,* 13/3 (2004), p. 353.

Voluntary work: acceptable work for middle-class women

Middle-class women in the nineteenth century involved themselves in various forms of charitable work. Women's charitable work of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century tended to be confined to fund raising and visiting the poor, rather than running executive committees.[3] Gleadle points out that historians have often focused on women's charitable work supporting other women, but has identified women in the nineteenth century positioning themselves as 'local welfare experts who prioritized status rather than gender, and who considered themselves equipped to intercede in parochial polity'.[4] In the twentieth century Colpus has demonstrated how, during the inter-war period, there was a huge variety of female philanthropy, such as work with the poor and homeless, mothers and housewives, young people, refugees at home and abroad and the sick.[5] Such work was 'more engaged with, and critical of, the project of early-twentieth-century modernity than has been acknowledged'.[6]

This variety of voluntary work extended to the wartime period, with both middle-class and working-class men and women spending time working within their communities.[7] For Hinton, Women's Voluntary Service (WVS), at its 'prime' during the war, allowed middle-class women to demonstrate 'their remarkable ability to rise to the challenges of the age, adapting Victorian values to mid-twentieth century realities'.[8] Prochaska argues that the tradition of voluntary work continued post-1945, 'shifting ground where necessary and pioneering terrain which the state dared not enter'.[9] Voluntary work was an acceptable occupation for women;

[3] J. Lewis, *Women in England 1870-1950: Sexual Divisions and Social Change*, (Hemel Hempstead, 1984), p. 93.
[4] K. Gleadle, *Borderline Citizens: Women, Gender and Political Culture in Britain, 1815-67* (Oxford, 2009), p. 140.
[5] E. Colpus, *Female Philanthropy in the Interwar World: Between Self and Other* (London, 2018), p. 1.
[6] E. Colpus, *Female Philanthropy in the Interwar World*, p. 1.
[7] G. Field, *Blood, Sweat, and Toil: Remaking the British Working Class* (Oxford 2011), p. 224.
[8] J. Hinton, *Women, Social Leadership, and the Second World War: Continuities of Class* (Oxford, 2002), p, 231.
[9] F. Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London, 1988), p. 1.

an extension of the duties of the domestic realm.[10] Beaumont notes how the Beveridge Report in 1942 stated that 'in the next thirty years housewives, as mothers, have vital work to do in ensuring the adequate continuance of the British race and of British ideals in the world'.[11] One of the ways women could assert their democratic rights was through active citizenship.[12]

In the long 1950s unpaid work in service to the community covered a range of activities, from the practical provision of meals to the elderly through to serving on the judiciary. There was an enormous variety of voluntary activities undertaken by the sample of women in Klein's study. There was evidence of fundraising and flag day collecting for charities. Such activity was an important and necessary element of charitable foundations' work.[13] There was also work with the Girl Guide movement, WVS and churches, as well as driving elderly people and delivering meals to them at home. Others were involved in marriage guidance counselling, interviewing patients and running family planning clinics, sitting on education and hospital management committees and serving as magistrates.

Both housewives, part-time and full-time workers were involved in voluntary work. Many women were often involved in more than one voluntary post. Verity's (b. 1916) workload illustrates how busy such women could be. She was in her late forties in 1963. Married to a solicitor, she and her husband had helped his widowed mother to run his father's farm twenty miles away from their home in Scotland. This had entailed twenty years of unpaid book-

[10] Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, p. 76.
[11] C. Beaumont, 'What Do Women Want? Housewives' Associations, Activism and Changing Representations of Women in the 1950s', *Women's History Review*, 26/1 (2017), p. 147.
[12] Beaumont, 'What Do Women Want?', p. 149.
[13] For discussions of the role of women's unpaid work, see for example K. Holden, 'Family, caring and unpaid work', I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.) *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 134-149; see also Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*; see also H. Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society: England Since 1880*, (London, 2002), p. 3 for a definition of professionalisation as the expansion of occupations demanding skills and training and offering salaries, benefits and progression; for the argument that the expansion of the welfare state in the post war years increased employment opportunities for women, whereas a process of de-professionalisation during the 1980s and 1990s particularly affected women, see E. Worth, 'A Tale of Female Liberation?' The Long Shadow of De-Professionalization on the Lives of Post-War Women', *Revue Française de civilisation britannique*, 23/1 (2018), p. 11.

keeping. In addition, Verity had founded the local Ladies Circle, been the president of her local BFUW branch, acted as treasurer of a local charity since 1943 and treasurer of the local family planning association since 1957. She was also doing church work and hospital visiting.[14]

For a mother worried about how she would fulfil her domestic responsibilities, and in particular cope with the crisis points that are an inevitable feature of family life, voluntary work was attractive, rarely invited criticism from husbands and family and seems often to have been easy to find. This is not unique to the period. Lewis argues in her examination of women's lives from 1870 to 1950, that '[t]he separation of spheres was much more rigid for middle class women than for working class women', but resourceful women were 'successful in arguing that charitable endeavour represented an acceptable extension of women's domestic work'.[15]

Voluntary work remained a socially acceptable activity for middle-class women into the 1950s. As a child, Emma (1917) had seen how her university lecturer mother's work 'was definitely considered odd and "not quite the done thing"' in the inter-war years.[16] She had registered the presence of similar views when she had returned to scientific research work as a married mother herself. Now, in 1963, she felt it would be more acceptable if she were focusing on voluntary work, or teaching. She explained that she had been involved in some committee work 'organising bazaars etc.' and 'helping with the social side of scientific conferences' for her husband's work.[17] She felt that this work 'is undoubtedly what "society" feels I should do'. Interestingly, Emma also confessed 'to hating doing it and to being aware that I do <u>not</u> do it well'.[18] Emma had been drawn into voluntary work of a kind she felt unsuited to. Voluntary

[14] MS 1215 13/3.
[15] Lewis, *Women in England 1870-1950*, p. 76.
[16] MS 1215 26/1.
[17] MS 1215 26/1.
[18] MS 1215 26/1.

work, or even teaching was more socially acceptable than a wife pursuing scientific research: 'It would undoubtedly be more respectable to do voluntary work or to teach. I think it is now quite the done thing for married women to teach! Funny world!'.[19]

So, voluntary work's acceptability remained a constant, but what is unique about voluntary work in the long 1950s is that it comes before the professionalisation that would bring many roles under the ambit of the state, subject to contracts and more rigid working hours.[20] Middle-class women were making a significant contribution to the state by doing voluntary work that they found fulfilling and flexible. The judiciary, health, social care and education services were all making use of graduate women's labour. This confirms Thane's argument that without the work of women, organisations such as the Citizens' Advice Bureaux, the magistracy, and Marriage Guidance 'could not have functioned so effectively'.[21]

Such work might subsequently be professionalised and brought under the ambit of the National Health Service, social services and the education service, but during this period was unpaid and had no associated pension or formal career progression. Whilst the state benefitted from their contribution, women who laboured voluntarily remained financially dependent on their husband's salary and pension. There was no sense that middle-class women saw their voluntary work opportunities disappearing as the welfare state expanded. Instead, they were taking advantage of opportunities that could provide interesting work on a flexible basis during a period when flexible part-time paid opportunities were not necessarily easy to find.

[19] MS 1215 26/1.
[20] For an analysis of the effects of professionalisation and the decline of the WVS in the 1950s, see J. Hinton, *Women, Social Leadership, and the Second World War*, p. 240.
[21] Thane, 'Girton Graduates: earning and learning', p. 353; for an argument that voluntary work assisted the welfare state well into the 1970s, see H. McCarthy and P. Thane, 'The Politics of Association in Industrial Society', *Twentieth Century British History*, 22/2 (2011), p. 227; for an alternative view of the declining role of voluntary agencies in welfare provision, despite Beveridge's intention that this would not be the case, see H. Glennerster, *British Social Policy 1945 to the present*, (Oxford, 2007), p. 7.

Flexible and family-friendly work

Voluntary work often fulfilled the need for work that fitted around childcare and housework. There was an understanding amongst women that because their involvement was on a voluntary basis, they could step away more easily if there was a family illness or some other emergency. The responses to the questionnaires written by Klein's sample focus on their experiences as volunteers rather than organisers. It may be that organisers resented this flexibility. However, as mothers this sense of flexibility was reassuring.

Mothers knew that they would sometimes need to stop or scale down commitments to respond to children's needs; voluntary work was more easily reduced or terminated in times of family emergency. Ruby (1919) was about to give up her part-time teaching work in an independent school, because she felt it interfered 'too much with home duties'.[22] Faced with a choice of whether to give up her part-time teaching or her marriage guidance work, she had opted to continue her voluntary work. Verity's (1916) life had been a complex balancing act of care for her son, invalided mother who had lived with them for five years, as well as caring for three of her husband's elderly relatives. Voluntary work, which over many years had included founding the local Ladies Circle, being president of the local BFUW branch and treasurer for two organisations, church work and hospital visiting, was more easily fitted around these commitments.[23]

Rachel (1910) had been involved with extensive voluntary family planning work. Her questionnaire reveals that she had worked part-time after the birth of her first child, doing examining, coaching and as a laboratory demonstrator, but moving to Wales took her away from her network and she could not find a teaching job near her new home. She wrote that she

[22] MS 1215 29/1.
[23] MS 1215 13/3.

had tried to return to paid work but had been unsuccessful due to '[g]eographical location and hours'.[24] Voluntary work seems to have been easier to find than part-time work after the move to a new area. Rachel explained that she had turned down a temporary and permanent full-time teaching post, as she 'did not feel that my domestic responsibilities allowed me to take full-time work'.[25]

As a teacher, Wendy (1923) had found part-time posts during the late 1950s whilst her children were still pre-school age and employed au pairs (who were resident in the house) so that she could work. But two of these teaching positions (in a training college and a high school) had been 'discontinued' when full-time staff were employed. Since 1962 Wendy had focused entirely on voluntary work, serving twice weekly in the adult magistrates' court, and doing one and a half days a month on an adoption committee, as well as other activities. She saw paid and voluntary part-time work as interchangeable, a view that implies a financial security that did not require her to work. She was 'entirely in favour of married women working part time providing that they have good help with the children' and had done voluntary and paid part-time work herself '[o]n and off' since her marriage.[26] Though supportive of married women taking part-time paid work, her actions suggest she preferred the flexibility and reliability of her voluntary work.

The attraction of voluntary work must be seen within a context of the limited opportunities for flexible paid work. Many paid opportunities to work perpetuated rigid concepts of the working day and working week that failed to acknowledge the round the clock needs of children and elderly relatives requiring care. There was no requirement for employers to consider part-time employment. There was also resistance to the employment of married women in sectors other

[24] MS 1215 31.
[25] MS 1215 31.
[26] MS 1215 27/1.

than teaching and medicine. Sociologist Margaret Stacey described how she was refused employment because she was married and had children in the 1960s.[27] Other women found themselves employed on different terms to their male counterparts. Phyllis Wilmott was employed at the Institute of Community Studies as a research assistant but on a temporary basis, unlike her husband Peter.[28] Hannah Gavron's contemporaries referenced the challenges she faced in progressing her academic career in sociology.[29]

The flexibility and availability of voluntary work was appreciated, but there could still be regret that other options had not been available. Lillian (1913) valued the flexible nature of her voluntary work, particularly the hours she could work. She commented that she did 'not wish to leave home for the whole of each day'.[30] Her social voluntary work consisted of hospital visiting and what she loosely termed 'family welfare'. She noted that a lack of part-time teacher training opportunities and re-training facilities had prevented her from returning to university work, or from re-training to help with the maths and physics teacher shortage. Lillian needed flexible hours, and perceived voluntary work as more easily fitting round her family life, as so many other women did. However, Lillian, who had a PhD, did also add that if re-training had been available, she could have returned to part-time university work. Her comments suggest that she was aware that she might have been able to teach as an 'uncertificated' teacher of 'lower classes in a Junior Secondary' but this had been unappealing and something for which she felt she was over-qualified.[31]

Finding flexible voluntary work was often easier than finding flexible paid work, but it was sometimes difficult to get exactly the sort of voluntary work desired. Bertha's (1914)

[27] S. Todd, *Snakes and Ladders: The Great British Social Mobility Myth* (London, 2021), p. 154.
[28] Todd, *Snakes and Ladders*, p. 155.
[29] J. Gavron, *A woman on the edge of time: a son's search for his mother* (London, 2015), pp. 369-377.
[30] MS 1215 31.
[31] MS 1215 31.

experience illustrates that valued voluntary posts, such as a governorship of a senior school, could be dependent on factors such as political party membership. She explained that her Labour Party membership had barred her from school governorships in the past, and she had decided not to retain after her marriage as she 'felt it might prejudice' her husband's career.[32] As an independent candidate, she had 'only got 2 potty little primary schools', implying that these lacked the prestige she was hoping for.[33] Bertha was living in a village in the home counties at the time of the survey, after four moves connected with her husband's job, and explained the situation as she saw it: 'School Gov [sic] and Man [sic] appointments are normally made through local political parties, so if you refrain from joining one, you have little hope of being asked'.[34] Bertha's comments suggest that in her village, membership of the Conservative Party would have been more likely to lead to what she perceived as more prestigious voluntary work as a senior or grammar school governor or manager.

Intellectually fulfilling work

Where flexible paid working opportunities were not widespread and almost non-existent in some areas of work, voluntary work provided an outlet for the skills and talents of middle-class women who were comfortable enough not to need an income. Voluntary work fulfilled graduates' desire for work that used their education; comments made by women suggest they enjoyed the challenge and intellectual stimulation of the work, and the sense of purpose that resulted. Rachel (1910) had started her voluntary work as a clinic worker in a women's welfare association, but eventually moved into more senior organisational roles within family planning services. This suggests she had acquired valuable skills and experience from voluntary work.

[32] MS 1215 28/1.
[33] MS 1215 28/1.
[34] MS 1215 28/1.

Subsequently, her interest in teaching had waned and she admitted to becoming 'more interested in sociological work' and seems to have found fulfilment in her voluntary work.[35]

Voluntary work in the judiciary was popular and valued by middle-class women. Women had been able to sit as magistrates since the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act 1919.[36] By the late 1940s they represented a quarter of all JPs.[37] Serving as a magistrate was unpaid and voluntary work.[38] Logan argues that 'entry into the magistracy was central to the establishment of women's claims to citizenship because it could be presented as both the right of enfranchised women and also as a fundamental duty of the individual citizen'.[39] But women's voluntary work as magistrates also saved the government money in salary costs for the judiciary.[40] The early women magistrates were keen to counter criticism that they were unsuited to the work, and worked with competency and professionalism.[41]

Voluntary work for the judiciary involved a serious commitment of time, which impacted on decisions about paid work. Clarrie (1912) had adapted her work commitments as her family had grown up and had made a conscious decision to continue part-time paid work rather than full-time, to ensure there was enough time for both domestic responsibilities and voluntary work. After marriage to a religious minister, she had been much occupied with supporting her husband's professional work in an unpaid capacity, organising the social life of his church. When her children were small, she had taken on part-time freelance work in the evenings teaching adult classes and giving evening lectures. She described this work as being enough

[35] MS 1215 28/1.
[36] A. Logan, 'In Search of Equal Citizenship: the campaign for women magistrates in England and Wales, 1910-1939', *Women's History Review*, 16/4 (2007), p. 518.
[37] Logan, 'In Search of Equal Citizenship', p. 514.
[38] Logan, 'In Search of Equal Citizenship', p. 514.
[39] Logan, 'In Search of Equal Citizenship', p. 515.
[40] A. Logan, 'Professionalism and the Impact of England's First Women Justices, 1920-1950', *The Historical Journal*, 49/3 (2006), p. 850.
[41] Logan, 'Professionalism and the Impact of England's First Women Justices', p. 850.

'to keep me busy and bring in a little money'.[42] It also allowed her to bring up her children herself; she was unwilling and unable to afford to employ domestic help to do this. A move to a new area in 1949 had provided opportunities for part-time teaching in history, and 'extra mural' lecturing at the local university, and in 1951, when her youngest child was at junior school, she became a JP.[43] 'Here was a further inducement for me to stay "part time"', she explained, adding that she could earn between £600 and £800 per year and 'still remain free to do voluntary work on the Bench and in Approved School [sic] of which I am now a manager'.[44] Clarrie's children were now either working or at university, but it appears that she had made a conscious choice to continue with part-time paid work rather than move to full-time work, so that she could manage her domestic commitments and also do voluntary work. She stated that she rejected a few offers of full-time jobs over the years. Her husband had made it clear that he would like her to have 'a full time job and professional career', apparently disapproving of her 'freelance work and attitudes'.[45] Yet Clarrie was content with her working arrangements. She stated that she had been 'brought up in a tradition of voluntary social service'; she seemed fulfilled by a combination of voluntary and paid work.[46]

A conscious decision to include voluntary work as part of a portfolio of opportunities had also been taken by Loretta (1906). In her case she had scaled down her paid work in order to accommodate her voluntary commitments, and the needs of her family. Loretta was a doctor who had worked in hospitals at the beginning of a career, and as a locum general practitioner at various points during her married life when her five children were growing up. She and her husband sent all their children to boarding schools at senior school level, which presumably lessened Loretta's childcare responsibilities during term time. When she completed her

[42] MS 1215 31.
[43] MS 1215 31.
[44] MS 1215 31.
[45] MS 1215 31.
[46] MS 1215 31.

questionnaire in 1963, she had recently given up part-time work in five hospitals as an anaesthetist, citing her large family, new grandchild and 'too many' voluntary appointments as the reason.[47] She remained in one paid part-time medical role. The list of her voluntary roles indicates the amount of time she must have spent on them, in addition to her paid work, which in 1963 she listed as being 'part-time infant welfare assistant medical officer'.[48] Her voluntary work was as a JP, chair of an adoption committee, president of the WI, member of the parish council and official prison visitor. She had been involved in other committees and girls' clubs in the past as well. Loretta's experience illustrates how women's priorities could change over time and suggests that becoming a grandmother could impact the balance of paid and unpaid opportunities within the work portfolio.

Both Clarrie and Loretta appear to have been in the fortunate financial situation where they could turn down or leave professional paid roles. Where earning money was less important, voluntary work could provide varied and interesting challenges, and the judiciary was particularly valued because of this. Logan's examination of the memoirs of early women magistrates concluded that most 'seem to have appreciated their opportunity to exercise their right to serve'.[49] There is evidence of that appreciation here too. Joyce (1916) was a teacher who had taken part-time posts when her children were small, but had eventually given up the work, finding that keeping up with housework alongside the teaching was too difficult. Heads in the area knew of her teaching experience, and sometimes made contact to ask for her help covering staff shortages. She had accepted some requests, but recently had declined, 'having less need for the money'.[50] Instead, she preferred to 'devote spare time from house and family to magistrates [sic] work and training, since I do not need to earn and this is very worth while

[47] MS 1215 31.
[48] MS 1215 31.
[49] A. Logan, 'Making women magistrates: feminism, citizenship and justice in England and wales 1918-1950' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Greenwich, 2002), p. 218.
[50] MS 1215 29/1.

I feel'.[51] Joyce's work as a magistrate, combined with voluntary work on education committees that called on her experience as a teacher, was sufficiently fulfilling: '[t]his takes a considerable amount of time and travel and my university and professional training are of great value to me'.[52] In 1963 she was involved with the county education committee as a 'Woman of Experience in Education' and was serving on sub-committees dealing with areas such as further education and libraries. This work had led to governorships at several colleges and schools.[53]

Work as a magistrate could also provide fulfilment where a career had not been possible. In Evelyn's (1917) case this had been due to ill health preventing her from teaching, a job she felt she had been pushed into anyway. 'I really should have trained as a social worker' she wrote, blaming a lack of vocational guidance.[54] Evelyn and her husband had not had children, but she chose not to take on paid work so that she could care for her elderly mother-in-law and had channelled her interest in social work into extensive voluntary work since 1944. She worked as a JP, sitting frequently in the juvenile, matrimonial and ordinary courts, as a governor of several schools and a women's college, president of a women's organisation, vice-chair of a local 'Council of Social Service', and as a member of an appeals tribunal.[55] Evelyn's story illustrates how the narrow career possibilities of the inter-war years could lead graduate women to seek an outlet for their skills in the voluntary sector. With voluntary work in the judiciary, there is a sense that this particularly responsible and demanding work.

A sense of civic duty

Voluntary work fulfilled the need for service to the community as well as the need to be a good citizen. When assessing women's service in the inter-war period in Britain, Colpus argues that

[51] MS 1215 29/1.
[52] MS 1215 29/1.
[53] MS 1215 29/1.
[54] MS 1215 29/1.
[55] MS 1215 29/1.

'[t]he goal of personal fulfilment was not at odds with elite and educated women's practice or conceptualization of service between the wars: the two were intertwined'.[56] This concept can be extended to the post-war period, where graduates were gaining satisfaction and self-development through work at service to the community. It is impossible to conclude how compassionate and effective Klein's sample was, but their comments suggest genuine intentions. Those who were aware of the privilege their university education had afforded them, seemed equally aware of the resulting duties they felt they should fulfil, reminiscent of the 'rights-discourse' of nineteenth century discussions of the 'woman question'.[57] The pinnacle of this work was that which was most fulfilling, possibly directly using professional skills, but certainly using the critical thinking skills of their university education. Work as magistrates and serving on committees or in quasi-professional managerial roles, where they felt their experience and skills was useful and valued, appear to have been most fulfilling.

Service to the community could overlap with activism in certain types of voluntary work. This too may have been part of its appeal. Beaumont argues that 'the role of middle-class, mainstream and non-political organisations for women in local and national affairs is still underestimated, and often ignored'; in fact, there was widespread activity in women's organisations and representation of women's economic and social rights in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s.[58] Beaumont sees such organisations as an important part of the women's movement in the post-war period.[59] The extensive voluntary work evidenced here demonstrates the continuation of the women's movement in the years before second wave feminism. In particular, the work in family planning clinics assisting in the provision of contraception, and

[56] E. Colpus, 'Women, service and self-actualization', *Past and Present*, 238/1 (2018), p. 232.
[57] L. Delap, 'The 'woman question' and the origins of feminism', in G. Stedman Jones and G. Claeys (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 346.
[58] C. Beaumont, 'The Women's Movement, Politics and Citizenship, 1918-1950s', in I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.), *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2001), p. 275.
[59] C. Beaumont, 'Housewives, Workers, Citizens in Voluntary Organisations and the Campaign for Women's Rights in England and Wales during the Post-War Period', in N. Crowson, M. Hilton and J. McKay (eds.), *NGOs in Contemporary Britain: Non-State Actors in Society and Politics since 1945* (Basingstoke, 2009), p. 60.

as magistrates, making an active claim to citizenship is an important part of the story of the women's movement in the twentieth century.

Ruby (1919) elaborated on the choice she felt she had been forced to make: 'I have had to decide whether to give up my part-time teaching or my Marriage Guidance work and have decided to continue M.G. [marriage guidance] work as I feel one ought to give some unpaid service to the Community'.[60] Married to a company director, Ruby's family finances are likely to have been sufficiently comfortable for her to have the luxury to decline paid work. Her reference to 'unpaid service' implies that she saw marriage guidance work as a way of contributing to her community.[61]

Grace (1908), a languages graduate, explained that when she moved to a country town in 1946 there seemed to be 'enormous opportunities for service'.[62] She worked as a councillor, sat on the committee of the local hospital and board of governors of a grammar school. She wrote that she felt her 'earlier training and experience' of teaching in a grammar school during the war had 'fitted' her for 'the job' of 'taking a lead in many of the town's activities'.[63] Grace added that '[w]omen graduates living in communities such as we have here need feel neither wasted nor thwarted!'.[64] Whilst her work could be interpreted as trying to bolster her middle-class position as the wife of a solicitor within her town's class system, it is argued that her motivations seem to have been based on good intentions, a desire to be productive and have a job beyond wife and mother of two. Her committee and governor roles were visible and proved that she was an educated and capable woman.

[60] MS 1215 29/1.
[61] MS 1215 29/1.
[62] MS 1215 31.
[63] MS 1215 31.
[64] MS 1215 31.

For Harriet (1911), voluntary work had shown a good example to her children, as well as being preferable to taking paid work. She attributed her 'daughters' outstanding success (good honours degrees one at Oxford and the other at Cambridge; at present both university lecturers and about to complete PhDs)' partly to being 'available as required during their teens'.[65] It seems she too felt voluntary work was more family friendly, but she also wrote that she felt 'the example of parents engaged in voluntary work is beneficial to children'.[66] Harriet was involved in the Girl Guide movement at a senior level, WVS and Family Planning Association, but had also been involved in school management, vice chair of a school's governors, and was a director of an education executive committee.[67]

Contributing to the state / Assisting the development of the welfare state

Graduate women were contributing to health services by their involvement in clinical work that relied on their professional training, hospital managerial work, and work in family planning clinics. Voluntary work conducted in hospitals and clinics is part of the story of the emergence of the NHS. Seaton has outlined how Beveridge anticipated charitable organisations would continue and even expand their work for the nation's health in *Voluntary Action* (1948) and had voiced concern in 1954 in his address to the British Hospitals Contributory Association that this had not been the case.[68] The details given about voluntary work by this graduate sample reveal that clinical work had been done by medical professionals in the period prior to 1948. Florence (1912), for example, a doctor in the southwest of England, described her voluntary work as that of a 'Temporary Consulting Physician in out-patients, un-paid until Health Service in 1948'.[69] Jean (1915), who had a BSc, described how she had assisted in a

[65] MS1215 26/1.
[66] MS1215 26/1.
[67] MS1215 26/1.
[68] A. Seaton, 'Against the Sacred Cow: NHS opposition and the Fellowship for Freedom in Medicine', *Twentieth Century British History*, 26/3 (2015), p. 437.
[69] MS 1215 28/1.

hospital pathology department in 1939 to 1940, and the Blood Transfusion Service 1940 to 1941.

However, even after the birth of the NHS, doctors were still involved in unpaid work, often in addition to their paid work as medical professionals. Laura (1921), a doctor working part-time as a child medical welfare officer, admitted that she had never been involved in the WVS or other organised voluntary service, but she would 'very often do sessions in the local hospitals e.g. assisting at antenatal clinics or assisting at operating theatre sessions and this is entirely unpaid'.[70] Marion (1918), another part-time doctor, had been giving weekly first-aid lectures from 1959 to 1960 and was still involved on a fortnightly basis.[71]

There were further examples of sustained voluntary contributions to the workings of the health service, such as clerical work in an antenatal clinic,[72] '[h]elping with Blood Transfusion Service',[73] and assisting in baby clinics, such as Joyce (1907) who claimed to be weighing 'up to 90 in an afternoon'.[74] Similarly, Daphne (1924) was not in paid work but was educating pregnant women about birth. She was about to branch out into school teaching as well. From 1958 onwards she had been teaching ante-natal relaxation and breathing and would be going into a grammar sixth form to teach 'school children about birth'.[75]

Some women involved in the management of hospitals were doing so as supplementary to their professional work. For example, Sandra (1903) was a busy medical consultant, with several part-time positions which added up to a full-time paid role. She had been involved in voluntary medical roles prior to 1948, but in the decade from 1951 to 1961 she had sat on a hospital

[70] MS 1215 26/1.
[71] MS 1215 26/1.
[72] MS 1215 26/1.
[73] MS 1215 31.
[74] MS 1215 28/1.
[75] MS 1215 27/1.

management committee.[76] Barbara (1920), a part-time tutor and lecturer, had committed to a hospital management committee from 1959 to 1963.[77]

Other women were choosing to take on hospital management work instead of paid work. Hospital management, not yet subject to professionalisation, was using the skills of graduate women in an unpaid capacity. Women could welcome this work, seeing it as easier to acquire than paid work. Kitty (1916), who lived in a town in the southwest and was not in paid employment, had served on a hospital management committee since 1959. She felt that her degree in business administration was 'of great value' in this role.[78] She added that 'without further vocational training e.g. secretarial I have always felt that it would be very difficult to find a place in industry or business'.[79]

Many of the graduate women reported having worked in family planning clinics, and it was frequently part of a raft of voluntary work, where women were not involved in any paid employment. Birth control had moved from a contentious issue in the 1920s and 1930s to a regular aspect of family life in the 1940s and 1950s.[80] Although it was not until 1968 that unmarried women would be able to access the contraceptive pill. The National Birth Control Association had become the Family Planning Association in 1939, a name change that Weeks regards as an indication of the shift from 'feminist aspirations of many of the early birth-controllers to the social planning emphases that were to become dominant from the early 1940s'.[81] Its role was to give parents the opportunity for 'planning' and 'spacing' their children, not just to limit the size of their family.[82]

---

[76] MS 1215 31.
[77] MS 1215 31.
[78]MS 1215 28/1.
[79]MS 1215 28/1.
[80] S. Brooke, *Sexual Politics: Sexuality, Family Planning, and the British Left from the 1880s to the Present Day* (Oxford, 2011), p.117.
[81] J. Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society: The regulation of sexuality since 1800* (Harlow, 1989), p.195.
[82] Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society*, p. 234.

An article in the *British Medical Journal* in 1949 details the nature of the work of the FPA, referencing Lady Denman, chair of the association, who 'stated that many people did not like going to a big central hospital unless they were seriously ill, but found the association's clinics small and friendly'.[83] The article also highlights the role of the clinics in identifying gynaecological disorders, advising on fertility treatments and providing contraception 'to women who need it on medical grounds'.[84] However, the work of the NBCA/FPA went beyond diagnosis; it was also involved in research that was instrumental in contraceptive regulation.[85] In the post-war period, availability of contraception to women was still limited. As Cook explains, in 1960 contraception was only available at 340 FPA clinics, to married and engaged women, who needed to prove that they were getting married, but the 118 local authority, government funded clinics only supplied contraception to married women on medical grounds.[86]

'Interviewing' in clinics was mentioned frequently by those doing voluntary work in family planning clinics. It is assumed that this involved talking to women who had come into the clinic to access services. Beyond this there was often little detail given of exactly what form the work took. There were references to helping on the reception desk and helping with general organisation. Some women seemed to have moved into more formal organisational roles, probably as a result of their experience with the work of the clinics. These included roles such as honorary secretary to the local family planning association,[87] treasurer and president of the local clinic.[88] A history of the Birmingham Women's Welfare Centre explains that lay workers

[83] 'The Family Planning Association: Need for Voluntary Effort', *British Medical Journal*, 2/4617 (1949), p. 29.
[84] 'The Family Planning Association: Need for Voluntary Effort', p. 29.
[85] N. Szuhan, 'Sex in the laboratory: the Family Planning Association and contraceptive science in Britain, 1929-1959', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 51/3 (2018), p. 487.
[86] H. Cook, *The Long Sexual Revolution: English Women, Sex, and Contraception 1800-1975* (Oxford, 2004), p. 272.
[87] MS 1215 28/1, 29/1.
[88] MS 1215 29/1.

acted as clerical assistants whose role was to reassure patients, unless they were committee members who were involved in policy decisions and management.[89]

There is also little information in the questionnaire responses regarding volunteers' motivations, but one volunteer's comments suggest her general commitment to women's welfare issues. Rachel (1910), in her early fifties and living in Wales, is in an example of someone who had been involved in family planning clinics for many years and had taken on various roles during that time. She had four children and was not in paid employment, but in 1963 was working one evening and one morning a week for her local clinic. Her commitment is apparent from her 1936 to 1949 stint as a clinic worker in a women's welfare association, but she had also been the organising secretary at her local clinic since 1952. From 1955 to 1957, and 1959 to 1962 she had been a member of a sub-committee of the FPA, and a chair of a regional federation from 1959 to 1962. Married to an academic, and with her eldest children at university and youngest daughters at grammar school in 1963, Rachel had time available for voluntary work, but her involvement had been almost constant since finishing her postgraduate studies in 1936.[90]

Given the lack of detail in the questionnaires regarding the incentives for women to channel their skills into the work of family planning clinics, it is useful to look to responses elsewhere in the completed questionnaires. Kay (1910), a mother of four who had just undergone a hysterectomy, wrote about what she saw as the lack of understanding amongst women about their menstrual cycles, most fertile days, and the medical help available for problems in later years.[91] She also expressed concern about the state of sex education for girls in 1963.[92] Imogen

[89] A. Court and C. Watson, *Birmingham made a difference: The Birmingham Women's Welfare Centre* (Birmingham, 2001), p. 26.
[90] MS 1215 31.
[91] MS 1215 28/1.
[92] MS 1215 28/1.

(1914), a full-time teacher, referred specifically to how '[f]ortunately I was able to plan my children and so they were born in the Easter holidays', suggesting that in this way she had been able to get leave from work in summer term, and then also had the summer holidays with her new baby.[93] These comments and the number of women volunteering in family planning clinics suggests a wider interest amongst this educated sample in both promoting better sex education and birth control.

Voluntary work in the education sector was an alternative way of providing public service. According to Lewis, women had been involved on school boards since the 1870s, and when boards were abolished in 1902, the Women's Local Government Society sought to allow women to be elected to education committees, although this was not achieved until 1907.[94] There were many mentions of such education committees, as well as school governor roles.

Women who had no paid employment often acted as school governors alongside other voluntary posts. For example, as well as her governorship of a local school, Elinor (1920) had set up and run a Brownie pack, been WI president more than once, sat on various village committees and an advisory council. She also explained she had been a school manager for three years. A science graduate, with a first-class degree and part-time teaching experience, she seems to have been drawn to educational voluntary work. Her decision to retain her voluntary activities, despite having felt the need to quit her part-time A-level biology coaching in 1961, indicates yet again that voluntary work was perceived to fit in easily with family life. With five children, an elderly mother also needing care, and apparently little financial need to work, Elinor was finding an outlet for her abilities in the voluntary sector.[95] Whether she would have preferred to have been able to continue with paid work it is not possible to know.

[93] MS 1215 26/1.
[94] Jane Lewis, *Women in England*, p. 94.
[95] MS 1215 28/1.

Some women were able to do part-time paid work as well as contribute to educational services through voluntary work. Sonia (1908) was involved in part-time clerical work for her husband's business, but was also governor of three schools, where she did 'quite a lot of work interviewing and selecting staff'.[96] In her mid-fifties, Sonia had taken a job for one year after graduation in 1930, but having married that same year, she left in 1931 to have the first of four children. She explained that she had 'done various voluntary jobs as they cropped up', but had 'concentrated on bringing up' her four sons, the youngest of whom would soon be off to university.[97] Although her primary focus was her family, she still found time for a significant contribution to voluntary organisations and schools, as well as part-time work.

Graduate women were contributing to social services by their social work, marriage guidance work, and a range of activities with younger and older people. Voluntary organisations were still involved in social work beyond 1948.[98] The descriptions of social work by Klein's sample were unfortunately very brief, rarely giving much detail, but it seems to have taken a variety of forms. In Anita's (1910) case, it was voluntary work that was closely connected to her professional work as a part-time psychiatric worker in a child guidance clinic. Anita had been a member of a local committee of the Society of Social Service from 1958 to 1963, which involved some case work.[99] Other work was more general, clerical work, not requiring professional experience, such as Hattie's (1914), who also explained that its attraction lay in the flexibility it offered to a mother with childcare commitments. Hattie had worked for ten years for an association for the disabled and seems to have begun this voluntary work (sending out work, supervising and advising outworkers) around the time when her fifth and youngest child would have started school. It was particularly convenient to her as it was work she could

[96] MS 1215 28/1.
[97] MS 1215 28/1.
[98] Selina Todd, 'Family Welfare and Social Work in Post-War England, c. 1948 to c. 1970', *The English Historical Review*, 129/537 (2014), p. 362.
[99] MS 1215 26/1.

do at home.[100] Lillian's (1913) work consisted of hospital visiting (through the church) and what she loosely termed 'family welfare'.[101]

Other women mentioned the more general term 'case work'. Ethel (1929) had done three years of part-time case work for which she had 'received a brief training'. [102] Edwina (1916) had also been involved in case-work for the same organisation as Ethel.[103] Unfortunately there was no detail of what the work involved. The Citizens' Advice Bureau was also mentioned by some of the sample, such as Thelma (1922), who was not doing paid work and had been working two mornings a week at the CAB since 1962.[104] There was also mention of work for the charity SSAFA (Soldiers Sailors Airmen and Families Association) in the late 1950s and early 1960s. For example, from 1961 Rebecca (1914) was involved in home visits around a large area of the northwest of England, and making applications for grants from various sources.[105] SSAFA had undertaken training courses during 1959, according to its own history of the organisation, which may explain the specific references to work amongst this sample.[106]

Some women were combining their social work with other roles. Denise (1909) was doing a mix of part-time paid and voluntary activities, which included some social work. In her mid-fifties, and married to a headmaster, she described herself as part-time self-employed as a writer, but was also working on a patented design for children's play equipment. Her voluntary social work was in a mental hospital and organising adventure holidays for schoolchildren. She explained that the 'acute shortage of maths teachers makes me feel guilty at not giving my services in this direction', and that a 'simple solution would be to teach in my husband's school,

[100] MS 1215 26/1.
[101] MS 1215 31.
[102] MS 1215 26/1.
[103] MS 1215 31.
[104] MS 1215 28/1.
[105] MS 1215 31.
[106] 'History of SSAFA: Part Four: Since the War', Compiled by Alison Barnes, p. 14 https://www.ssafa.org.uk/media/4jmlzbwr/ssafa-history-part-four.pdf (2 September 2019).

but this we both feel would not be wise'.[107] But Denise was confident that she was using her skills in positive ways and felt her voluntary work in the mental hospital to be particularly worthwhile, commenting that she led 'a very full life'.[108] Marigold's (1918) situation was similar, in that she was combining part-time work and voluntary work, which was influenced by her church attendance. She had recently taken on two days per week paid teaching work 'to help increase family income as daughters are now becoming rather expensive and more demanding in clothes and entertainments!'.[109] But she was also helping with youth groups and driving elderly women to Mothers' Union meetings. Marigold commented that she found her Hampshire 'village life full and fascinating and am active in local Church life', as well as being a governor of a grammar school, adding that she tried 'to take a lively interest in this school and in village school' and that she was not at all a 'frustrated graduate wife'.[110]

Many women stated that they were involved with marriage guidance work, and some had been involved for many years. Perhaps due to its confidential nature, there was no detail given about exactly what this involved, either in terms of the content of the work, or the time commitment of time involved. Some, such as Aurelia (1917), listed their involvement as 'Group Leader Marriage Guidance Council' implying a more managerial role within the organisation.[111] Others described their work as 'Marriage Guidance Counsellor', such as Ruby (1919) who had been involved since 1952,[112] and Violet (1918) who had been a counsellor since 1954.[113] However, given the wide ambit of the Marriage Guidance Council, those involved with voluntary work could have been working with couples in a delicate advisory and counselling role, or in education work in the community.

[107] MS 1215 28/1.
[108] MS 1215 28/1.
[109] MS 1215 29/1.
[110] MS 1215 29/1.
[111] MS 1215 28/1.
[112] MS 1215 29/1.
[113] MS 1215 31.

The Marriage Guidance Council was set up by the Social Hygiene Council in 1938, and its counselling work grew substantially in the 1940s and 1950s.[114] By 1949 it was receiving state funding.[115] Its work was explained in a letter to the British Medical Journal by F.F. Hellier, the Chairman of the Leeds Marriage Guidance Council, who wished to clear up any confusion relating to the work of the Marriage Guidance Council and the Family Planning Association. The work involved two elements; advice to married couples, and education work with young people.

> The work of the M.G.C is twofold. Firstly, it aims at helping those with marital difficulties. Clients are seen by a single counsellor, who has been very carefully selected and has undergone a considerable course of training; they are helpful [sic] to work out their own problems, and this often necessitates many interviews, if possible with both partners in the marriage. Secondly, the M.G.C. does a great deal of education work in senior forms in schools, in boys and girls clubs, and similar groups; it holds discussion groups for young couples about to get married, and also sends speakers to more senior discussion groups among teachers, clergymen, etc. At the present time there is a lot of education on sex in school, but very little on the problems of married life such as respect for the other's personality, the right attitude to household finance, to the responsibilities of parenthood, etc. It is with the Art not the Act of Marriage that the M.G.C. is concerned.[116]

The 'Art not the Act of Marriage' could be variously interpreted, but there is a suggestion here that all aspects of married life were the concern of the Marriage Guidance Council. Some of its publications demonstrated its commitment to advising on sexual fulfilment for both husbands and wives. By the late 1960s its booklet *Sex in Marriage* had sold over five hundred thousand copies.[117] This booklet had evolved from the post-war publication *How to Treat a Young Wife*, which, according to Weeks, 'suggested that the man should develop the sexual potentialities of his wife'.[118] However, Szreter and Fisher found that respondents in their study,

[114] Weeks*: Sex, Politics and Society*, p. 237.
[115] C. Langhamer, *The English In Love: The Intimate Story of an Emotional Revolution* (Oxford, 2013), p. 14.
[116] F.F. Hellier, 'Marriage Guidance Council', *British Medical Journal*, 2/5144 (1959), p. 154.
[117] Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society*, p. 237.
[118] Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society*, p. 237.

though aware of advice literature available in their early married life, 'chose to ignore them or reject their advice'.[119]

Lewis argues that the marriage guidance movement was concerned with the promotion of marriage, and in the 1940s and 1950s it operated in a climate of political anxiety about the effects of the war years on family life and divorce rates. [120] It was in the late 1950s that ideas of 'a personally grounded morality' gained traction, and was reflected in the work of the movement by a less directional approach to counselling, that encouraged couples to come up with their own solutions to their relationship difficulties.[121] Lewis draws on the talk of the General Secretary of the National Marriage Guidance Council, David Mace, on the 'Technique of Marital Conciliation' to conclude that

> while the pioneers of marriage guidance were clear as to their main intention of promoting marital stability, at the level of the individual relationship their position was considerably more ambiguous and would become increasingly so with the introduction of non-directive counselling methods.[122]

So, this gradual shift to a less directional, more couple-centred approach is likely to have occurred in different ways depending on the management and individual counsellors of regional associations. This suggests that those women in Klein's sample who were involved with marriage guidance work, could have been involved in more directional, or more couple-centred counselling. There is no detail in the responses that allows clarification of this. It is also difficult to know what the motivations for volunteering with marriage guidance were, but given they were or had been married themselves, it is suggested that their motives may have been as simple as helping other women negotiate the challenges of married life.

---

[119] S. Szreter and K. Fisher, *Sex Before the Sexual Revolution: Intimate Life in England 1918*-1963 (Cambridge, 2010), p. 353.
[120] J. Lewis, 'Public Institutions and Private Relationships: Marriage and Marriage Guidance, 1920-1968', *Twentieth Century British History*, 1/3 (1990), p. 235.
[121] Lewis, 'Public Institutions and Private Relationships', p. 235.
[122] Lewis, 'Public Institutions and Private Relationships', p. 256.

As with other forms of voluntary work, those involved in marriage guidance counselling could have part-time paid work, or none. Violet (1918), who had devoted nine years to counselling was not in paid employment, and had not been since her husband was de-mobbed in 1946 and she left full-time employment to start a family.[123]

Other women fitted marriage guidance work around their paid work commitments. Aurelia (1917) was balancing domestic responsibilities, a part-time job and voluntary work. She explained that she considered herself 'very lucky to have found a part time job in what I consider to be my own field'.[124] She felt she had been unable to progress up the career ladder in the way that she might have done without children, but the fact that her role involved less responsibility as a result was convenient to her. She admitted that money was not the reason for working, as the cost of paying someone to look after her youngest child and provide secretarial support to her doctor husband ate up much of her salary. Her counselling work was being fitted around her other commitments and providing further variety to her working life.

There were many women who were involved in a range of youth work, charities and work with the elderly, much of it overlapping with what could be termed social work. For example, Freda (1917) had been involved in 'youth work' for nine years in the 1950s when her children were pre-school age and at primary school. She had managed this work alongside committee work, and other voluntary activities. A maths graduate and mother of teenagers, she was now doing part-time statistical work for her husband's Yorkshire textiles business but had recently started a home visitors scheme, 'visiting lonely old people in their homes'.[125] Peggy (1912), a part-time teacher, was also helping out at her local town's youth centre.[126] Other comments referred to work with the Girl Guides (Brownies, Guides and Rangers), from high level posts such as

[123] MS 1215 31.
[124] MS 1215 28/1.
[125] MS 1215 26/1.
[126] MS 1215 29/1.

District and Division Commissioner through to running the local Brownie group and examining badges. There were also references to Sunday School work, and voluntary work with the Wolf Cubs and Scouts.

Amongst the sample there were also some parish and rural district councillors.[127] Judith (1917), a history graduate, explained that in her rural area there were very limited job opportunities for graduate women beyond teaching, for which she felt she was not trained. However, there seemed 'to be a great need for more people to interest themselves in local government'.[128] She wrote that she had 'a very full and satisfactory life' farming alongside her husband and working as a rural and county councillor.[129] There were also references to voluntary work for political parties, including for the Labour party,[130] Liberal party,[131] and Conservatives.[132] Bessie (1905), who worked full-time in the company she ran with her husband, was also working voluntarily as treasurer to the local branch of a trade union.[133]

Women also mentioned voluntary work relating to the Women's Voluntary Service, Townswomen's Guild and Women's Institute, as well as hospital and prison visiting, and the meals on wheels service. Detail about these activities was limited, and there was a sense that they were not given great emphasis, just a part of their lives that happened to involve some element of service to the community.

One woman's experiences of paid work had led to voluntary work directly aimed at helping other graduate women. In 1960 Christine (1922) had started an 'informal agency for "placing" graduate wives in part-time work'.[134] Christine had experienced being turned down from a

[127] MS 1215 26/1, 31.
[128] MS 1215 31.
[129] MS 1215 31.
[130] MS 1215 13/3, 28/1.
[131] MS 1215 27/1, 29/1.
[132] MS 1215 26/1, 27/1, 29/1.
[133] MS 1215 31.
[134] MS 1215 13/3.

post in a university because she had been engaged. Since marrying and having a child she had taken jobs in a technical college. Her current part-time post was in a university, but she found the travelling time to work exhausting. Her own experiences and those of other graduate women she had encountered had galvanised her to help other women find fulfilling paid work, even though she seemed weary of her own situation: 'Personally I feel that I have tried long enough but when my temporary position packs up, I shall at least feel that I have had a few years congenial work and company again, and feel grateful for it'.[135] She had ready solutions to problems with re-training; technical colleges could 'welcome' what she termed 'rusty graduates' on evening degree courses.[136] She explained that technical colleges 'often have difficulty in keeping degree classes up to the maximum size', and although 'partial attendance for specific parts of the course would not fulfil "red-tape" requirements', she considered the situation merely required 'a bit of thought by education c'ttees [sic]', and if resolved would help women graduates.[137] Christine's experience demonstrates how flexible working and re-training opportunities were still scarce in the post-war period. Her voluntary agency, that she launched herself, demonstrates how voluntary work could be a form of activism.

Geraldine's (1912) voluntary work had also led to activism and she had been heavily involved in campaigning work for women's issues, which had taken up a lot of her time.[138] She saw committee work as demanding 'an immense amount of time with not much result' but admitted that it did 'fit in with family commitments', implying that there was some flexibility as to when the committee meetings took place.[139] Geraldine appears to have had mixed feelings about this work. She found it interesting and enjoyed being part of something important. She explained that she had been 'fortunate in being "in" on the campaign to abolish the earnings limit for

[135] MS 1215 13/3.
[136] MS 1215 13/3.
[137] MS 1215 13/3.
[138] MS 1215 27/1.
[139] MS 1215 27/1.

widowed mothers'.[140] This was a cause that she seems to have felt proud to be a part of. She admitted that this campaign had 'taken an enormous amount of time' that she would have liked 'to have devoted to the family'.[141] However, the way in which Geraldine refers to having been 'fortunate' in being involved suggests that she felt that the sacrifice was worth it.

Conclusion

Graduate women were finding fulfilling and flexible opportunities in the voluntary sector during the post-war period and making substantial contributions to the state. Some were doing so at an executive, quasi-professional level, and using the opportunity to enrich their life as well as serve the community. Many valued the inherent flexibility and family-friendly nature of voluntary work, which was not done on a contractual basis and could accommodate the demands of family life more easily than contractual, paid work. Voluntary work helping others remained socially acceptable work for middle-class women and provided an outlet for intellectual energy where husbands or family were resistant to a wife taking paid work. The take-up of voluntary work must be viewed in the context of limited opportunities for flexible and fulfilling part-time paid work.

Voluntary work was most fulfilling where women felt that the skills acquired in their university educations were being used. Those women involved in voluntary work in the judiciary, health and education gained much in terms of fulfilment. The number of volunteers working in family planning clinics suggests a wider interest amongst this educated sample in both promoting better sex education and birth control. The importance of voluntary work in the long 1950s reflects Beaumont's argument that the history of the women's movement in the twentieth century is characterised by 'continuity'.[142] Women's work in voluntary organisations was

[140] MS 1215 27/1.
[141] MS 1215 27/1.
[142] C. Beaumont, *Housewives and citizens: Domesticity and the women's movement in England, 1928-1964* (Manchester, 2013), p. 217.

improving women's lives.[143] Of course, whilst women were gaining fulfilment from voluntary work, it was unpaid work. Whilst serving the community in this way, women were forfeiting a greater degree of financial independence both in the short and longer-term.

[143] Beaumont, *Housewives and citizens*, p. 217.

CHAPTER FIVE:
Experiences of teaching work

'I am not doing full time teaching because I consider that with young children of my own I would have neither the time nor patience left at the end of the school day to give them the attention which is their due' (Edie b. 1924)[1]

This chapter argues that teaching was so popular amongst middle-class women graduates in the post-war era for two main reasons. Firstly, because there was a demand for more teachers. The combination of the implementation of the Education Act 1944 and demographic change meant that more teachers were required. Secondly, it was a paid profession that taught children and young people, and thus its working hours were inherently more reflective of children's needs. In a society where domestic work and childcare were seen as the mother's domain, employment like this was unusual. For middle-class mothers who wanted to work, employment opportunities like this were generally appreciated. However, women were not necessarily actively choosing to pursue careers in teaching over other opportunities. The reality was that it was one of the only occupations that partially reflected children's needs through a shorter working day required at school (even if preparation and marking might be required after the children had gone to bed) and school holidays.

Teaching in all its forms is examined in this chapter. Experiences of teaching in schools obviously differed from experiences of teaching in colleges and universities to some extent, but educational settings had the common feature of a three term per year structure. This allowed mothers to have time with their children during school holidays. Although there were many lecturers working in colleges, there were few women working in academia at universities,

[1] MS 1215 27/1.

but experiences of academia are included where possible to illustrate how these generally male-dominated work environments impacted on women employees.

Teaching: a respectable career for women

There is a long tradition of women finding remunerated work as teachers; it was a respectable career that could provide financial independence for spinsters, widows and even married women.[2] Teaching remained an acceptable career for women into the twentieth century. However, marriage bars operating in the 1920s and 1930s served to perpetuate the view that women teachers would leave their jobs on marriage.[3] Marriage regulations relating to employment were relaxed during the war in 1942, and there was a subsequent increase in married women teachers, but the national bar did not officially end for teachers until 1944.[4] However, as Glew has demonstrated, married women teachers could be employed by the London County Council from 1935.[5]

Opportunities for married women teachers grew in the post-war era. The Education Act 1944 increased the age at which children could leave school to fifteen years old by April 1947, and eventually sixteen years old.[6] Children up to that age would be entitled to free education in either a grammar school, secondary modern or secondary technical school.[7] A 1948 Mass

[2] See for example S. Skedd, 'Women Teachers and the Expansion of Girls' Schooling in England, c. 1760-1820', in Barker and Chalus (eds.), *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England* (Harlow, 1997), pp. 101-25, p. 118 for an overview of the expansion of girls' schooling from Hanoverian England to the early nineteenth century; see also A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, London, 1998), p. 381 regarding Ellen Weeton who worked in her widowed mother's school, and when her mother died in the late eighteenth century, continued to run it herself; see also C. De Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800-1867* (Oxford, 2007), p. 48 for examples of women experiencing sudden changes in fortune which necessitated work in schools or as governesses, and p. 49 re women who had grown up knowing their education would prepare them for work educating others.
[3] For a discussion of how marriage bars were justified, see K. Holden, 'Family, Caring and Unpaid Work', in I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.) *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2001), p. 137 and J. Lewis, *Women in England 1870-1950: Sexual Divisions and Social Change* (Hemel Hempstead, 1984), p. 199.
[4] H. McCarthy, *Double Lives: A History Of Working Motherhood* (London, 2020), p. 202.
[5] H. Glew, *Gender, Rhetoric and Regulation: Women's Work in the Civil Service and the London County Council 1900-1955* (Manchester, 2016), p. 199.
[6] J. Bew, *Clement Attlee: The Man Who Made Modern Britain* (Oxford, 2017), p. 394.
[7] Bew, *Clement Attlee*, p. 394.

Observation survey found that 'although most people think that the education of today is far better than of yesterday, a great many improvements are still required for the perfect education of tomorrow'.[8] In the same year Rab Butler, who had overseen the Education Act 1944, wrote a letter to the Editor of *The Times* stating that 'teaching strength to-day engaged in maintaining and assisting the schools is 196,000 compared with 187,510 in the last full year before the war – 1938'.[9] He also made a comment on the gender imbalance amongst teachers:

> It is true that owing to the training of more men than women teachers, there is a lack of balance, and it is to be hoped that steps will be taken by the Government to recruit and train the number of women teachers necessary to fill the vacancies.[10]

The 1950s saw both parental demand for good quality schools and an increase in the number of school places required.[11] The latter rose by over one million from the end of the war to 1960, due to demographic changes.[12] More school places meant more teachers were required. In December 1960 a search for fifty thousand teachers was launched by the government.[13] The shortage of mathematics and science teachers was of particular concern. In July 1961 *Nature* reported that a question had been asked in the House of Lords about how the shortage of mathematics teachers was being addressed 'to avert the incipient disintegration of technological training in Britain'.[14] Responding for the government, Lord Hailsham was reported as saying that consultations were ongoing to tackle the issue and universities had been informed of the 'grave shortage of mathematics graduates able and willing to teach'.[15]

Some of Klein's sample had capitalised on their science training and returned to work teaching in schools. Indeed, women with a range of different types of degrees went into teaching. The

[8] Mass Observation Archive, FR 3025, Further Notes On Attitudes To Present Day Education (Sept 1948), p. 11.
[9] R. A. Butler, 'Reform in the Schools', *The Times* [London], no. 51001 (21 February 1948), p.5.
[10] Butler, 'Reform in the Schools', p. 5.
[11] P. Mandler, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society Presidential Address: Educating The Nation I: Schools,* 24 (2014), p. 16.
[12] Mandler, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society Presidential Address*, p. 16.
[13] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 266.
[14] 'Shortage of Mathematics Teachers in Britain', *Nature*, 191 (1961), p. 127.
[15] 'Shortage of Mathematics Teachers in Britain', p. 127.

majority of the workers in Klein's sample were working in teaching, either in schools, as lecturers, examiners or private coaches/tutors. However, this popularity of teaching should be judged alongside the limited range of career options open for women at this time. In her study of higher education in twentieth-century England, Dyhouse found that many graduates 'confessed that they had only contemplated teaching since nothing else had seemed available, and remembered that they had felt very frustrated by the lack of career opportunities advice following graduation'.[16] Further, Dyhouse highlights how 'government policy played such an important role in conscripting women into teaching'.[17] For example, in 1949 the Working Party on the Supply of Women Teachers had reported, recommending that swift action was needed to encourage girls into teaching careers, and in the post-war era schools looked to married women wishing to return to work to fill posts.[18]

It is likely that many of those in Klein's sample had surveyed the landscape of career options available and decided that teaching was the better of very few options. Dyhouse has highlighted the frustrations women graduating in the 1930s felt about the 'lack of career opportunities and advice following graduation.'[19] Thane has also demonstrated in a survey of Girton graduates that there was an awareness of the limited career options available for women, and some of those who went into teaching did so reluctantly.[20] Over two-thirds of all those in employment in Klein's sample were involved in full-time or part-time teaching; this confirms the importance of teaching in the history of women's employment in the post-war era.

[16] C. Dyhouse, 'Graduates, Mothers and Graduate Mothers: family investment in higher education in Twentieth-Century England', *Gender and Education*, 14/4 (2012), p. 328.
[17] C. Dyhouse, 'Signing the pledge? Women's investment in university education and teacher training before 1939', *History of Education*, 26/2 (1997), p. 223.
[18] Dyhouse, 'Signing the pledge?', p. 222.
[19] Dyhouse, 'Graduates, Mothers and Graduate Mothers', p. 328.
[20] P. Thane, 'Girton Graduates: earning and learning, 1920s-1980s', *Women's History Review*, 13/3 (2004), p. 354.

However, if other options for work offering intellectual fulfilment and flexible hours had been readily available, it is likely that some women might have taken a different route.

Some respondents in Klein's survey were candid about how they felt they were unsuited to teaching work but had fallen into it after graduation. Meg (b. 1911) was realistic about her aptitude for teaching. She explained that she 'never had any particular vocation for teaching', although she 'enjoyed it' and felt that she would 'prefer to take a completely different training and job were it necessary for me to take up work, other than domestic responsibilities now'.[21] Faced with a situation where she did not *need* to pursue paid work, Meg had considered her suitability for teaching, and finding it lacking, decided not to go back. Birkinshaw's study of teachers in the 1930s concluded that many unhappy teachers had chosen the profession without really understanding what was involved.[22] The study also identified dissatisfaction with the 'narrow and restricted' nature of the job and a perception of its inferior status compared with medicine or law.[23]

Teaching continued to be an attractive source of work in the long 1950s largely because it was based around school days and holidays. This was a hugely important factor for mothers who wanted to work, but also did not want to feel that their own children were being disadvantaged by their work. There was evidence of knowledge of the need for married women teachers to return to work to fill positions. This may have boosted the appeal of teaching work; it is easier to return to work after children when opportunities are available locally and increased school places, and therefore teachers, were required nationally not just in major metropolitan areas. Part-time opportunities to teach may also have been made available in part because of the need for more teachers. Part-time jobs were appealing, as they were seen as less taxing than full-

[21] MS 1215 26/1.
[22] M. Birkinshaw, *The Successful Teacher: An Occupational Analysis based on an enquiry conducted among women teachers in secondary schools* (London, 1935), p. 115.
[23] Birkinshaw, *The Successful Teacher*, p. 110.

time roles, which were also seen as requiring the employment of substantial domestic help. But teaching was appealing primarily because mothers could return to paid work and a pattern of working that was reflective of the pattern of their children's lives. Teaching work offered shorter working days, and longer holidays. Children of school age are, and were in 1963, only at school for a short working day, and have long holidays at Christmas, Easter and the summer.

Teaching provided flexibility in other ways too. The number of teachers working part-time also demonstrates that part-time work was an option, although not everywhere, as experiences reveal. It was also a job that could be returned to after a break, sometimes of many years, to look after children. Hyacinth (1927) worked as an assistant mistress from 9am to 1pm five days a week.[24] For Hyacinth, a science graduate who had work experience both in industrial research and in teaching prior to the birth of her children, teaching had a new appeal in her late thirties. She left work when her first child was born.[25] In 1956 she returned to teaching as an assistant mistress, working part-time for two mornings a week and stayed until she was pregnant again.[26] She was back at work in September 1961, first three mornings a week as an assistant mistress, then five mornings.[27] Her perception of teaching had changed over the years, partly due to an increased confidence in managing children gained from having her own family. She explained that she found 'teaching ideal to combine with family life (home for holidays with family)' and was '[n]ow enjoying it'.[28] Hyacinth had been able to scale up her hours gradually and had gained confidence from her role as a mother which made managing children in the classroom more enjoyable. She explained that '[i]t would have been much more difficult to plunge into full-time teaching' after a long break.[29]

[24] MS 1215 29/1.
[25] MS 1215 29/1.
[26] MS 1215 29/1.
[27] MS 1215 29/1.
[28] MS 1215 29/1.
[29] MS 1215 29/1.

Teaching was also a profession that some seem to have moved into without a qualification, whilst others took training courses for graduates wanting to teach. The appeal of teaching for graduates is clear, but as Thane argues, framing discussion of women's careers in terms of 'choices' fails to recognise the systemic restrictions that existed in terms of employment opportunities for women.[30]

Full-time teachers

As stated in Chapter 1 there were 223 women who were working in full-time employment. Of these, 153 (68.6%) were working in teaching. Not all were working in schools, but the majority were, with only 31 of the full-time teaching sample working as lecturers in further or higher education (13.9% of all full-time workers). There were some respondents who did not give sufficient detail as to the nature of the organisation in which they taught for analysis to determine whether it was a further or higher education establishment. Where this was the case, it was assumed that they were teachers rather than lecturers. Amongst the sample of teachers, 5 stated their job title as 'Headmistress' (2.2% of all full-time workers; 4.1% of all full-time teachers in the sample).

The table below illustrates the breakdown of the full-time teacher sample, in terms of whether women had children, and if so, how old their children were. What this analysis illustrates is that the majority (79.7%) of full-time teachers had children of secondary school age or older, or no children of their own. However, 7.2% of full-time teachers had children who were five years old or younger, and 13.1% had children aged six to eleven years old.

[30] Thane, 'Girton Graduates: earning and learning', p. 358.

Table 7: Ages of children of full-time teachers

Age of youngest child	Number of respondents	%
0-5	11	7.2
6-11	20	13.1
12-18	56	36.6
19 years and over	23	15.0
No children of their own	43	28.1
Total	153	100.0

Reasons for pursuing full-time teaching work varied and not all respondents explained their rationale for working full-time. As with part-time teachers, there was evidence that teaching was a more obvious choice for a graduate who wanted to work. Primary school teachers did not need to be graduates. Many graduates in Klein's sample seem to have assumed they were qualified to teach in any setting, and some secured a teaching job without a teaching qualification. For example, Geraldine (1926) had found a temporary full-time position teaching French in a secondary school in Scotland, but despite her years of practical experience, her position on the salary scale reflected that she was an 'uncertified teacher'.[31]

The need for teachers was referenced by some of the sample. Nora (1917), a full-time science department head at a comprehensive school, had returned to teaching in 1948 partly 'because Attlee appealed for teachers!'.[32] Nora seems to have done some form of teacher training after her degree in science, and having left university during the war, she initially worked in the Ministries of Supply and Home Security before working at the War Agricultural Committee.[33]

[31] MS 1215 28/1.
[32] MS 1215 27/1.
[33] MS 1215 27/1.

Then she was '[d]rafted' to work at a technical school in 1942, where presumably she gained practical experience.[34] With a qualification and experience behind her, she seems to have felt confident she would find a position when she decided to return to work in 1948.

The availability of teaching jobs also prompted decisions to take a teacher training course. Imogen (1912) graduated in science in 1934 and married the same year.[35] She had not worked outside of the home until she started teaching at a grammar school in 1951.[36] A mother of five children, she described the Diploma of Education course she took from 1950 to 1951 as 'not very suitable' as she had been required to study full-time, whereas she would have far preferred a two year part-time course.[37] Her decision to choose teacher training rather than retraining as a social worker had been influenced by the number of jobs available in her area: 'there was only one job' available locally in social work in the early 1950s.[38] Teaching jobs had been more abundant, but Imogen had also been influenced by teaching work's ability to 'fit with children's holidays'.[39] She had been working full-time at the same local grammar school since 1951 and had been promoted from assistant mistress to senior physics mistress.[40]

A return to part-time work after the birth of children could then evolve into full-time teaching, as Hilda's (1925) story illustrates. Hilda was honest about the need to return to her work as a teacher after the birth of her children. She had a BSc in chemistry and mathematics and had done a Diploma in Education after graduating.[41] Hilda was in her late thirties at the time of the study and living in a Berkshire town with her husband and two children.[42] She had returned to teaching part-time when the youngest was two years old, explaining that if she 'had not had

[34] MS 1215 27/1.
[35] MS 1215 29/1.
[36] MS 1215 29/1.
[37] MS 1215 29/1.
[38] MS 1215 29/1.
[39] MS 1215 29/1.
[40] MS 1215 29/1.
[41] MS 1215 28/1.
[42] MS 1215 28/1.

babies who yelled solidly day and night for 2 years each I would probably thought my duty was to stay home and not go out to work', implying that the realities of full-time childcare in these early years had been challenging.[43] However, she added that she did 'not think they suffer in any way due to my teaching. I certainly did them no good by being at home all the time they were young (or by breast-feeding!)'.[44] Her comments suggest that she had adhered to advice about what was best for her children by breast-feeding and caring for them herself but had found doing so extremely difficult.

Hilda had experienced great difficulty finding part-time work in the late 1950s: 'I actually had to write to individual schools to obtain part-time work. No assistance was given by Education Authorities'.[45] She had received no reply to her first letter, which she put down to mentioning her 'responsibilities to my children'.[46] She had been informed that she should look in the 'usual advertising media e.g. Times Educational Supplement'.[47] However, since working with them, she had found the local education authority 'as helpful as possible' and they had endeavoured to identify part-time work for her for the odd term she had been unable to herself.[48] Hilda felt that moving to a different district when children were young was disadvantageous when looking for work, as she saw that '[o]ne's old school is more likely to make arrangements for one to fit in what one is able'.[49] Hilda seems to have felt that her old school would have been understanding of her situation, and would have been willing to offer her work. This confirms the importance of networking for mothers seeking work.

[43] MS 1215 28/1.
[44] MS 1215 28/1.
[45] MS 1215 28/1.
[46] MS 1215 28/1.
[47] MS 1215 28/1.
[48] MS 1215 28/1.
[49] MS 1215 28/1.

Hilda explained her decision to return to full-time mathematics teaching at the beginning of 1962 as being due to an inability to find a permanent part-time role.[50] She had experienced some negative reaction to her role as a full time-teacher and mother; she explained that '[t]here is some limited disapproval of married staff with children by other members of staff', which she felt was 'because they think they will lose their 'free periods' due to the children being ill etc.'.[51] Hilda's view was that a shorter day was required for staff with young children, but this could be resented by other staff.[52] She explained that finishing earlier, presumably to allow a mother to pick up her own children from school, was 'more or less essential' for mothers of children 'between 5 and 7'.[53] But Hilda acknowledged that 'this is also the hardest teaching period and other staff justifiably do not see why married staff with children should have this privilege even though they are only paid say 9/10ths full time'.[54] Hilda had known that it would be emotionally beneficial to herself and her family if she returned to her work as a teacher part-time. The difficulties of finding a permanent part-time position had propelled her into full-time work, and despite the attitudes of some fellow staff, she was managing to balance her job with family life. It is noticeable that Hilda felt the need to express her conviction that her children had not suffered as a result of her teaching.

Hilda was not alone in citing the need for relief from the challenges of domestic duties at home, nor in moving from part-time to full-time teaching work. At the time she completed her questionnaire, Cathy (1920) was about forty-three and working as a full-time maths teacher at a grammar school in southern England, and her three children were at state infant, primary and grammar schools.[55] Cathy recognised that she was a 'happier person' having returned to

[50] MS 1215 28/1.
[51] MS 1215 28/1.
[52] MS 1215 28/1.
[53] MS 1215 28/1.
[54] MS 1215 28/1.
[55] MS 1215 26/1.

teaching after her marriage, and said that she would now 'hate just to be a housewife'.[56] Her husband was initially opposed to her returning to work but saw the benefits she gained from it.[57] Although Cathy was content with her life, she did not see herself working as a teacher indefinitely and was hopeful she would be able to retire 'before my normal retiring age'.[58] Cathy and her husband had lived in Kenya when their children were very small, but had only employed live-in childcare for eighteen months when her eldest daughter was a baby.[59] She and her husband had both found this unsatisfactory, along with the demands of Cathy's full-time hours.[60] When the younger two of her three children were born, Cathy decided to work part-time, and found this to be much more manageable.[61] However, Cathy's success was born of ingenuity, tenacity, and an understanding boss. She taught to within a month of the babies' births and returned when they were a month old.[62] They were cared for in the school sanitorium whilst she worked until they were twenty months old, when they went to nursery, whilst her eldest child went to school.[63] Her headmistress gave her a 'compact timetable allowing for feeding times, travelling and my own family's school times'.[64] When Cathy and her family returned to England, her husband decided that he would take on a business with a house attached, which would mean that he would be around when the children came home from school, thereby facilitating Cathy's continuing career as a teacher.[65] Cathy felt that her husband had 'given me every help and assistance and sympathetic understanding' which she saw as 'absolutely essential'.[66] She also described her children as 'independent and helpful and

[56] MS 1215 26/1.
[57] MS 1215 26/1.
[58] MS 1215 26/1.
[59] MS 1215 26/1.
[60] MS 1215 26/1.
[61] MS 1215 26/1.
[62] MS 1215 26/1.
[63] MS 1215 26/1.
[64] MS 1215 26/1.
[65] MS 1215 26/1.
[66] MS 1215 26/1.

responsible happy children' and had 'never felt' that her children resented her teaching.[67] Perhaps Cathy, like Hilda, felt it was necessary to explain that her children had experienced no ill-effect from her paid work as a teacher. She added that she and her husband tried to be with their children at weekends and during school holidays, and that she did 'necessary school work after their bedtime'.[68] Cathy enjoyed her career and felt happier as a result of her work, but her experience also illustrates the importance of domestic help in facilitating her professional work, as well as the benefit of having a supportive husband.

There was evidence elsewhere that pursuing full-time teaching work alongside family commitments could be exhausting. Felicity (1915) had been the head of department in a grammar school before leaving work upon her marriage to an engineer in 1953.[69] She had been a housewife for four years, caring for a home, big garden and some animals, but described feeling bored with domesticity and lonely.[70] Felicity described herself as having no children, but cited care responsibilities to her stepson, although we don't know how old he was in 1963.[71] She returned to teaching in 1957 in a village school but had been asked to work in a nearby comprehensive.[72] Felicity had not enjoyed working in the comprehensive school, and so had moved to a girls' high school, where she had been asked to work full-time, however, she found full-time work 'exhausting', particularly in winter when she had to 'travel by car for miles daily over very exposed terrain'.[73] She added that she could not 'get domestic help (all available prefer helping in Schools)' and found that she had 'no leisure'.[74] In addition, she was finding it difficult to keep up with the necessary reading for her subject and was concerned that she

[67] MS 1215 26/1.
[68] MS 1215 26/1.
[69] MS 1215 26/1.
[70] MS 1215 26/1.
[71] MS 1215 26/1.
[72] MS 1215 26/1.
[73] MS 1215 26/1.
[74] MS 1215 26/1.

had not 'enough time to do justice to subjects'.[75] She was interested to try lecturing in a training college that was being established locally, and therefore keen to expand her experience, which had already covered teaching from infants to A-level, and in comprehensive and grammar schools, but she was 'seriously thinking of returning to village school for a spell'.[76] It seems that Felicity, a teacher with extensive experience, was thinking of returning to a less taxing and more local role, seemingly to avoid having to travel long distances in winter, and to help her manage the burden of domestic work.

Other full-time teachers reflected on the strength and determination required to pursue full-time work alongside domestic commitments. Imogen (1914) had graduated with a degree in history in 1936, completed a Diploma in Education in 1937 and married in 1938.[77] She and her husband lived in Hampshire and had two children who were born in 1941 and 1943.[78] Imogen had worked full-time as a teacher from 1937 until her marriage, and from the period 1938 to 1946 she had done a mix of part-time and full-time jobs, leaving the last post in a boys' grammar school at the end of the war.[79] In 1946 she took a full-time job as a secretary in hospital administration but left in 1962 as opportunities for promotion were not available locally, only in London, and she felt she had 'nothing more to give' to her job.[80] She had taken up a full-time assistant mistress post in 1962.[81]

Imogen had been involved with paid work for the whole of her married life. She had been strategic in planning her family, 'so they were born in the Easter holidays!', and she had used all her earnings to fund her children's education.[82] Imogen made several observations on

[75] MS 1215 26/1.
[76] MS 1215 26/1.
[77] MS 1215 26/1.
[78] MS 1215 26/1.
[79] MS 1215 26/1.
[80] MS 1215 26/1.
[81] MS 1215 26/1.
[82] MS 1215 26/1.

married graduate women and employment. Firstly, she felt physical strength was important to work full-time, run a home and cope with children.[83] Secondly, from her experience she perceived that graduate women were 'very frustrated if they do not work'.[84] Thirdly, she felt that both 'husband and children do not like the mother of the family to work', although enjoying the financial benefits.[85] Her experience had been that they 'demand just as much from you as 'a patient wife and mother'', but this could 'cause great strain' and there was 'the need always to be bright and cheerful and not to show weariness or it will be suggested that you give up your work which you probably enjoy for the most part'. [86] Finally, Imogen observed that '[t]here is constant anxiety over domestic help'.[87]

Imogen's comments imply that she felt a tension between what she perceived was the norm (staying at home to manage domestic concerns) and the unusual (going out to work), and that negotiating this tension required resilience. Her experience also demonstrates that she felt she needed to manage the emotions of the other members of her family, by remaining 'bright and cheerful' herself. [88] She also felt required to practise patience in her role as wife and mother, and maintaining this calm demeanour, when presumably at times she felt tired and in need of care herself, was a strain. It seems that the financial benefit of being able to contribute to the costs of her children's education had been sufficient to outweigh the emotional labour she felt required to do.

Imogen specified how her salary was spent on her children's education, and other full-time teachers mentioned the financial benefits of their work. Patricia (1909) also cited her additional salary as having benefitted her children. Patricia was in her early fifties at the time of the

[83] MS 1215 26/1.
[84] MS 1215 26/1.
[85] MS 1215 26/1.
[86] MS 1215 26/1.
[87] MS 1215 26/1.
[88] MS 1215 26/1.

survey and working full-time as a teacher in a girls' school in Scotland.[89] In the early days of her career, she had found the Local Education Authority had kept her in primary school work, when she had felt herself more suited to secondary.[90] This had made her cautious about working as a teacher for the LEA when she returned to paid employment after a break to look after her young children.[91] Instead, she had taken work as an examiner of English for a corporate body, then as a visiting lecturer for a school of domestic science, and more recently she had preferred to work in independent schools.[92] The moves she and her husband had made had been largely to further his career as a teacher, and he had risen to the role of Principal Teacher at the time of the survey.[93] Patricia explained that her post as a Senior Assistant Mistress was likely to be her last, as her age prevented her from being a Principal herself.[94] She seemed to have no regrets about her restricted career progression, instead seeing hers and her husband's paid work as contributing to a shared goal of providing their daughters 'with a fuller and wider education than we could have managed otherwise'.[95]

Occasionally, full-time workers were honest about how their income was essential to support themselves and dependents. This tended to be confined to the divorced and widowed women in the sample. Louise (1918) was a widow, supporting two children and running a home.[96] Her experiences illustrate how teaching could be a relatively easy career to get into, even without a formal postgraduate qualification, and could provide financial independence and security. However, her story also illustrates how remaining in the profession could feel like a

[89] MS 1215 26/1.
[90] MS 1215 26/1.
[91] MS 1215 26/1.
[92] MS 1215 26/1.
[93] MS 1215 26/1.
[94] MS 1215 26/1.
[95] MS 1215 26/1.
[96] MS 1215 26/1.

compromise, and lead to frustration regarding the lack of opportunity to pursue other avenues of employment.

Louise graduated with a degree in French and German in 1940 and her first job was as a postal censor during the war.[97] She found the work boring and got an 'improved position' as an Administrative Assistant at the Ministry of Home Security which lasted until 1942, when she left as she was expecting a baby, having married her research chemist husband the same year.[98] When her son was three years old, Louise returned to work full-time in a scientific library as a scientific assistant which involved some translation work but this post was subject to 'Post war redundancy' in 1946.[99] She acknowledged that a '[s]hortage of domestic help would have made life much more difficult when children were younger' if she had not had an exceptionally 'sympathetic and cooperative husband'.[100]

Louise found full-time work teaching in an infant school in 1947 but left the same year as she was expecting another baby, a daughter who arrived in 1948.[101] She returned to full-time infant teaching in 1953 when her daughter was five years old, explaining that she was 'interested in young children's development', but also that her home and husband were 'fixed' and that there was 'no other opportunity offered in area at that time'.[102] Louise's husband died that same year, she remained in her job and explained that she had 'no prospect' of being able to move to a different role that would use her languages until her children became more independent.[103] She was already concerned that her language skills were 'a bit "rusty"' and also worried that delaying a move would present problems: 'by which time I shall undoubtedly be considered

[97] MS 1215 26/1.
[98] MS 1215 26/1.
[99] MS 1215 26/1.
[100] MS 1215 26/1.
[101] MS 1215 26/1.
[102] MS 1215 26/1.
[103] MS 1215 26/1.

too old for breaking into any other field!'.[104] Louise had taken evening courses of 'recreational or intellectual interest' and been involved with the BFUW, National Union of Teachers and Townswomen's Guild.[105] However, it is evident she was disappointed that she had not been able to use her degree more fully, and found her current job lacking in intellectual stimulation.

Even those full-time teachers who were looking forward to retirement recognised the financial independence their work provided. Another widow, who did not have children, explained how her teaching work had allowed her to support herself and her mother. Lottie (1898) was in her sixties at the time of the survey. She was working full-time as a teacher in an Edinburgh high school. She had married a schoolmaster in 1933 but was widowed only a few years afterwards. She decided to go to university and studied for three years for an MA, and then did a further year of training to be a teacher, but this used up all her savings. She had taught ever since, supporting her mother financially for a period until her mother's death in 1952. Lottie expected that she would work until the age of seventy, to ensure she had an adequate pension. Now, she could 'live fairly comfortably' and felt there were 'many interesting things I want to do after I retire, but I am not much of a saver - yet - and one needs money'. [106] Having no family, she saw her 'career as a professional woman' was 'no different from that of any single woman'.[107]

There were also examples of women who recognised the advantages and disadvantages of their full-time work but enjoyed the financial independence that resulted. Roberta (1921) was also able to reflect on what her work as a teacher had meant to her. She was in her early forties at the time of the survey, married to a schoolmaster with two children who had been born in 1951 and 1953. Roberta had graduated with a BA (Hons) in history in 1942 and then spent a year at the Institute of Education in London for a Diploma of Education. From 1943 to 1944 she

[104] MS 1215 26/1.
[105] MS 1215 26/1.
[106] MS 1215 26/1.
[107] MS 1215 26/1.

worked as an assistant mistress in a boys' grammar school, but this job ended when the master returned from the war. From 1944 to 1946 she took on another role in a boys' grammar school, which also ended when the master returned from the war. From 1946 to 1951 she taught in a girls' grammar school, but left shortly before her daughter was born, and remained at home as a 'housewife' until 1958, which she listed in the employment section of the questionnaire. [108] In 1958, when her youngest child was five years old, Roberta returned to full-time work as a teacher. She had enjoyed her eight years as a housewife 'very much'. [109] She said that this 'type of life has many compensations', but also noted that on 'the other hand as a working wife and mother one has a strong feeling of security and independence'. [110] Her conclusion was that there 'are very definite pros and cons for both types of life'.[111]

As shown above, there was a significant proportion of full-time workers who had older children. Many of these women had reached a point in their lives where they were able to take on full-time work, having not done so for a sustained period since marriage. For Edwina (1910), who had children aged twenty and twenty-two at the time of the survey, and who was not needed as a support to her husband's work anymore, there had been an opportunity to move into a field of interest. Edwina had studied English and French at university and then done a year of teacher training, had taken a full-time job as a teacher in a primary school from 1933 to 1939 when she left upon marriage to a doctor. She had two children in 1941 and 1943 and was busy with them and work as a doctor's wife in the early years. However, in the period 1951 to 1961 she used her teaching experience to take supply work, covering teacher absences.

[108] MS 1215 26/1.
[109] MS 1215 26/1.
[110] MS 1215 26/1.
[111] MS 1215 26/1.

These were about every four to six weeks, and depending on her domestic circumstances, 'for periods of 1 week to 6 months'.[112]

More recently, she had found a full-time job 'working with handicapped children', explaining that 'being the wife of a general practitioner and having a more or less medical home background, I was attracted to this kind of work'.[113] We do not know if Edwina's job in 1963 involved teaching, but her qualification had allowed her to be involved in paid employment, on her terms over a ten year period, presumably giving her additional experience and confidence to take on her more recent full-time role. Since the medical practice was no longer based in the family home, but in a surgery with resident receptionist, and her children were independent, Edwina was able to work full-time. She explained that 'the duties (unpaid) of the wife of a G.P. are so numerous that it is well nigh impossible to combine career and housewife'.[114] However, now she found that 'my arrangements seem to be working smoothly and I am very gratified to be doing this type of work'.[115] Edwina had spent the years whilst her children were at school doing unpaid work for her doctor husband, and fitting in supply teaching work when it suited her. By doing so, she had managed to continue using her teaching skills, and presumably sustained confidence in her abilities via this work and her medical secretarial work. She seems to have been relishing the opportunity to start a new chapter of personally fulfilling paid work.

For those full-time teachers with older children and fewer care responsibilities, there was a degree of freedom that allowed them to have a working life similar to that of a single woman. However, as previous chapters have illustrated, caring commitments to a husband, older children, elderly relatives and eventually grandchildren might emerge as important, and this

[112] MS 1215 26/1.
[113] MS 1215 26/1.
[114] MS 1215 26/1.
[115] MS 1215 26/1.

could impact on work. Additionally, they had to navigate the sex discrimination evident within the teaching profession. In January 1954 the academic journal *Nature* reported on the shortage of 'graduate teachers of science', revealing assumptions that men were assumed to be potential candidates for teaching science to school children.[116] Reporting the views of Sir Charles Morris, vice-chancellor of the University of Leeds, the article stated:

> 'The answer to the shortage of graduate teachers in science is that "we must make sure we are using well all the scientists we have in research and in industry and that we must somehow again make schoolmastering [sic] attractive to the young man of spirit, imagination and ambition"'.[117]

Such sexism was reflected elsewhere. For example, an article in *The Times* in 1948 reported on the National Association of Schoolmasters conference, which had 'unanimously resolved that the education of boys was a man's work and invited the Ministry of Education and local authorities to insist upon the employment of enough men teachers to ensure that boys should be taught by men'. [118]

The experiences of two Scottish teachers demonstrates there was still sex discrimination in the teaching profession after marriage bars disappeared. Eugenie (1914) stated that in 'Inverness married women are not given permanent appointments', but instead might be employed for a long time, but on a temporary basis, paid by the day, but over the course of the year on a financially comparable basis to a permanent employee.[119] Christine (1919) had wanted to return to teaching in the late 1950s when she lived in Ross-shire, but 'had no luck' as at that time there had been 'no scarcity of women teachers'. [120] After a move to Aberdeenshire, she managed to get a job as a permanent member of staff. The family then moved to Inverness-shire, where she managed to get another job but was not taken on to the permanent staff because

[116] 'Shortage of Graduate Teachers of Science', *Nature*, 183 (1954), p. 196.
[117] 'Shortage of Graduate Teachers of Science', p. 196.
[118] 'Women Teachers of Boys', *The Times* [London], no. 51036 (3 April 1948), p. 3.
[119] MS 1215 13/3.
[120] MS 1215 26/1.

she was a married woman. She found this 'rather unsettling', explaining that 'it can affect one's arrangements for domestic help and financial commitments, and, above all, one's attitude to work'. [121] She felt she lacked a 'feeling of security'.[122]

Women were also being discriminated against where there was a lack of flexibility regarding the hours they worked. For example, Ruth (1924) was working part-time as a teacher. It was a temporary position, to cover for another's illness. Ruth really wanted to return to university teaching but felt she could not work full-time or too far away from home. She found it impossible to get domestic help 'at reasonable rates' and at the times she most needed it, which was when her children came home from school. [123] So, she felt she had to confine the hours she worked. This in turn was limiting her career progression. She felt that entrance to university posts were 'very difficult for women to obtain', perceiving that a 'considerable bias to appointing men appears to exist'.[124]

Headmistresses

Additional analysis of those teachers who were headmistresses (all full-time workers), reveals that two women had no children, and two had older children (nineteen years plus) and one, Leslie, had two children, the youngest being about thirteen at the time of the survey. Leslie's (1919) situation illustrates that full-time workers could still have care responsibilities to older relatives, even if their childcare responsibilities were lessened in term times because their children were at boarding school. Leslie had graduated with a BA Hons in maths in 1940 and achieved a Teaching Diploma in 1941. She went into employment as a teacher straight away and was a full-time maths mistress until she had her first child in 1949. Her second child was born in 1950 and she seems to have remained at home with them until 1954, when she returned

[121] MS 1215 26/1.
[122] MS 1215 26/1.
[123] MS 1215 26/1.
[124] MS 1215 26/1.

to full-time work as a maths mistress, moving into the role of headmistress of a secondary modern school in 1961. Leslie gave very little detail but noted in the questionnaire that her children were at boarding school, and that her retired parents were living with her and requiring care.[125]

Ruth had also had care responsibilities to her parents in the past, although they had died by the time she filled out the questionnaire. Ruth (1909) had worked full-time as an assistant mistress after her BA in English and teaching diploma, up until her marriage in 1935. She resigned on marriage as it was 'then in contract', because of the marriage bar. [126] Her only child was born in 1937, but she referred to doing '[s]hort periods of supply teaching' until she returned to full-time work in 1941. [127] She worked in this role, as a headmistress until 1948, when she resigned. From 1948 Ruth was working full-time as 'headmistress of own school', possibly implying that she had set up her own private school. [128] She made no reference to her childcare arrangements unfortunately, but it seems that her only child went to a grammar school, and there is no reference to the school being a boarding school.[129]

Justine (1911) had graduated with an MSc in chemistry and a Dip Ed in the early 1930s. She had married in 1938 and had two children, in 1940 and 1944. She had worked full-time until the marriage bar had forced her to resign in 1938 but had returned to full-time work when her youngest child was about four years old in 1948. This teaching role was as a deputy head, but she had been promoted to headmistress in 1953, and then again to be headmistress of a comprehensive school in 1958. The details given about her children's education imply that they went to independent day schools, the youngest being at university at the time of the survey.

[125] MS 1215 26/1.
[126] MS 1215 13/3.
[127] MS 1215 13/3.
[128] MS 1215 13/3.
[129] MS 1215 13/3.

Justine explained that her husband was now deceased, but we do not know how long she had been a widow. She gave little information about her reasons for working full-time, but did comment that '[m]ore and more of my lesson time is being occupied with Committee work e.g. Hospital and Youth Services, University Hospitality etc.', implying a degree of weariness with aspects of her job.[130]

Leslie, Ruth and Justine, mothers who had managed to reach the top of their profession seemed to have taken only a short break of just a few years before returning to full-time work. The extent of their years in full-time teaching seems to have given them sufficient experience to head up a school. However, it is notable that of the 153 full-time teachers, only 5 were headmistresses (3.3%). Taken as a proportion of all full-time and part-time teachers, headmistresses account for only 1.4%, suggesting it was hard for mothers to reach such a senior position in a school.

None of the headmistresses in the sample discussed encountering sexism in their career progression. However, blatant prejudice against women existed. In 1948 *The Times* reported from the National Association of Schoolmasters conference that:

> Mr. D. N. Thomas (London), moving the resolution, said that there were 3,217 boys' classes in the charge of women, and added: "These avaricious hordes of women have already staked their claim in our field, and the sooner they are smoked out of that field the better it will be for the boys of this country.".[131]

The article concluded with the observation that '[t]he conference also deplored the appointment of women as head teachers of mixed schools' and 'said that the majority of masters would not willingly serve under head mistresses'.[132] For a mother to be promoted to headmistress of any

[130] MS 1215 31.
[131] 'Women Teachers of Boys', p. 3.
[132] 'Women Teachers of Boys', p. 3.

school was unusual, but if she had ambitions to head up a mixed school, she could face even greater challenges.

Part-time teachers

Of the 301 women in the sample involved in part-time paid work, 201 were working part-time as teachers (66.8% of all part-time workers). Therefore, the majority of all part-time workers were working as teachers. The table below illustrates the breakdown of the part-time teacher sample, in terms of whether women had children, and if so, how old their children were. This analysis illustrates that a larger percentage of part-time teachers had children aged five or under, than the full-time sample, i.e., 15.4% as compared with 7.2%. The percentage with children aged six to eleven years old was also larger, with 34.3% of part-time teachers having children aged six to eleven, as opposed to 13.1% of full-time teachers. This indicates that part-time teaching work was more popular, and perhaps therefore easier to manage with younger children to care for, than full-time work.

Table 8: Ages of children of part-time teachers

Age of youngest child	Number of respondents	%
0-5	31	15.4
6-11	69	34.3
12-18	71	35.3
19 years and over	17	8.5
No children of their own	12	6.0
Insufficient data re age	1	0.5
Total	201	100.0

Part-time teaching work could take a huge variety of forms. Some women were working 'half time', as in Helena's (1912) case, where she was working 'half time teaching in a boys [sic] prep school', teaching English to nine-year olds and some science to twelve-year olds, thereby using her BSc in Chemistry and her teacher training qualification.[133] Philippa (1921) was also working 'half time' at a grammar school in Hertfordshire, teaching physics up to O-Level.[134] She also had a BSc in Chemistry but seems not to have acquired a teaching qualification after her degree, and had been a laboratory assistant up until the birth of her first child. We do not know how or when she returned to work and moved into teaching, but in the further comments section she explains that '[a]t one school I was at I felt that the Headmaster actually disapproved of mothers doing part-time work but took me as he could not find anyone else'.[135] It may be that the teacher shortage worked in Philippa's favour. She explained that in her current job the head was 'most kindly disposed towards part-timers'.[136] She went on to say that the head 'even says they have something positive to contribute towards the school'.[137] Philippa admitted that she was not sure that this was always true, perceiving part-time teachers as 'an undoubted nuisance when it comes to time-tables etc'.[138] Yet, she also acknowledged that part-time staff did not 'appear to have any more time off for domestic trouble than any unmarried member of the staff - many of whom seem to have sick mothers to take to hospital or look after instead of sick children'.[139] This illustrates how Philippa could see both married and unmarried women were involved with caring, albeit children or older relatives. However, she also saw the need for childcare concerns to be considered in the timetabling as an irritation for other staff. There

[133] MS 1215 27/1.
[134] MS 1215 28/1.
[135] MS 1215 28/1.
[136] MS 1215 28/1.
[137] MS 1215 28/1.
[138] MS 1215 28/1.
[139] MS 1215 28/1.

is a sense that Philippa felt apologetic for having to work in a manner that took account of her children's requirements.

As well as a 'half time' working pattern, there were teachers working 1.5 days per week, 3 days per week, 5 mornings per week etc., and others were doing an hour or two of teaching per week during the day. There were also teachers working part-time in the evening, at adult evening classes, some at them at the Workers' Educational Association, but also at further education colleges. There were also other women who were involved in marking examination scripts, which was referred to by Una (1913) as 'seasonal examining done at home'.[140] Indeed, Una felt that '"[s]pasmodically" would be truer than "part-time"' as a descriptor of her paid employment.[141] Jacqueline (1927) had just been 'offered 400 scripts at O-level for Human Biology from Ass Board of Examinations' when she completed her questionnaire.[142] Others were combining their examination work with other part-time work, whether it be teaching or something else.

There was yet another aspect of teaching that was mentioned by some, and that was 'coaching'. Coaching could be defined as work done at home, and it is assumed that this was probably the provision of private tuition to individual pupils. The number of hours of coaching done a week ranged from one to eight. But there was also one teacher who described their work as '2 mornings a week German coaching at local Convent', so the term coaching may also have been used for one-to-one or small group teaching in schools as well.[143]

The term 'tutor' was also used, and again its scope was often unclear. Stella (1922) described herself as a part-time tutor 'in German language' in 1963. It may be that Stella was using the term tutor in the way that it is used now, referring to teaching that could also be categorised as

[140] MS 1215 13/3.
[141] MS 1215 13/3.
[142] MS 1215 27/1.
[143] MS 1215 26/1.

coaching. She had graduated with a degree in modern languages. She had gone on to do a PhD and work as an assistant lecturer in a university but had left her job when she married in 1953, as her husband was working in academia in another area of the country. Stella returned to part-time work when her father died, and she was needed to take over his role as a partner in a business, but this ended when the partners decided to sell the firm. She stated the reasons for her current work as a tutor, explaining that she 'would probably have sought work in the local university, but my husband is head of the department', suggesting she would have liked to work there, but his being head of department was a barrier to her doing so.[144] Stella was doing other (unpaid) work as well. She explained that she 'wouldn't really call it "employment" but, doing the same subject, I can do a lot to help with proof-reading and similar "donkey work" for my husband'.[145] Stella had no children but referred to the fact that her mother-in-law had lived with them until her death in 1962 and had required 'considerable care latterly'.[146] It seems that Stella felt her opportunities to pursue a career in her own field were limited by the nature of her husband's work as a professor and head of department. She may have made a pragmatic choice (from a limited range of options) to pursue tutoring work to fit around her caring responsibilities, and her unpaid work supporting her husband's career.

Alison (1928) was doing coaching work at home. Her experiences of motherhood had led her to the conclusion that 'a great mental, and physical effort' was necessary to work when children were very young.[147] She had been a full-time teacher until her marriage, and had three children in quick succession in 1956, 1957 and 1959. She wrote that the 'temptation to "take a holiday" when the children go to school is enormous particularly when there is little difference in the ages'.[148] In the past two years she had been giving private coaching to students at her home,

[144] MS 1215 28/1.
[145] MS 1215 28/1.
[146] MS 1215 28/1.
[147] MS 1215 27/1.
[148] MS 1215 27/1.

presumably taking advantage of the fact that her youngest child was at kindergarten in the mornings, and her older children at school.[149] She said that she had 'never contemplated giving up work altogether'.[150]

Tutoring, coaching and marking examination scripts were forms of teaching work that could be done at home. This added further flexibility to work because there was no commuting to a workplace, and work could be done at times of the day or evening that were convenient. For Alison (1928), a qualified teacher who had worked in a grammar school prior to marriage and children, coaching at home seems to have been more acceptable to her wider family.[151] She lived in Cheshire and felt that 'social pressures are against the upper-middle class wife working'.[152] Her experience was that '[m]ost young mothers are subjected to disapproval from grandparents if they work, but not many from husbands, where both the couple are highly educated'.[153] It seems that for Alison 'private coaching at home' was less obvious than a job in a school and less likely to attract criticism from older members of the family.[154]

More importantly for most self-employed teachers was that tutoring/coaching hours could be kept to a minimum if required or preferred. This was a real benefit to Elspeth (1928), who had been involved in marking examination scripts for three 'very full' weeks every summer since 1954, which she saw as a 'life-line'.[155] She had tried teaching in a school for three weeks, covering for another member of staff. This experience had led her to conclude that 'this work is not well combined with bringing up young children'.[156] She felt that after dealing with children at school and with an evening of marking and lesson planning ahead, it was very

[149] MS 1215 27/1.
[150] MS 1215 27/1.
[151] MS 1215 27/1.
[152] MS 1215 27/1.
[153] MS 1215 27/1.
[154] MS 1215 27/1.
[155] MS 1215 31.
[156] MS 1215 31.

difficult dealing with 'the natural silliness' of her own children.[157] Working for an intensive period of three weeks each summer was preferable to a regular commitment throughout the year. Elspeth's self-awareness had allowed her to conclude that to teach full-time in a school could impact negatively on her relationship with her own children.

This awareness of the impact of full-time work on family life was evident amongst other part-time workers. Anthea (1924) felt that her part-time lecturer role at a further education college was right for her, saying that she enjoyed teaching 'enormously' and wanted 'to make a good professional job of it'. [158] She had no wish to go full-time as her job required 'a lot of preparation and marking' and '[m]ore would disrupt my family life'.[159] Edie (1924) was also very happy with part-time rather than full-time hours.[160] She worked three days a week at a local primary school, and was very clear about why she did not want full-time work: 'I am not doing full time teaching because I consider that with young children of my own I would have neither the time nor patience left at the end of the school day to give them the attention which is their due'.[161]

Edie felt that employing domestic help would not deal with this problem. Instead, she felt the increased hours would lead to her 'patience and sympathy being exhausted'.[162] She added that this was also the reason she had not sought a grammar school teaching job yet, even though she knew that it was likely she would find one in her area. She seems also to have felt that working in a grammar school would be more taxing than working in a primary school. Part-time hours in a primary school were manageable with three children of age ten and under. She perceived full-time work or working in a grammar school as being too much for her current

[157] MS 1215 31.
[158] MS 1215 28/1.
[159] MS 1215 28/1.
[160] MS 1215 27/1.
[161] MS 1215 27/1.
[162] MS 1215 27/1.

life-stage. Erica (1928) had also made a conscious decision to remain in part-time work, which she had taken on to give her 'an interest outside my home'.[163] Her job involved two mornings a week at a technical college teaching English to pre-apprentices. She had been proactive in planning for what would happen in the event of one of her children being ill, getting her employer to agree that she would 'be free to stay away from work if either of the children was ill enough to want me with her'.[164] She had not sought to extend her hours because she 'wanted to spend as much time as possible with the children'.[165] However, with the youngest about to go to school she thought she would probably take on a full-time position, on the understanding that she could stay at home if one of the children was very ill. Erica anticipated that this full-time work would be in a primary school, 'since it requires less time spent prep [sic] and correction'.[166] Edie and Erica were both considering the type of school or college they taught in, the potential workload this would involve and its impact on their own children.

Mothers with children of all ages were assessing the needs of their family in order to determine what paid work might be appropriate for their situation. For some of those graduates involved in part-time teaching there was a sense that by participating in paid work in some way, they were going to be able to scale up their hours in the future. Leonie (1929) was working three mornings a week, teaching children with special educational needs, and stated in her questionnaire that '[a]t the moment I still regard my family as having priority'.[167] Her youngest child was six years old, her middle daughter disabled as a result of polio, and she described her eldest daughter as 'a dreamer'.[168] She was unwilling to 'burden' her eldest child with what she felt were her responsibilities. Leonie's husband's job was stressful, and he had suffered from

[163] MS 1215 26/1.
[164] MS 1215 26/1.
[165] MS 1215 26/1.
[166] MS 1215 26/1.
[167] MS 1215 31.
[168] MS 1215 31.

asthma in recent years. Overall, it seems that Leonie knew that her children and husband needed her care, and that full-time work would prevent her from being able to give such support. This was not something she resented. She explained: 'I have always found looking after the children emotionally rewarding and intellectually stimulating and I would have missed a great deal if I had not been able to do it myself'.[169]

With a degree in sociology, statistics and economics, Leonie had 'never so far seriously considered' resuming her career, but admitted that if 'an interesting job sufficiently conveniently located' arose that allowed part-time work during term time and 'most of the school holidays free', she would like to use her 'academic training and experience'.[170] Working locally, teaching three mornings a week, suited her. Interestingly, she had initially returned to work after having children in September 1961 but seems only to have worked two terms in a private school as a history and geography teacher. This had been for two mornings a week but had required considerable preparation and she gave the reason for leaving as dissatisfaction with the pay and conditions and the preparation required resulting in 'too much strain'.[171] She took up her role as a special needs teacher the following month. Leonie had no training as a teacher but seems to have moved from one job to another with ease. Yet there is a sense that Leonie did not see part-time teaching as something she would do long-term. She said that she had yet to decide what she might do when 'free to follow' her own interests but realised that she would probably need 'further specialised training'.[172] In the meantime she was taking university 'extension courses' in an effort 'to keep up some contact with sociology'.[173]

[169] MS 1215 31.
[170] MS 1215 31.
[171] MS 1215 31.
[172] MS 1215 31.
[173] MS 1215 31.

Other women also had an eye on the future and seemed to see part-time teaching as a flexible option that could be left and returned to, depending on the family's situation. Edith (1928) was working four mornings a week in a grammar school, which she seems to have enjoyed.[174] She remarked on the difficulties of finding domestic help to cover childcare in the event of illness or where her younger child's school holidays did not match her own school's holidays. However, in terms of her mental well-being she felt it was 'definitely worthwhile'.[175] The interesting nature of her work prevented what she saw as a 'cabbage-like kitchen sink mentality'.[176] Edith hoped to have a third child, and had already had a plan if that were to happen: 'would then stop teaching for at least two years but would hope to return'.[177] Edith's seemingly easy move into teaching following the birth of her two children also confirms how graduates did not necessarily need to gain a formal qualification to teach, even in grammar schools. Edith had first found work in a private school teaching maths part-time (her degree was in science, with a subsidiary in maths). She left this job when the family had moved house and 'much reorganisation' had been required.[178] A couple of years later she started work in a grammar school, this time teaching physics and chemistry.

What we can conclude from this sample of part-time teachers, is that teaching work could take a variety of forms, and most importantly could be done to fit in with other commitments. Its popularity amongst mothers with younger children, particularly when compared with full-time teaching work, illustrates that part-time teaching was being used by graduate mothers as a means of participating in the economy on their terms. This reflects findings by sociologists in the 1950s and 1960s, who claimed to see a different type of marriage in this era; marriage as less an institution defined by societal norms, and more a relationship defined by the parties

[174] MS 1215 28/1.
[175] MS 1215 28/1.
[176] MS 1215 28/1.
[177] MS 1215 28/1.
[178] MS 1215 28/1.

themselves.[179] Summerfield argues that the 'companionate ideal', combined with increased opportunities for paid work amongst women, led to more precarious marriages but did not seem to affect the institution itself.[180] There is no evidence here to suggest that those women working part-time as teachers were in unstable marriages. What comes across instead is that part-time teaching work at its best could provide enough personal fulfilment and financial gain to engender a sense of autonomy, and a sense of self separate from the role of mother and spouse. It might be a delicate balancing act ensuring that children and husband did not feel negatively affected by paid work, but some women seemed to feel they were managing to keep everyone happy *and* do their teaching work.

At its best, part-time teaching work could be fulfilling and fit in well with other commitments. Stephanie (1918) had found satisfaction in her teaching work. In 1963 she was living in Middlesex, in her mid-forties, married to a schoolmaster, and working part-time as a teacher of floral art.[181] She found this fulfilling, allowing her an outlet for her interests in academic work (botany), social work (via bringing 'an interest to the lonely') as well as accommodating her artistic side (through demonstrations).[182] Her degree was in the unrelated field of economic and political sciences. From 1940 to 1941 she was working part-time as a teacher 'to help' in an evacuated school, then full-time in 1941 doing clerical work in the Censorship Office.[183] She had also pursued a Diploma of Social Science after graduation, but had married in 1941, interrupted these postgraduate studies and 'so did not continue 'practical' social science, as had to look after home and child'.[184] We do not know when Stephanie resumed paid work after her daughter was born in 1943, but she did detail how she had taken a Teacher's Diploma for

[179] P. Summerfield 'Women in Britain Since 1945: companionate marriage and the double burden' in J. Obelkevich and P. Catterall (eds.), *Understanding Post-War British Society* (London 1994), p. 58.
[180] Summerfield 'Women in Britain Since 1945', p. 67.
[181] MS 1215 13/3.
[182] MS 1215 13/3.
[183] MS 1215 13/3.
[184] MS 1215 13/3.

crafts in Middlesex via part-time study, because 'once out of touch with Academic work, it is difficult to pick up the threads and continue a normal social life as well', perhaps implying that she left a gap of some years before considering returning to paid work.[185] Stephanie had made a pragmatic decision to pursue part-time rather than full-time work: 'To meet travelling expenses, food and domestic help to run the home in absences after taxation has been deducted, makes a full-time job an uneconomic proposition'.[186] She added that her husband objected to 'paying my income tax and sur-tax.'[187]

Stephanie had taken account of her own need for fulfilment from work, but also recognised that to pay someone else to do domestic chores would be uneconomical. Her comments also raised the issue of tax, which came up many times. The intricacies of the tax system were being assessed by many women, and there were examples of women reaching the conclusion, as Stephanie had, that full-time work did not make sense financially for them, because of the amount of tax they and their husband would be required to pay. This was not confined to teachers, as has been discussed in Chapter 2.

Concerns regarding the net financial benefit of taking up paid teaching work were reflected in the 1963 report which followed up on a large national sample of women who entered teaching in England and Wales in the pre-war and post-war period. It found that 'it is perfectly clear that the present joint tax liability of married couples both of whom are working was felt to be a very serious hindrance to the return of married women to teaching'.[188] The report went further and recognised the desire to see the introduction of tax allowances: 'The related

[185] MS 1215 13/3.
[186] MS 1215 13/3.
[187] MS 1215 13/3.
[188] R. K. Kelsall, *Women and teaching: report on an independent Nuffield Survey following-up a large national sample of women who entered teaching in England and Wales at various dates pre-war and post-war* (London, 1963), p. 23.

proposal that married women returning to teaching should be given some tax allowance in respect of additional domestic help, also commanded a significant degree of support'.[189]

The report also highlighted that '[i]n practice, most part-time service (whether in maintained or non-maintained schools) does not count for superannuation purposes (and this, as explained later…is felt to be a serious grievance by some teachers and ex-teachers)'.[190] In Klein's sample, Verity (1910) explained that she felt the teacher pension arrangements were unsatisfactory: 'It is a pity that only the full-time service in education counts for pension ability. Since I will be at almost 10-15 years of full time service I may not qualify at all for a pension'.[191] Despite her pension concerns, Verity continued to teach because to do so was extremely important to her. Having gained a PhD in Vienna, she had been forced to find work teaching private lessons and working in a night school in the 1930s, explaining in her questionnaire that she 'could not get a post for reasons of race and religion' in a state school.[192] Having fled to England in 1937, she had then worked with a refugee organisation, and later as a secretary in a film company. She had a brief spell working as a teacher at the end of the war and just before her first child arrived, but it was not until 1953 that she found a long-term role, working first part-time, and then full-time. Her passion for her work is evident: 'If I did not want to be teaching more than anything, I would not do it'.[193]

Another teacher had decided to lobby on the issue of pensions. Alice (1909), a full-time teacher at the time of the survey, was lobbying the Minister of Education to include aggregate hours of part-time teaching work as qualifying for a pension.[194] She explained that she thought more married women would take on regular part-time teaching if the position on pensions was

[189] Kelsall, *Women and teaching*, p. 23.
[190] Kelsall, *Women and teaching*, p. 9.
[191] MS 1215 28/1.
[192] MS 1215 28/1.
[193] MS 1215 28/1.
[194] MS 1215 29/1.

clarified. She thought that it 'seems as though Min of Education is at present in a way exploiting married women by using them in large numbers relying on them being supported largely by husbands'.[195] As Alice understood the situation, part-time work could only be 'recognised as qualifying for pension if it is half time, on contract and much part time work is sporadic and less than this'.[196] She felt that many women were ignorant of the complexities of the pension system until it was too late to do anything about it. Her use of language is striking, particularly 'exploiting married women', and reflects Hall's assertion:

> [t]o understand the position of women in the home it is necessary to see the way in which women provide an industrial reserve army of labour which can be drawn upon in different ways at different times…The fact that a woman's place is in the home justifies the definition of her work outside the home as secondary – and, therefore, typically low-paid and unskilled.[197]

The post-war pension system was gendered, failing to reflect all types of part-time work. Married women teachers may have been encouraged in some areas to re-enter the workforce and work less than full-time hours but were not necessarily going to enjoy pension benefits as a result.

Alongside concerns about pensions, there was some evidence of unease felt by some teachers as to how they might return to working after a long break or scale up their part-time hours after taking on a small amount of teaching work. Nessa (1917), a teacher who had previously worked as the head of the French department in a school, but had taken a long break to care for her four children, explained that in 1960 she had tried to get oral examination work for the London General Certificate of Education, but had seemingly not been successful because it had been difficult to produce 'adequate referees or testimonials after 20 years'.[198] Perhaps Nessa had been glad to get the opportunity to fill in for the teacher who was unwell in 1962, perceived

[195] MS 1215 29/1.
[196] MS 1215 29/1.
[197] C. Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 68.
[198] MS 1215 28/1.

this as her opportunity to return to paid teaching work and decided to continue. Her example illustrates the difficulties well qualified professional women could encounter when trying to return to paid employment, having taken a break to look after their family.[199]

Some women had investigated, or already tried part-time paid employment, and were pessimistic about future part-time opportunities. Lillian (1913) was aware of the maths and physics teacher shortage in her area, but unaware of any teacher training that could be taken up on a part-time basis. She did not want to train full-time, saying that she did 'not wish to leave home for the whole of the day'. She knew that if she took on part-time work as an uncertified teacher, she would be teaching lower ability classes in a secondary school. This was unappealing to a graduate who had worked as an Assistant Lecturer during her PhD. Lillian's final comment on the questionnaire was that if 're-training facilities were available' she could have returned part-time to university work.[200] Returning to work for which she was qualified, rather than over-qualified, was important to her.

Other graduates seemed to have returned to teaching with less difficulties. Some also moved into teaching with relative ease, despite not having a teaching qualification. Mary (1924), a science graduate (zoology and physiology) who had post-graduate training in dietetics had successfully moved into teaching at a technical high school without a formal qualification.[201] Felicity (1909), who had a first-class botany degree, had achieved some practical experience of teaching straight after her degree.[202] She described how she 'only went into teaching in first instance to fill in time and earn until my fiancé was in position to marry'.[203] After her divorce, she needed to earn and 'teaching was only job I seemed to have qualifications for' and was also

[199] MS 1215 28/1.
[200] MS 1215 31.
[201] MS 1215 28/1.
[202] MS 1215 26/1.
[203] MS 1215 26/1.

'possible to do part time on more or less my own terms owing to shortage of biology teachers'.[204] Again, she had no formal qualification, but her experience was sufficient to have gained her a job at an independent school. She had been in the same post at the same school for the last twelve years.

The demand for teachers and the propensity for councils to offer part-time teaching work seems to have varied according to region. There were many references to teacher shortages, although this did not necessarily translate to positions being available locally offering hours that trained teachers with children wanted. Nelly (1912) explained her assessment of the situation in Glasgow: 'Felt a bit guilty at not going back to help out with teaching shortage, but conditions in Glasgow schools do not entice one back, part-time is difficult to obtain (tho' getting easier)'.[205] Nelly was insufficiently motivated by remuneration to overlook unappealing working conditions.

Networks were important in helping some graduates find teaching work. Mary (1924) had been approached by the local education authority, through her membership of the local branch of the Association of University Women, two years before she was in a position to take on a job.[206] In 1963 Mary stated her part-time hours to include two posts, sixteen hours per week teaching biology at a girls' technical high school and one evening a week (two and a half hours) at the technology college, where her husband was also a lecturer.[207] Clearly her membership of an organisation for women graduates had worked in her favour, and it may be that her husband's connection with the local technical college had also helped her find work as a teacher, something for which she did not have postgraduate training.

[204] MS 1215 26/1.
[205] MS 1215 26/1.
[206] MS 1215 28/1.
[207] MS 1215 28/1.

There was an increase in opportunities for women to refresh their skills from the 1960s.[208] However, prior to this there were limited options for re-training, particularly in terms of the availability of part-time courses. Some of the women in Klein's sample had experience of refresher courses in the 1950s, but frustration was also expressed that these courses were often structured in a way that did not provide the flexibility that a mother needed. Reflecting in 1963 on the training available for graduates who wanted to teach, Olive (1928) wished that courses were available in her area for those wanting to teach in infant schools, not just secondary schools, explaining that her local education authority 'takes the view that a graduate's place is in Secondary Schools'.[209]

Councils varied in their approach to employing women part-time. Some local authorities, responsible for state schools, were reluctant or even reportedly refused to provide part-time employment to married women teachers. Kate (1911) had experienced local government policies unsupportive of work for married women, and felt that '[f]ull-time employment in some cases for unqualified or semi-qualified single teachers is preferred'.[210] Having suffered ill-health and a four month stay in hospital, Kate was faced with the difficult situation in 1963 that she might not be able to do full-time work and fulfil her domestic responsibilities, but was not sure that part-time work would be possible to find. [211] She noted that certain county councils in the area were 'more flexible and progressive' in terms of offering work to married women teachers. However, it is interesting to note how Kate, still recuperating after an accident, was trying to work out whether she would be well enough to manage full-time paid work and 'the

[208] McCarthy, *Double Lives*, p. 242.
[209] MS 1215 29/1.
[210] MS 1215 26/1.
[211] MS 1215 26/1.

running of my home'.[212] Her husband's role in any of these decisions, and his involvement in domestic tasks, was not mentioned.

Some teaching establishments clearly preferred employing full-time staff. Wendy's (1923) part-time lecturing job at a training college was discontinued in 1958 when a full-time lecturer was appointed.[213] Olivia (1916) had a BSc in chemistry and physiology and a diploma in dietetics and had returned to paid work as a lecturer in a Technical College in 1960, when all her three children were at school. She went to 'considerable trouble to get myself up-to-date on a subject which has become more complex since 1940'.[214] She left in 1962 due to being '[d]ropped because full-time Domestic Science Staff engaged'.[215] The experience had been 'discouraging', as she had been employed to start a new course and been told that her work had been 'considered entirely satisfactory', but nevertheless had been replaced by someone less qualified on a full-time basis.[216] She had 'made no official complaint' but felt it was 'a most unsatisfactory state of affairs' given the amount of work she had put into the job.[217]

Part-time teaching could be enjoyable, and mothers might feel fortunate to have found fulfilling work, but it was also a compromise for some women. Jemima (1928) had a degree in industrial administration and had found work as a full-time lecturer for two years before her first child was born.[218] She returned around the time her youngest child started school in 1961 on a part-time basis. Jemima had not taken her degree with teaching in mind and perceived it as 'hardly ideal for the purpose'.[219] However, part-time teaching work suited her. She explained that '[l]ike many women with a house and children I find teaching the only job easily compatible

[212] MS 1215 26/1.
[213] MS 1215 27/1.
[214] MS 1215 26/1.
[215] MS 1215 26/1.
[216] MS 1215 26/1.
[217] MS 1215 26/1.
[218] MS 1215 31.
[219] MS 1215 31.

with both'.[220] Her comments suggest that ideally, she would have liked a job that was more closely related to her degree.

The large numbers of part-time teachers in Klein's sample should be viewed with caution; some mothers had found a flexible career path and felt fortunate to have done so, but the opportunities available for the working middle-class mother in other employment sectors were extremely limited.

Conclusion

This examination of the sample of full-time and part-time teachers reveals much about the attractions of teaching, given the large numbers of these graduate women who were involved in the work. The popularity of full-time teaching work amongst mothers with older children illustrates that it was a career that could be returned to after a break to look after young children. However, analysis of the headmistress sample, albeit small, indicates that to achieve promotion it was necessary to have gained enough years of full-time teaching experience. The popularity of part-time teaching work with mothers with younger, pre-school age children demonstrates that it could provide the flexible working environment required even in these early years of motherhood. The relative ease with which graduates seem to have moved into or back into teaching also illustrates that teaching was a profession that was easier for mothers to gain access to after a break to look after children.

In order to understand the appeal of teaching to women graduates in the post-war era, it is necessary to look at the wider economy's working practices in terms of hours of work. Schools and colleges were some of the few workplaces with shorter working days and longer holidays, and thus more likely to reflect childcare commitments. The fact that so many women in this

[220] MS 1215 31.

sample had chosen teaching work may well have been because opportunities for flexible, family friendly employment in other sectors were so limited in the post-war period. When faced with small, or even large injustices as married women workers, Klein's respondents seem to have felt that they were fortunate even to have a job as mothers. This seems to have led to a belief that it was up to them to make things work.

CHAPTER SIX:
Experiences of doctors, dentists and scientists

'I have…been fortunate in obtaining part time jobs which have been interesting and satisfying. But none of the jobs I have held were advertised and I was lucky to find myself holding them' (Vera, doctor, b. 1910)[1]

This chapter analyses the experiences of those women qualified to undertake medicine or dentistry and potentially take advantage of opportunities within the National Health Service, and those of scientists whose opportunities beyond teaching in schools were generally found in academia or the industrial sector. Not all of those who were qualified doctors and dentists had pursued careers alongside motherhood, but many had; in 1963 over two thirds were in paid employment that related to their training. This was largely due to support from husbands (who were often medics themselves), the availability of part-time work both in general practice and in 'sessional work' in schools and clinics (which was easier to fit in with domestic responsibilities), the availability of domestic workers to help with housework and childcare and the capacity to pay for such help. Another contributing factor, which served to push graduates of medicine and dentistry to continue working in some way, was the knowledge that if they failed to practise for a significant amount of time, it would be much harder to pick up their career without formal retraining.

This chapter argues that the establishment of the NHS in 1948, and the subsequent shortage of doctors helped medicine graduates. The inclusion of dental treatment under the NHS presented new opportunities in schools for dentists wishing to work part-time. As well as more jobs being available, the new NHS, by placing importance on healthcare for all, helped bolster confidence

[1] MS 1215 13/3.

and reassure women graduates that their work was important, and to continue it alongside domestic duties was acceptable. Worth argues that post-war expansion of the welfare state provided new job opportunities for women, most notably in the late 1960s and early 1970s.[2] This thesis builds on this by arguing that women medics and dentists were benefitting during the long 1950s.

For those women who had studied science (and who were not teachers) there seems to have been a more challenging, at times even hostile, work environment. This meant that in order to continue tenacity was required, and very few who were mothers had managed to continue their work, or even wanted to continue their work. The challenges faced by these scientists in the post-war era led many to withdraw their expertise from both industry and scientific research.

Doctors and dentists

Much historical analysis has centred on the struggles of women doctors to train and practise in the 1860s and 1870s, but there is less understanding of how their roles have developed since then.[3] In Britain, by the middle of the twentieth century, many married female doctors were managing to work, but they were more likely to work part-time, have breaks in their careers and work in 'public or community health and general practice', and less likely to be surgeons or in 'positions of seniority and leadership'.[4]

In 1925 a letter from Frances Ivens, President of the Federation of Medical Women to the British Medical Journal (BMJ), regretted that some medical schools 'while giving equal opportunities to men and women as far as graduation, do not realize their further responsibilities, and have made no effort to throw open to their women graduates the resident

[2] E. Worth, 'Women, Education and Social Mobility in Britain during the Long 1970s', *Cultural and Social History* 16/1 (2019), p. 70.
[3] M. A. Elston, 'Women doctors in the British health services: a sociological study of their careers and opportunities' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Leeds, 1986), p. 37.
[4] Elston, 'Women doctors in the British health services', p. 38.

posts in their own hospitals'.[5] Rintala argues that teaching hospitals, particularly those in London, retained preferential treatment within the NHS, something that Charles Wilson, Lord Moran, who was president of the Royal College of Physicians, had laboured to ensure.[6] Moran was seen by Aneurin Bevan, Minister of Health in Clement Attlee's 1945 to 1951 Labour Government, as 'his chief and constant consultant ally'.[7] But Moran perceived general practitioners as 'at the bottom of the medical profession' and the 'distinctive illnesses of women were of little more interest to him than were their possible professional contributions'.[8] Even if general practitioners (GPs) did not have the status of other medical professionals in the eyes of individuals like Moran, women graduates of medicine do appear to have benefited from new jobs and ways of working in the NHS.

The implementation by the Attlee government of the new ideals of welfare took time; the NHS provided for 'comprehensive and free care at hospitals; health centres; a general practitioner service; supplementary services such as midwifery, maternity and child welfare; ambulance services; and the supply of spectacles, dentures and dentistry, along with prescriptions and medicines'.[9] Difficulties for Aneurin Bevan, Minister of Health, lay in the fact that this complex network of services had to be overlaid on a patchwork of local services already in place, and run by 'vested interests, many of whom were resistant to change'.[10] According to Seaton, scholarship on the NHS has tended to ignore the resistance that existed within the medical profession towards the new state service.[11]

[5] F. Ivens, *The British Medical Journal*, 1/3343 (1925), p. 192.
[6] M. Rintala, *Creating the National Health Service: Aneurin Bevan and the Medical Lords* (London, 2003), p. 139.
[7] Rintala, *Creating the National Health Service*, p. 71.
[8] Rintala, *Creating the National Health Service*, p. 139.
[9] J. Bew, *Clement Attlee: The Man Who Made Modern Britain* (Oxford, 2017), p. 402.
[10] Bew, *Clement Attlee*, p. 402.
[11] A. Seaton, 'Against the 'Sacred Cow': NHS Opposition and the Fellowship for Freedom in Medicine, 1948-72', *Twentieth Century British History*, 26/3 (2015), p. 426.

It is evident in the descriptions of work detailed by doctors and dentists in Klein's sample, that there had been many opportunities for them to work in the NHS since its inception. Many of the medics detailed work as full-time GPs, but there were also many examples of part-time roles either as GPs or as sessional workers in schools and clinics. That said, others mentioned the difficulties in finding such work, suggesting that flexible working arrangements were not necessarily easy to find for everyone who was qualified to work in medicine or dentistry but did not want to work full-time.

It cost more to study medicine at university than other subjects.[12] Dyhouse's survey of women who had studied at university in the 1930s contained a 'significant number' who would have liked to have studied medicine, but their families had not been able to afford it.[13] Female medical students tended to come from more affluent families.[14] It is likely that the doctors in Klein's sample also did. For women studying medicine in the interwar years there were '[b]arriers, hurdles and oppositions'.[15] This was a period in which the association between professionalism in medicine and masculinity became more tenacious, with some London medical schools banning or restricting the numbers of women students in the 1920s.[16] Some of the doctors in Klein's sample may have experienced this discriminatory landscape during their training.

The post-war era did see increased opportunities for and take-up by women in Britain of places at university to study medicine. Whereas the proportion of female to male medical students in Britain was 1:5.7 in 1938-9, it had risen to 1:3.5 in 1948-9.[17] The numbers of women doctors

[12] C. Dyhouse, 'Signing the pledge? Women's investment in university education and teacher training before 1939', *History of Education*, 26/2 (1997), p. 212.
[13] Dyhouse, 'Signing the pledge? Women's investment in university education and teacher training before 1939', p. 212.
[14] C. Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British universities, 1870-1939* (Abingdon, 2016), p. 25.
[15] C. Dyhouse, 'Driving ambitions: women in pursuit of a medical education, 1890-1939', *Women's History Review*, 7/3 (1998), p. 335.
[16] Dyhouse, 'Driving ambitions: women in pursuit of a medical education, 1890-1939', p. 334.
[17] 'Women in Medicine', *British Medical Journal*, 2/4683 (1950), p. 822.

who were in work during the post-war period was the subject of some debate. Josephine Barnes, Honorary Secretary of the Medical Women's Federation wrote to the BMJ in May 1954 explaining that

> [o]ne of our members very kindly undertook the task of counting the number of medical women listed in the 1954 issue of the Medical Directory. The result of her labours was reported to our Council at its meeting in Sheffield last week, and the figures, right up to date, are 13,374 women's names, included in the Directory, of whom 12,500 are in active work.[18]

A post-script by the editor explained that '[a]ccording to another source of information, in January, 1954, there were 10,800 women in the Medical Register, of whom 7,600 were known to be in active work'.[19]

Correspondence in the BMJ indicates that the shortage of doctors by the early 1960s was of great concern. In January 1962 a letter from Christine Thompson, a medicine graduate, highlighted that there was a pool of female talent that could be used more effectively:

> I have read with much interest articles and letters recently published in the British Medical Journal and the national press concerning the present and future staffing of the National Health Service. The increasing deficiency in the number of doctors in practice is stressed, but no mention is ever made of the pool of doctors who, though anxious to work, are prevented from doing so by the nineteenth century prejudice against allowing the housewife with a university degree access to part-time professional practice. In particular the urgent problem of junior and middle-grade medical staffing of hospitals could be appreciably diminished were this otherwise.
>
> Since marrying 18 months after graduating from a London hospital I have, despite every effort, quite failed to continue my medical career on a part-time basis. The local hospital management committee, public health department, and blood transfusion service have been alike civil but unhelpful. The only Health Service employment obtained has been full-time general practice in the summer months. Out of 25 women graduates at my own hospital 20 are now married. Of these only three or four work regularly: the others, like myself, are compulsorily idle.[20]

Two months later the BMJ included a letter from J. A. U. Morgan of the German Hospital in London's East End, which illustrates the prejudice that women doctors could experience. It

[18] J. Barnes, 'Women in Medicine', *British Medical Journal*, 1/4872 (1954), p. 1210.
[19] Editor, B.M.J., *British Medical Journal*, 1/4872 (1954), p. 1210.
[20] C. Thompson, 'Shortage of doctors', *British Medical Journal*, 1/5271 (1962), p. 113.

stated that '[t]he only conclusion to be drawn from Dr. Christine Thompson's letter (January 13, p. 113) is that the number of women medical students should be drastically reduced', adding that 'if this group is typical of the country as a whole, it is necessary to train three women medical students to get one woman doctor'.[21] The letter concluded that '[t]here are undoubtedly some jobs which women doctors do better than men, and few which they don't do as well; but it is evident if Dr. Thompson's experience is typical, that the country can no longer afford more than the barest minimum of women medical students'.[22]

There followed a train of responses from others, grouped under the heading 'Women Doctors' by the BMJ. Another medic, M. Elfrieda Happold, cited the 'devoted medical attention from women doctors (single and married) who had an understanding of the problems of other women such as I have yet to find in a man. Some of those who had experiences – experiences that don't come in the same way to a man'.[23] Happold felt the need to give evidence of the successes of some of her colleagues and ended the letter by saying that '[s]ome of my friends who left medicine when their children were little have now returned, have a job, delightful children, and a happy, vigorous family life'.[24]

Ann Owen also wrote to the BMJ from her home in Ghana, explaining that she had fitted in 'odds and ends of G.P. surgeries and first-aid lectures between nappy-washing' but was 'now doing regular part-time work at a small hospital, though I had to come to Africa to do it'.[25] Owen further explained her situation:

> The satisfaction, the relief even of having regular work and my own patients makes me realize how unsatisfactory the odds and ends were (in spite of the great good will and

[21] J. A. U. Morgan, 'Women doctors', *British Medical Journal*, 1/5279 (1962), p. 714.
[22] Morgan, 'Women doctors', p. 714.
[23] M. E. Happold, 'Women doctors', *British Medical Journal*, 1/5283 (1962), p. 1013.
[24] Happold, 'Women doctors', p. 1013.
[25] A. Owen, 'Women doctors', *British Medical Journal*, 1/5288 (1962), p. 1343.

> kindness of the G.P.s for whom I worked), and I dread the day when my husband's job takes us back to England. [26]

Owen was clear about what needed to be done:

> Only the B.M.A. has enough power to alter the existing deadlock so that regular part-time work for married women doctors becomes a possibility and not a pipe-dream. It is my firm opinion that the hierarchy of the B.M.A. does not care for, or about, married women. If I am wrong, we may expect to see much more discussion, and eventual action, on behalf of married women by the B.M.A..[27]

The role of professional organisations in championing the need for flexible working for medics who were also mothers was acknowledged. Another correspondent, Kate Harrower, disagreed with Ann Owen's assessment of the British Medical Association, and felt that 'the B.M.A. will always support us and will work for us, but we must provide the ideas and do our share in working out the solution to this problem'.[28] Harrower felt that '[t]here should be no slur on part-time work; it should be an honourable occupation'.[29] She had 'been told of an assistantship in general practice' which was 'carried out by two medical women, both with young children', where the two mothers shared 'the work and the salary and between them provide the service'.[30] Here is anecdotal evidence that the modern concept of job sharing was starting to take shape as early as the 1960s.

One of the ways in which the BMA responded to concerns about the shortage of doctors was to produce a new booklet entitled *Becoming a Doctor*.[31] Published in 1962, *Becoming a Doctor* was a response to the BMA committee's finding that 'information on medicine as a career was "lamentably limited"'.[32] Its report recommended 'that this should be readily available to headmasters and headmistresses of secondary schools'.[33] Whereas the Medical Women's

[26] Owen, 'Women doctors', p. 1343.
[27] Owen, 'Women doctors', p. 1343.
[28] K. Harrower, 'Women doctors', *British Medical Journal*, 1/5291 (1962), p. 1553.
[29] Harrower, 'Women doctors', p. 1553.
[30] Harrower, 'Women doctors', p. 1553.
[31] 'Need for Independent Inquiry into Doctor Shortage', *The Times* [London], no. 55388 (11 May 1962), p 11.
[32] 'Need for Independent Inquiry into Doctor Shortage', p. 11.
[33] 'Need for Independent Inquiry into Doctor Shortage', p. 11.

Federation appears to have been active in trying to link those wanting part-time work with the opportunities available. Isabel Gardner, a liaison officer, explained in her letter to the BMJ that the Federation 'endeavours to provide a link between women seeking part-time work and any possible source of employment'.[34]

Further correspondence in the BMJ detailed their practical experiences of dealing with insufficiently flexible opportunities for work in medicine. Julia Dawkins had 'satisfied my need for medical work by writing for magazines and by putting words of medical wisdom into the mouths of radio and television actors'.[35] Dawkins attempted to summarise the views of herself and her peers:

> Many of us want employment for the sake of our continuing postgraduate education more than for money. We want the kind of part-time jobs which will enable us to take higher degrees while ourselves and our children are young, so that when we do return to full-time work we will be able to make a better contribution to medical practice.[36]

Another correspondent, Anne Savage, responded to her fears that the numbers of women not managing to continue with work could lead to an argument for the number of female medical students being lowered (as per the suggestion in Morgan's letter, above):

> I hope this may stimulate some discussion and possibly action. If not I fear that those that hold the purse strings will wake up to the situation, and the number of women medical students will be drastically cut.[37]

In the same issue of the BMJ, Sheila M. Griffiths summarised what she saw as '[t]he four essentials for the married woman who has the determination to practice medicine': support from her husband and family, a 'replacement in the home' and enough money to pay the expenses involved with this, and available work.[38] These requirements reflect the views expressed by the doctors in Klein's sample, discussed in more detail below. In her letter

[34] I. Gardner, 'Women Doctors', *British Medical Journal*, 1/5539 (1963), p. 1236
[35] J. Dawkins, *British Medical Journal*, 1/5292 (1962), p. 1627.
[36] Dawkins, p. 1627.
[37] A. Savage, 'Women Doctors', *British Medical Journal*, 1/5294 (1962) p. 1763.
[38] S. M. Griffiths, 'Women Doctors', *British Medical Journal*, 1/5294 (1962), p. 1764.

Griffiths also suggested the BMA should be pressing for 'tax relief on wages paid to the replacement in the home', a suggestion that reflects the views of so many of the women graduates who responded to Klein's questionnaire.[39]

Full-time doctors and dentists

Of the 77 women who had studied medicine or dentistry, 19 were in full-time posts in 1963. Those doctors who were managing to combine full-time work as medics with motherhood were often married to doctors. These medically trained husbands presumably understood the demands of medical work and thought their wives' work was important. Many full-time doctors had also found and were able to pay for reliable and good quality domestic help. Where they were in partnership with their husband, and particularly if the practice was attached to their home, then they found themselves with the advantage of support and flexibility.

Full-time doctors did not seem to be particularly motivated by the financial rewards of their profession. They were motivated more by job satisfaction and most seemed content with their working arrangements. Penelope (1915) stated that 'medical practice for the married woman is at present an expensive luxury in view of the cost of adequate domestic cover'.[40] Esme (1905) had been a full-time partner in general practice since 1945 and said her work was 'too interesting to leave now'.[41] She explained that she had 'no desire for a career' when she married her dental surgeon husband, and had taken a break to have children in the 1930s.[42] In 1939 she had been '[f]orced into employment by the war', and had worked full-time as a GP locum, but left in June 1942 as she found the job 'frustrating'.[43] That same month she took up a position as a GP Assistant, where she worked full-time until June 1945, just before her fourth

[39] Griffiths, 'Women Doctors', p. 1764.
[40] MS 1215 28/1.
[41] MS 1215 28/1.
[42] MS 1215 29/1.
[43] MS 1215 29/1.

child was born. But Esme was back at work that same year. The need to contribute to the war effort had pushed her to return to medicine, but its inherently interesting nature had encouraged her to stay.

Other full-time doctors seemed to find their work similarly fulfilling. June (1918) was working as a full-time partner in a Devon general practice. For June it was the rural nature of the practice, which she presumably perceived as quieter than a town practice, which made the work more flexible and therefore manageable. It was also the availability of domestic help that facilitated her work. She concluded that she did 'not think I could manage full time work in a town practice without too much neglect of my children, or too much exhaustion of myself'.[44]

Many doctors were working in practices with their husbands. Margaret (1915) had been working full-time in her husband's private dental practice since 1940. She had three children born in 1946, 1947 and 1952.[45] Some doctors were working in general practices attached to the family home. The location of their work was very important for these GPs. Penelope (1915), a GP in small town in Scotland, was working full-time in her husband's practice, which was attached to their house, when domestic help was 'adequate'.[46] She had been working with her husband since before their marriage in 1940, and her children had been born in 1946 and 1949. She felt that '[h]ome and children must have first priority and this is not easy when answerable to an "outside" employer', clearly regarding her husband as a more understanding employer. [47] The proximity of her workplace was also extremely important, since she was 'readily available for the family', something that was still important, even though her children were now in their teens.[48]

[44] MS 1215 29/1.
[45] MS 1215 29/1.
[46] MS 1215 28/1.
[47] MS 1215 28/1.
[48] MS 1215 28/1.

Roberta (1923) was also working in a partnership with her husband in a rural practice in Shropshire, attached to the family home. This allowed her 'to combine domestic and professional life more easily but the ease with which I can do this depends on the quality of domestic help available'.[49] To date this had 'presented no difficulties, but might do so in future', implying that Roberta was keenly aware of the importance of her good quality domestic help.[50]

Reflecting on her experience of combining full-time medical work with motherhood, Dame Josephine Barnes also acknowledged the importance of being able to rely on good domestic help. She seems to have known early on in her career that she did not want to stop work either on marriage, or once a mother, and had made sure her husband to be understood her desire to continue working when they got engaged:

> I said, "Look, you know you're marrying a working woman, and I intend to go on working. You'd better go away, and tell me if you still want to marry me." I told him to go away and come back in three days, and tell me.[51]

When their first baby arrived in 1943, Barnes employed a nanny and continued with her medical work.

> Because I'm not domestically minded…I'm a nervous wreck if I'm left at home all day with a small baby. I'm not a nervous wreck if I'm spending the day working. And I regarded that was just not my thing to do… I was lucky in getting the most wonderful nanny, who became a member of the family, who really loved that. She loved looking after children. She loved washing and ironing, and mending and knitting. And I can't bear any of them. I mean, I do them, but I mean, it wasn't what I wanted to do. And I felt, I had all this training, I've got all these skills, why should I throw it away? I'd passed all these exams, not that that mattered much, but I mean, I'd had all this training, all these skills, why should I throw them away?[52]

[49] MS 1215 29/1.
[50] MS 1215 29/1.
[51] Interview with Dame Josephine Barnes, conducted by Rebecca Adams, National Life Stories Leaders of National Life, 24 and 26 October 1990, C408/015, p. 58.
[52] Interview with Dame Josephine Barnes, p. 58.

Asked by the interviewer about the impact of her work on family life, and whether it was a 'source of regret' that she had not been 'able to spend more time with' her children, Barnes replied that she did not think her children had 'missed her all that much'.[53] She continued: 'But, I was never one of these, I mean, I never could go along with, I think Mr, Dr. Bowlby, did an awful lot of harm'.[54] This exchange gives an insight into the tensions that existed for a mother with medical training who wanted to continue to work but was familiar with Bowlby. Barnes' passion for her work is also evident; it was what she wanted to do, but also what she had trained for a long time to do. She could not see why she should abandon her work, when she could pay someone committed to childcare to look after her baby when she worked.

The role of domestic help in facilitating full-time work was reflected by the comments made in Klein's questionnaire by Winifred (1924). She was working in a full-time role at the time of the survey in 1963, but had taken part-time jobs in the past, as a locum, then as a clinical assistant in a hospital until made redundant. Since then, she had been unable to find an appropriate part-time role, and so had taken on full-time work in May 1963. She had two children, the youngest not yet at school, and found herself preoccupied with 'finding someone to look after her family and home in her absence - someone responsible enough at a cost which is economically possible'.[55] This had involved analysis of her salary and income tax liabilities. Winnifred appears to have been successful in finding someone she could rely upon to look after her children when she was not there, at a cost she could afford. However, it does not seem that her net financial benefit from work was great.

This view of the limited financial benefits of full-time general practice work was also reflected by Vera (1921), working in a large town in Devon. Vera had managed to employ domestic

[53] Interview with Dame Josephine Barnes, p. 60.
[54] Interview with Dame Josephine Barnes, p. 60.
[55] MS 1215 27/1.

help and taken a business partner when she had her first child, which had 'made life considerably easier in all but a financial respect'.[56] Vera was 'not altogether sure that my working has benefitted us financially up to the present'.[57] Although seemingly not working together, Vera's husband was also a doctor, who presumably valued her work. Norma (1915) was living in a small Berkshire town, and was also married to a medicine graduate, working as a government medical officer. The couple had four children, the youngest only one year old. Norma (1915) stated proudly in her completed questionnaire that she had 'kept my medical work going except for 8 weeks when children were born, and clinics etc - when very small'.[58] She now had 'a small general practice which allows me plenty of time in the home' but admitted that 'remuneration is not good since small list practitioners are penalised'.[59] Unfortunately, Norma did not detail what domestic help she had, but her three eldest children, all in their teens, were at boarding schools. Some other full-time doctors also detailed their children's education as including boarding schools, or detailed 'public school' which may have meant that the child boarded. For example, Esme (1905) described all her children's as 'Prep School, Public School, University', perhaps implying that the children were away at boarding schools for at least part of their education.[60]

General practice was perceived as more compatible with family life. Sandra (1903) was unusual in that she had taken on a few part-time consultant anaesthetist roles, which effectively added up to a full-time hospital consultant job. Sandra had taken a break from medical work after her son was born in 1926 in order to 'bring up my children myself, with some domestic help'.[61] In 1934 she found 'a very reliable 'Mothers Help' who was with me for 11 years and

[56] MS 1215 28/1.
[57] MS 1215 28/1.
[58] MS 1215 28/1.
[59] MS 1215 28/1.
[60] MS 1215 29/1.
[61] MS 1215 31.

became like one of the family'.[62] This allowed Sandra to attend a revision course at a teaching hospital from 1934 to 1935, when she received 'a notice from my teaching hospital that no ex woman student would be allowed back for a higher degree if they had left more than seven years'.[63] She then took up work as a house consultant, and then a house anaesthetist at various hospitals, and 'was on call for casualties in Croydon' during the war years.[64] Both her children had been at day schools, but her youngest child had been evacuated at different times during the war. She described her husband (who was an accountant) as 'always most sympathetic and encouraging in my desire to do medical work'.[65] For Sandra, a combination of the need to return to medical work in order to have the opportunity of obtaining a higher degree, finding reliable domestic help, and the support of her husband had meant that she felt able to take up work outside the home. In 1963, when Sandra responded to Klein's questionnaire, her children were grown up, she had been widowed for four and half years and was effectively a full-time hospital consultant anaesthetist and one of the most senior doctors in the sample. Sandra's seniority within a specialism was atypical. None of the sample appeared to be working as full-time surgeons, and extremely few in positions of seniority or leadership, confirming Elston's findings that women were less likely to be represented in these areas of medicine.[66]

All the experiences described above suggest an ease with which full-time doctors, often GPs, continued their medical careers, when they either employed domestic help and/or sent their children to boarding schools. Betty's (1907) experiences as a mother of four step-children shed some light on the difficult attitudes that could be encountered. Betty's full-time medical work was not in general practice. Married to an engineer, Betty regarded herself as 'quite

[62] MS 1215 31.
[63] MS 1215 31.
[64] MS 1215 31.
[65] MS 1215 31.
[66] Elston, 'Women doctors in the British health services', p. 38.

successful', with a salary of £2925.[67] She had recently applied for a 'top job' offering a salary of £3350 but 'they wanted somebody under 55. I was 55 when I applied but was told my marriage cut me out rather than my borderline age'.[68] She also perceived her family as disapproving 'slightly' of her work, seeing domestic duties as more important than her career.[69] Betty had been sufficiently comfortable financially in the past to help relatives, now employed a housekeeper and knew that her husband appreciated the way in which she was contributing substantially to the education of his children. But it is evident that Betty was affected by this atmosphere of disapproval about her work; she said that even her 'housekeeper approves of my work but considers domestic work far more important'.[70] For Betty, it required strength and determination to live a life informed by the view that '[m]edicine is a training - not an education'.[71] It seems that Betty saw her role as a trailblazer but was still affected by disapproving comments.

Concerns about the practicalities of a married women practising medicine were evident in the British press. In December 1962 *The Times* newspaper ran an article entitled 'Skill Going to Waste' in response to a piece in the medical journal *The Lancet* detailing a survey of female medicine graduates. The article began:

> If it costs the nation about £5000 to train a doctor and if about half the women trained are unable to practise, is this outlay justified? The question is raised by Dr. A. H. T. Ross-Smith, Nuffield Reader in Pathology at Oxford, in a study of the fortunes of 139 women who graduated with the B.M. degree at that university between 1922 and 1950…and it is well worth pondering.[72]

It went on to conclude that what was required was 'ending discrimination altogether but also making it much easier for married women to continue in or return to their profession', adding

[67] MS 1215 26/1.
[68] MS 1215 26/1.
[69] MS 1215 26/1.
[70] MS 1215 26/1.
[71] MS 1215 26/1.
[72] 'Skill Going to Waste', *The Times* [London], no. 55564 (3 December 1962), p. 13.

that '[i]f special refresher courses are needed for those who are literally out of practice they would be well worth while'.[73] However, responses to the article were less optimistic. In a letter to *The Times* a few days later Geoffrey H. Robb, who gave his address as The Royal Hospital, Weston-super-Mare, and therefore presumably a consultant, wrote:

> After all the natural instinct of most women is to have children, and one cannot concurrently look after a young family and practise good medicine. By the time domestic responsibilities allow a woman doctor to resume her practice, the horizons of therapeutics have increased so rapidly that many feel unable to embark on this seemingly new project in middle age.[74]

In the same edition another correspondent acknowledged the energy and courage required by a woman doctor 'to attempt the difficult task of looking after a family and running a practice'. He also concluded that their income would be taxable at 'the vicious rate of 9s. 9d. in the pound'.[75] Despite this appreciation of what married women doctors were up against, the correspondent went on to add that 'out of the remaining earnings they *must* provide someone to replace them to do the many necessary duties in the house'.[76] It seems that even those who were more appreciative of the challenges of practicing medicine as a wife and mother could hold firm views on who was responsible for domestic chores.

Part-time doctors and dentists

Of the 77 women who studied medicine or dentistry, 35 had part-time jobs in 1963. The comments made by those doctors and dentists working part-time illustrate the opportunities that were available in the post-war period for more flexible working. Doctors were finding part-time work in general practice, particularly where they were married to men who were partners in general practices. There were also opportunities for doctors and dentists through sessional work in schools and businesses, as well as specialised health and family planning

[73] 'Skill Going to Waste', p. 13.
[74] G. H. Robb, 'Skills Going To Waste', *The Times* [London], no. 55569 (8 December 1962), p. 9.
[75] Robb, 'Skills Going To Waste', p. 9.
[76] A. Mutch, 'Skills Going To Waste', *The Times* [London], no. 55569 (8 December 1962), p. 9.

clinics. Sessional work in educational environments was particularly appealing for doctors and dentists with children of school age, because of the longer holiday periods.

Experiences of part-time work were most fulfilling when women felt they had been able to return to work with the requisite retraining, were appreciated by their colleagues, and supported by their husband. This allowed graduate women to feel they were well-prepared for their return to work, and that their decision to practice and be a mother was accepted. Penelope (1914) was working part time in general practice with about 7,500 patients on its lists. Her experience of both training to return to work and working part-time had been very positive. She was working alongside three full-time male GPs, each doing three tenths of the work, she the remaining one tenth. She felt that she had been lucky in terms of her refresher course; she had been able to attend a course that lasted a fortnight, but there had been few available, and Penelope thought that in her home city of Edinburgh the waiting list was around two years. She had been able to live at home whilst attending the course, and with the assistance of friends, relatives and 'much help and encouragement' from her husband had been 'able to attend every lecture and enjoy fully the course'.[77] The help from her husband, family and friends had been invaluable in allowing her to attend the refresher course but had also meant that she had not had to organise and pay for extra domestic help. Now back in work, Penelope was keenly aware of her good fortune in being able to do part-time work in general practice, which she enjoyed and was 'financially worth-while (just)'.[78]

Penelope's status of partner in the practice she worked in, even if her share of one tenth was less than that of the male partners, seems to have given her some agency. The other partners appreciated her flexible approach. Her husband, being a partner in the practice, also understood when extra professional work affected home life, seeing this as temporary. Penelope stated: 'I

[77] MS 1215 26/1.
[78] MS 1215 26/1.

think that all three partners quite appreciate that I can and do extra in times of stress'.[79] Penelope's experiences had led her to believe that other professional women 'would happily help in times of stress in positions with which they were familiar, were they given the opportunity to be familiar with the job'.[80]

Spousal support was important for many graduate women wanting to work. For those doctors married to GPs, the support of their husband could translate to an opportunity to work part-time in the practice. Margaret (1921) was also working part time as a GP, 'in partnership with' her husband.[81] Her work pattern tended to equate to part-time work in the summer and full-time work in the winter. It was working with her husband that had allowed her to take time off when their children had been ill and 'when domestic help was lacking'.[82] Margaret felt that she 'should have found it exceedingly difficult to work set hours for an employer'.[83] These small medical practices, where run by doctors with families, could accommodate the need for flexibility. But Margaret had experienced inflexibility elsewhere. She had been forced to give up a hospital appointment because of pregnancy in 1945. She had returned to part-time medical work in 1950 and would have done so sooner but her husband had been in partnership 'with a senior partner who would not employ a woman doctor'.[84] When that partnership broke up, she and her husband had started their own practice. Ethel's (1913) husband, also a doctor, had also been 'co-operative and helpful', but had made it clear to her that he thought part-time and not full-time work was appropriate for a mother.[85]

Dentists who were married to dentists could also benefit from opportunities to work in their husband's practice. Carole (1914) had given up full-time work as a dentist in 1941 when her

[79] MS 1215 26/1.
[80] MS 1215 26/1.
[81] MS 1215 26/1.
[82] MS 1215 26/1.
[83] MS 1215 26/1.
[84] MS 1215 26/1.
[85] MS 1215 31.

first child was born. She described her working arrangements in 1963 as involving '[v]ery occasional' work 'as anaesthetist for husband'.[86] Elinor (1915) assisted her dentist husband 'but only when absolutely necessary', feeling that her focus needed to be on looking after her son who had asthma, and her husband who did not enjoy good health.[87]

Klein's respondents were not asked specifically about their motivation for working. However, comments made by many doctors working part-time reflect those of full-time workers; the motivation for working appears to have been more job satisfaction than financial reward. Ethel felt that the tax system, by adding a wife's income to that of her husband, alongside the high cost of employing domestic help discouraged full-time work.[88] She had not always found it easy to find part-time medical work. In the past Ethel had benefitted from the policy of the previous Medical Officer of Health in the city where she lived, who had a 'wife who was a doctor herself, and he realised need for part time work for women doctors'.[89] A change of personnel had meant that she had 'found difficulty in recent years in getting sessional work' as there was now a 'changed attitude and reduction in part-time work in women doctors'.[90] Ethel had graduated in 1938 and had worked in hospitals until the arrival of her first baby in 1941. She was back at work full-time in 1943 in general practice, but when her husband returned from the Army in 1946, she left her job to concentrate on 'setting up of home'. Another baby arrived in 1947 but Ethel returned to medical work until January 1948. From then on, she tried to continue her medical work, without breaks. From 1948 to 1956 she estimated that she had been doing 'about 7/11 of full time week'. But since 1956 there had been a reduced amount of 'sessional work' due to the increased employment of full-time doctors by the local authority, and now she estimated her part-time hours to be approximately two elevenths, rather than

[86] MS 1215 28/1.
[87] MS 1215 27/1.
[88] MS 1215 31.
[89] MS 1215 31.
[90] MS 1215 31.

seven. There had been 'periods of extreme activity when part time doctors were called upon', for example for the polio and smallpox immunisations, but Ethel had found supplementary teaching work at a university, seemingly to make up for some of the lost hours of sessional work.

Sessional work was an important type of employment for many part-time doctors and dentists. Outside of the NHS, one doctor had found work as a sessional doctor for a major retailer. This entailed just two hours per month and 'very occasional odd evening examinations as required'.[91] Others were working in schools and family planning clinics, and other specialist clinics. For example, Florence (1912), who had two grown-up children, had found work for her regional hospital board as an assistant physician in a diabetic clinic, involving two days' work per week.[92] Carolyn (1920) was also an assistant physician in a diabetic clinic. She was only working one session per week, but clearly this suited her situation. She was married to a consultant neurologist and had not worked outside the home from 1945, when she had left due to her first pregnancy, until 1962. During this period her husband had been working 'long hours away from home and children', and she had not wanted to be out too much herself 'with children at day schools'.[93] She had also been busy nursing her disabled father, and spending 'time and energy "backing up" my husband's position - i.e. with phone messages, very irregular meals, some entertaining, and anything which will save him time'.[94] She added that '[t]his sounds rather indefinite - but I feel an active household needs someone constantly to keep everything running smoothly - and employed help does not achieve this'.[95] Carolyn felt that there was an opportunity for more work in her field, but that she needed to be able to be around at home for enough time for things to run as she wanted them to. Sessional work in the clinic

[91] MS 1215 28/1.
[92] MS 1215 28/1.
[93] MS 1215 29/1.
[94] MS 1215 29/1.
[95] MS 1215 29/1.

fitted her needs. It also seems also to have allowed Carolyn to return to medical work after a considerable absence from the field.

Dentists had also found part-time sessional work in schools. Edna (1919), married to a dental surgeon, was working 'approx. half time during school terms – no holiday sessions', and appeared to have managed to continue this part-time work throughout her two children's pre-school years, but unfortunately gave no detail of any help she had employed for childcare.[96] Prudence (1923) commented that '[s]chool dentistry provides an excellent opportunity and profession for women. It particularly lends itself to part time work'.[97] Indeed, she felt that it was 'more suitable to practise on a part-time basis than is for example medicine'.[98] Prudence, who was also married to a dental surgeon, was doing two three-hour sessions per week in a school. She had left her full-time school dentist role in 1949 to have her first child and returned to part-time school dentistry in 1954 when her second child was not quite three years old. Three years later, in 1957, she took a break again when her third child was born, returning to part-time work in 1962.[99] She seems to have found it relatively easy to return to part-time school dentistry when she wanted to.

Locum work, covering medical practice work when a doctor was either ill or on annual leave, was also very popular for those seeking part-time employment. Its disadvantage was that it was sporadic, but its advantage seems to have been that it allowed doctors to stay involved with medical work on a very part-time basis, for example 'for about one fifth to one quarter of the year'.[100] In some cases, as with sessional work in clinics, doctors seem to have been able to return to locum work with relative ease after a fairly long period away from practice (such as

[96] MS 1215 29/1.
[97] MS 1215 29/1.
[98] MS 1215 29/1.
[99] MS 1215 29/1.
[100] MS 1215 31.

seven years in one instance) to care for their children.[101] One doctor, working part-time in a Devon general practice, could see the opportunities available for more women doctors to take up locum work. Olive (1926) was in her late thirties, and the mother of five children, the youngest not yet at school. Her part-time work involved doing two surgeries a week 'or as I please', being in a partnership with her husband and another doctor. Olive, as a partner in the practice, was keenly aware of the potential problems posed by the sudden absence of a doctor. She said that 'busy G.P.s are haunted by the fact that should they suddenly fall ill or such, no locum would be available'. [102] From her perspective, 'a central register of married female doctors looking for part time work' could be part of the solution to problems she sometimes faced herself. She thought that many women doctors 'lack the necessary contacts' to get such temporary work.[103]

Other doctors had found different part-time roles, such as a child medical officer in local government.[104] Norah (1927) had found it easier to find work as a part-time medical officer following a move to a large town in Devon in the late 1950s. Prior to that she had found that 'there was no suitable part time work available'.[105] She was working four half day sessions per week in child welfare, which appears to have fitted in well with family life. She was a 'strong believer in the importance of caring for ones [sic] own children in their early years' but Norah's children were now all of primary school age, and she felt comfortable combining part-time work with her family life.[106]

Some doctors were doing more than one part-time job. Jemima (1926) had three different part-time roles: writing a medical advice column for the local paper, giving lectures in first aid for

[101] MS 1215 31.
[102] MS 1215 28/1.
[103] MS 1215 28/1.
[104] MS 1215 26/1.
[105] MS 1215 28/1.
[106] MS 1215 28/1.

the Red Cross and doing occasional student health service sessional work.[107] Jemima expressed a wish to return to a full-time role in a hospital when all three of her children were at school, the youngest being only about three years old at the time of the survey. However, she explained that this would only be possible if she could 'get adequate domestic help' as well as 'get a job which I can leave each day around 4 pm to be home for the children'.[108] She felt it was 'important for the mother to be with young children until at least 6 yrs old and thereafter to be available readily'.[109] She thought it would be 'very nice to be able to return to interesting work' but believed this would only be successful if she could forget about domestic chores when at work.[110] To do this would require good domestic help, an expense which Jemima wished could come 'under the Income Tax Allowances'.[111] She felt that employers in hospitals were not predisposed to help women fulfil 'both domestic and professional engagements and readily point a finger at anyone who falters professionally in face of home difficulties'.[112] If able to return to hospital work, she would 'like the main burden of housekeeping adequately taken from me so that my mind would be principally on my job, the rest of it to be on husband and children (i.e. during the working day)'.[113] Vera (1910) also had three part-time jobs. She did sessional work in industry, was a medical officer for teachers at a training college and worked in a private specialised practice. She had chosen jobs carefully since graduation, aiming to get experience, but was not using all of this in her current roles. For example, she had experience in obstetrics but had 'not had the opportunity to continue with obstetrics'.[114] Despite this she felt herself to have 'been fortunate in obtaining part time jobs which have been interesting and satisfying'.[115] But none of these part-time jobs had been advertised, and Vera

[107] MS 1215 26/1.
[108] MS 1215 26/1.
[109] MS 1215 26/1.
[110] MS 1215 26/1.
[111] MS 1215 26/1.
[112] MS 1215 26/1.
[113] MS 1215 26/1.
[114] MS 1215 13/3.
[115] MS 1215 13/3.

felt she 'was lucky to find myself holding them'.[116] Freda (1925) had a part-time job as a medical officer for London County Council and was also working at family planning clinics.[117]

One doctor had found a part-time post in public health. Amy (1905) had been interested in public health work in the 1930s but had been prevented by the marriage bar from working in that sector. She had worked full-time in general practice during the war years, when her children were very young, but had found it 'very exacting, not only time and irregular hours, but the additional responsibility'.[118] After the war, she gave up full-time general practice work and instead 'did a few locums of public health clinics which gradually increased'.[119] She found it was very difficult to get regular part-time public health work and felt she 'was very lucky to get it'.[120] She thought that she was the only woman in the county to be doing half-time work in her field 'apart from a few GPs doing some county clinics and locums'.[121] For Amy this work seemed 'a most suitable job for married women - quite adequate and easy to administer but authorities dislike it'.[122] She felt that the local authority would have a far greater pool of potential candidates if they took on part-time workers, but because of this resistance and with few part-time opportunities in her area of the home counties, she felt that women were taking on 'full-time work rather than nothing'.[123]

A letter to the *British Medical Journal* in 1962 also highlighted the need for more part-time posts to be made available:

> As the mother of three small children I find myself in exactly similar difficulties. I am perhaps fortunate in having full-time help in the house, this help being employed largely so that I can continue to follow my profession.

[116] MS 1215 13/3.
[117] MS 1215 31.
[118] MS 1215 27/1.
[119] MS 1215 27/1.
[120] MS 1215 27/1.
[121] MS 1215 27/1.
[122] MS 1215 27/1.
[123] MS 1215 27/1.

> Unfortunately I have to rely on casual and sporadic employment in general practice, relieving during sickness and holiday periods. Quite frankly this is not an economic proposition, as these locums naturally occur mainly during the summer months and one is virtually unemployed during the winter.
>
> As far as one can see the only practical solution is for doctors in a similar position to be employed in local government services, doing school clinics, antenatal clinics, etc., or alternatively to be employed within the hospital structure in suitable intermediate posts in a permanent or long-term part-time capacity. I am sure we should all be grateful for suggestions as to how we can be usefully integrated within the National Health Service, and so avoid wasting our training without neglecting our families.[124]

This correspondent was employing 'full-time help in the house' so that she could pick up part-time work when available in general practice.[125] Part-time doctors in Klein's survey had also experienced problems managing their domestic responsibilities. As with some of the full-time doctors, boarding schools had lessened childcare responsibilities for some.[126] Catherine (1911) pointed out that an independent income had paid for her children's education at boarding school. This had allowed her financial freedom to do as much or as little paid work as she wanted, but also freed up some of her time. Catherine was one of the few doctors who was working in a hospital. She was a part-time child psychiatrist, working six sessions per week at a central London hospital, one session as a consultant at a more local Surrey hospital, and two sessions at a private practice. She considered sessional work as 'practical and satisfactory for a married woman and her family'.[127] But conceded that 'immense good fortune in having health, help and financial help to educate the children' had allowed her to continue with her work as well as enjoy family life.[128]

Other doctors had employed domestic help and sent their children to day schools, rather than boarding schools. For Judith (1916), the difficulties she had experienced in finding domestic help appeared to have influenced the type of part-time work she had taken up. Judith had found

[124] R. Westcombe, *British Medical Journal*, 1/5275 (1962), p. 398.
[125] Westcombe, p. 398.
[126] MS 1215 31.
[127] MS 1215 29/1.
[128] MS 1215 29/1.

part-time work in general practice in 1943, the year that she got married to a research chemist. Her first child was born in 1945, when she stopped work, deciding that she '[p]referred to bring children up under my own guidance until they were beginning to be independent'.[129] But she also admitted that she had 'never been fortunate to have reliable domestic help'.[130] In 1960, when the youngest of her three children was about nine years old, she returned to part-time work in a general practice and in a family planning unit, following a part-time refresher course. Judith's children were now older, and all of secondary school age, but she still felt that she had to be organised in order to do her part-time work and keep on top of domestic chores: 'Now I choose an amount of work which enables me to be at home some hours each day and I can meet most domestic duties and deal with them adequately'.[131] Penelope (1928) too had chosen part-time work over full-time, partly because her children were still very young (one was not yet at school), and partly because she thought it was not financially viable, as she would need to employ a nanny.[132]

Difficulties encountered by doctors and dentists in pursuing professional work

Not all those wishing to find part-time work had been as successful as those discussed above. Meredith (1925) had started work in hospitals in 1948, and after experience in a range of areas of medicine had moved into general practice in 1951, where she completed her GP traineeship in 1952. She worked full-time in general practice from 1952 to 1953 but had left upon her marriage in September 1953. Returning to work as a GP since the birth of her children in 1954 and 1956 had been difficult, and Meredith, who was living in Scotland, explained why she thought this had been the case: 'Geographical location. Small town with each practice having

[129] MS 1215 28/1.
[130] MS 1215 28/1.
[131] MS 1215 28/1.
[132] MS 1215 29/1.

at least 2 partners. No need for part-time G.P. unless for holiday locums'.[133] She had managed to find occasional GP locums, was an examiner in first aid for the Red Cross and two other organisations. In response to the question about what assistance she missed most, Meredith stated '[r]etraining facilities' and '[d]omestic help'.[134] She '[w]ould like very much to work as part time GP e.g. doing surgeries etc.'.[135] Meredith's husband was not a doctor, and she therefore had no prospect of introductions to part-time work through him, unlike many of her peers.

Other doctors had experienced a lack of opportunities in their specialism. Meredith (1926) was working one afternoon every other week as a part-time anaesthetist and doing odd locum sessions. The sporadic nature of these opportunities meant that she did not have the income to afford 'reliable trained domestic help', but without such help it was 'impossible to attend courses or visit hospitals informally to keep in touch'.[136] Locum work was intermittent, and frequently coincided with school holidays, which was inconvenient. Meredith was unsure about her professional future. She had been told she would need to attend lectures in London and work as a hospital registrar if she wanted to progress her career as an anaesthetist. 'The alternative is to do odd locums ad infinitum or give up!'.[137] Progression within her specialism felt incompatible with motherhood to Meredith, with one child at a school only three hours per day, and the other only a toddler.

In the same way that family life could impact career progression in a specialism like anaesthesia, it could also impact on training in hospitals. Dame Josephine Barnes had

[133] MS 1215 26/1.
[134] MS 1215 26/1.
[135] MS 1215 26/1.
[136] MS 1215 29/1.
[137] MS 1215 29/1.

experienced a ‘very anti-marriage’ atmosphere in the hospital where she was in residence in 1942, as she described in an interview:

> No students were married, no, no. In fact, there was a, there was the odd, no one was married in the Residence at all. The odd one who was, they wouldn’t allow the wife to sleep with her husband. I had great difficulty, after I was married, and I was still living in the hospital. They wouldn’t even, although I offered ration books, although I offered to pay, they wouldn’t even let my husband have breakfast in the hospital. They were very anti-marriage. It was considered quite, not the done thing at all, to be married.[138]

Interruptions to hospital training due to pregnancy had affected Colette (1923). She had graduated in 1948 and worked full-time as a house doctor from July 1948 to April 1949, when she left due to pregnancy. Following the birth of her daughter, she then had three sons in 1950, 1952 and 1955. Colette felt that ‘the posts of house physician/surgeon are really a continuation of training’ and that she was now without ‘essential experience’.[139] With four children and ‘no domestic help’ Colette felt that it would be ‘quite impossible even to resume any kind of residential hospital work and without that essential experience my chance of taking up any medical work again, is remote’.[140] For Colette, ‘housework and coping with my husband's (medical) 'phone calls are full time employment, believe me!’.[141] Her experience highlights how mothers could feel locked out of completing their training as well as advancing within the profession.

Correspondence to the BMJ in 1962 highlighted the difficulties experienced during hospital training by women doctors who were also mothers. For example, Ruth D’Arcy Hart highlighted the ‘new regulation requiring a pre-registration year of internship. The compulsory living-in during this year raises serious problems in the home, particularly for those who have young families’.[142] She posed the question:

[138] Interview with Dame Josephine Barnes, p. 31.
[139] MS 1215 31.
[140] MS 1215 31.
[141] MS 1215 31.
[142] R. D’Arcy Hart, ‘Women in Medicine’, *British Medical Journal*, 1/4873 (1954), p. 1266.

> Would it not be feasible to permit living-out, provided that duties were not interfered with, at least for those women who took up medicine and incurred family responsibilities before this regulation was announced?[143]

A subsequent letter from Alistair French pointed out that living in was not a statutory requirement and if accommodation was available sufficiently near to the hospital this could suffice.[144] In the same issue C.M. Ottley's letter pointed out that 'Non-resident "residents" can be very useful to hospitals on condition they pull their weight' but 'however much we may pity her dilemma' a mother may not 'opt out' of 'duty, because, for instance, the baby has whooping-cough'.[145] Hazel B. Baker went further in a letter which points to the existence of prejudice against women doctors who were also mothers. She stated her opinion

> that until a woman is a satisfied mother she is not a complete personality and cannot perform to the full her functions as a doctor or anything else…Further, once a woman has babies her first duty is to them and she can only give second place to a career. It follows that until her family is off her hands no woman can take a man's part in a profession.[146]

Baker explained that she 'had to choose between marriage and taking a higher degree and all that it would lead to'.[147] She also said she had 'never been out of full-time medical work; although since I started the family this has been in the humble, but very useful, position of school medical officer and medical officer at a maternity and child welfare clinic'.[148] This exchange indicates that existing expectations about living in hospitals during training and prejudice from certain sections of the medical profession were most likely hampering reforms to allow mothers to continue with their training when their children were very young.

Other doctors who had found it difficult to find domestic help had either not returned to work at all or were limiting the amount of professional work they did. April (1923) was married to

[143] D'Arcy Hart, 'Women in Medicine', p. 1266.
[144] A. French, 'Women in Medicine', *British Medical Journal*, 1/4875 (1954), p. 1377.
[145] C.M. Ottley, 'Women in Medicine', *British Medical Journal*, 1/4875 (1954), p. 1377.
[146] H. B. Baker, 'Women in Medicine', *British Medical Journal*, 1/4874 (1954), p. 1322.
[147] Baker, 'Women in Medicine', p. 1322.
[148] Baker, 'Women in Medicine', p. 1322.

a surgeon, whose irregular hours prevented him from helping with their two children, one at a grammar school and the other at primary school. She worked part-time time once a week in a family planning clinic in Scotland, 'partly paid, partly voluntary' and was keen to do more part-time work but had not been able to find 'competent domestic help'.[149] She also knew that there was not a demand for part-time doctors in her area, 'a pleasant part of the country in which to live, i.e. doctors like to settle round here'.[150] But April was reluctant to take on full-time work until her children were at least sixteen years old, as '[b]ringing up children and medical work are both emotionally demanding and I think that if I attempted both I should be mentally overtired - and possibly physically as well'.[151] She was also unsure what refresher courses were available for women such as herself who had 'been away from practice for several years'.[152] April's reference to the emotional demands required by both medical work and parenting is interesting. She had decided to wait to work until a time when she thought the demands of parenting would be smaller. She feared trying to work alongside being a mother could be detrimental to her mental and physical health. Her surgeon husband had either not considered the dual demands of medical work and parenting or had done so and dismissed such concerns.

Some doctors had been left wondering what their options might be, having taken time out to look after children. One did 'not know what I am now capable of doing, nor do I know what facilities (if any) exist for retraining'.[153] As far as she knew, post-graduate courses were either refresher courses for GPs or specialist courses. She thought that 'there may be a need for advisory facilities on retraining and the scope for return to work - something after the manner

[149] MS 1215 28/1.
[150] MS 1215 28/1.
[151] MS 1215 28/1.
[152] MS 1215 28/1.
[153] MS 1215 31.

of vocational guidance as it is found for the young'.[154] Another doctor highlighted her concerns, and her assumption that to return to medicine would probably be impossible. Jane (1920), a mother of three school-age children said she would like to start work again '[i]n a few years' but that this 'could not be pure medicine because of lack of experience and modern drugs and techniques' but 'would like to start thinking now what the possibilities would be'.[155]

There were some doctors and dentists who had struggled to pursue their careers, and indeed those who did not seem to mind that they were not practising anymore. A few had decided that they wished to concentrate on home life, such as Doris (1908), who '[w]anted to devote myself entirely to home'[156] and Beryl (1923) had also left her career on marriage, considering that 'looking after GP husband and children satisfying work'.[157]

Others had found that circumstances had not made it easy or practicable to pursue their own work. Nesta (1916) had found that the uncertainty of war, and then the low salaries of young doctors after the war had meant that 'it was necessary for me, if I wanted to care for my children, to become my own domestic servant'.[158] It had not been until the 1950s, when her husband had become a consultant with a 'reasonable salary', that their financial situation had become more comfortable, but by this point he was working long hours and could not 'take any regular domestic responsibility'.[159] Nesta felt that it was still not the right time to return to work, explaining that with her youngest child only three years she worried that if she did so she would be neglecting her family. She found even her older children still needed her to be around, and in 1963, twenty years outside the medical profession, she felt it would be very difficult to return, and instead found fulfilment in voluntary work and assisting with a medical

[154] MS 1215 31.
[155] MS 1215 28/1.
[156] MS 1215 13/3.
[157] MS 1215 28/1.
[158] MS 1215 29/1.
[159] MS 1215 29/1.

research project. Janie (1914) too had discovered that her difficulties finding domestic help in Preston, Lancashire had meant that she had not been able to work when her children were young, and now older she felt that 'medicine has advanced so quickly that one would hesitate to attempt to return to medical work without re-training of some description'.[160] She described herself as being 'very happy with my family and have no desire to return to medicine'.[161] For Clara (1926), who had five children, it had been easier to do general practice locum work, school clinics and administering anaesthetics at a school dental clinic 'in between having babies'.[162] In 1963, with her five daughters now aged seven to seventeen, she felt it was 'vital to help a free and open relationship between mother and daughter' and had 'done no medical work for the last 3 years', but hoped to resume medical practice after a refresher course when 'the children are considerably older'.[163] Maud (1918) had chosen to leave her senior role as a consultant paediatrician in 1959, citing the 'irregular hours and emergency calls' which 'interfered so much with domestic life'.[164] At this point, in her early forties Maud had decided to adopt two children with her husband, also a doctor, considering herself to have embarked on her 'retirement' from her medical career.[165]

A few doctors had found that their husbands' career had taken priority. For example, Dinah (1914) was married to a consultant, and was employed to answer telephone calls when his secretary was not working and paid a salary for doing so.[166] Dinah had not worked in medicine since 1956 as 'the money I earned was just not worth the effort of doing a job plus running a home'.[167] She had stopped full-time work from 1942 to 1943 when her children were born,

[160] MS 1215 28/1.
[161] MS 1215 28/1.
[162] MS 1215 27/1.
[163] MS 1215 27/1.
[164] MS 1215 27/1.
[165] MS 1215 27/1.
[166] MS 1215 27/1.
[167] MS 1215 27/1.

but had returned to part-time medical work attached to a factory.[168] In 1945 she changed jobs due to her husband changing jobs and a move for the family to a new area, but she had managed to continue with part-time work as an anaesthetist (registrar).[169] In 1948 the family was on the move again, due to the husband's career, and Dinah took up part-time work as a general practitioner but had stopped altogether in 1956.[170] This illustrates that even if it had been possible to carry on in a part-time capacity in the past, there could come a point when it was deemed too much trouble to try to continue practising medicine, particularly where the family was financially comfortable on the husband's salary alone as seems to have been the case for Dinah.

In summary, analysis of the comments made by the doctors and dentists in Klein's sample provides evidence of many successes amongst doctors and dentists in finding fulfilling work, both in full-time and part-time roles. Emotional and practical spousal support seems to have been particularly important for doctors and dentists. Sessional was particularly popular work for doctors and dentists seeking part-time employment. Sessional work in schools had the additional benefit of not requiring work during the school holidays. Locum work was a way of practicing medicine every so often, and its infrequent nature could be appealing for those who wanted to stay involved with medical work but concentrate mainly on the family. During this period part-time roles were available in general practice, clinics and schools, but seemingly not in hospitals or senior management roles. Most full-time doctors were general practitioners.

[168] MS 1215 27/1.
[169] MS 1215 27/1.
[170] MS 1215 27/1.

Scientists

Whereas a university degree in medicine or dentistry set graduates on a path towards a specific career, a science degree, whether it be in chemistry, physics, botany etc. could be used in a variety of different ways. Many science graduates had gone on to teach, and their experiences have been discussed in Chapter 4. This chapter focuses on the experiences of those science graduates who chose either to pursue academic research, or who embarked on a career in industry.

The creation of the NHS and subsequent need for doctors and dentists led to opportunities for women graduates in the post-war period. Although some women in science had been successful in pursuing careers in scientific research and industry, their experiences shed some light on the difficulties that they had come up against.

Two of the scientists who had particularly successful careers in scientific research, or its application in industry, did not have children. Georgina (1919) had achieved a degree in mathematics and worked in aeronautical engineering during the Second World War. She had then moved into industry in 1946, and had remained there since, marrying in 1948.[171] She was working full-time in 1963, 'in charge of section responsible for design and development of brazed aluminium heat exchangers for cryogenic and gaseous diffusion plant applications'. She wanted to continue in full-time employment for as long as she could. Her field was expanding, she had recently given papers at conferences and published an article in an industry journal. Georgina's career progression seemed to be unfolding in the way that she wished. Felicity (1914) too had been in continuous employment in science. Born in 1914 and married in 1939, she had divorced since then and had no children. She had a BSc Hons in mathematics and was working full-time as a senior experimental officer in the Scientific Civil Service and

[171] MS 1215 29/1.

said that she had 'never had any difficulty in obtaining employment when I have sought it' and felt that 'the advice on careers given in girl's schools is too frequently limited to teaching, nursing and secretarial work'.[172] Her regrets seem to have been confined to the opinion that if she 'had been employed continuously in the Civil Service' since university she 'might be one grade higher than I am now'.[173]

Some mothers had also had notable success on the scientific field. Doris (1910), a mother of three children, had a BA, BSc and a PhD, and was working full-time as a Professor of the Royal Society. Unfortunately, she gave no information about any domestic help she had employed to enable her to continue her research when her children were young. There were other scientists working in research in academia, who had managed to find a way to continue their work on a part-time basis, and therefore combine work and family. Emma (1917) had a BA in natural sciences and specialised in zoology. In 1963 she was a part-time zoological researcher at a university in the north of England and had been working there since 1961. For the first eighteen months this had been a voluntary position, but she now had a salary from the Medical Research Council. She described the post as 'flexible', meaning that she was free to do more work in term time and less during school holidays, and was averaging around three hours per day over the year.[174] Previously she had taught at a girls' high school, but her husband's sabbatical leave had meant the family had moved to the US in 1959. It had been her husband's encouragement that had been a 'potent influence' in helping her believe she was capable of returning to academic research.[175] This had helped overcome what she felt was a view in

[172] MS 1215 26/1.
[173] MS 1215 26/1.
[174] MS 1215 26/1.
[175] MS 1215 26/1.

society that zoological research was an unusual type of work for a married woman with children: 'It would undoubtedly be more respectable to do voluntary work or to teach.'[176]

Bessie's experiences shed light on the problems facing women, and particularly mothers in scientific careers. Bessie (1905), a mother of four, had built a successful career and business in science. Her husband had been working as a university lecturer in 1940 and Bessie had been keen to contribute to the war effort. She had experienced sex discrimination from employers. She had tried to conduct research in her husband's department but had been unable to as the professor in charge had 'refused to allow wives there'.[177] Bessie had tried to get funding for her research but was questioned as to why she needed to work when she already had two children; she was asked '[s]houldn't that be enough for you?'.[178] Her frustration at the barriers she was facing, combined with a belief that the scientific work she was involved in 'could be very useful in solving all kinds of questions' led Bessie and her husband to set up a laboratory at home.[179] Almost immediately they found 'that industry came to us with a lot of problems', and their business took off.[180] Two of their children, both engineers, were now working for the firm. Bessie explained that '[f]or many years I had a (very expensive) housekeeper' but was now doing all her own shopping and cooking, as well as running the company.[181] 'It's a busy life!', she stated, adding that she considered it 'outrageous that domestic help is not an allowable expense for income tax purposes'.[182] As with many of the doctors who had managed to pursue their careers, Bessie's husband was closely involved with her work. She had also managed to find and afford a housekeeper, who had presumably been invaluable assistance when her four children were growing up. Ultimately it was Bessie's determination to continue

[176] MS 1215 26/1.
[177] MS 1215 31.
[178] MS 1215 31.
[179] MS 1215 31.
[180] MS 1215 31.
[181] MS 1215 31.
[182] MS 1215 31.

her work despite the discrimination she encountered that had ensured her success. As with so many other women, she had viewed her career to be her own responsibility.

There were other scientists who were either struggling to keep their careers going or had become disillusioned. Annabel (1928) was working in academia and had found that she had felt obliged to work incredibly hard in order to convince her colleagues that even though she was now married, she was still committed to her work. Her department at a university (where she had obtained her PhD) was small, she was only the second woman to be employed, and the first to marry. She mentioned a 'threatened marriage bar…which was completely and generously withdrawn after I demonstrated for a couple of years that intended and actual marriage produced no diminution in standard or output'.[183] But this strain, appears to have taken a toll on her health, even though she felt it 'impossible to isolate a single basic cause which has made continuation of full-time work impossible for the present'.[184] At the time of Klein's survey she was expecting a baby, working part-time time and doing all domestic chores at home herself. She was very concerned about how she would be able to sustain her career once her child was born.

Another scientist was completely disillusioned at the point she wrote to Klein in 1963. Kay (1910) had a BSc in botany and a PhD. Her efforts to return to scientific research had come to nothing. Bringing up four children had been very hard work. She knew that it had been valuable her being there for her small children but was also aware that the lack of intellectual stimulation during these years had been hard to bear. Kay had seemingly been offered a job to undertake research on plants in the US but had not been able to take it up and so had tried to do the same research in the UK. Her efforts to find laboratory space to do so had been met with 'Cold Disdain' but she seems to have been offered a cold and inaccessible room by a

[183] MS 1215 28/1.
[184] MS 1215 28/1.

railway line, which she had not found conducive to research. Kay had since taken matters into her own hands and had set up a small, basic laboratory at home and was continuing her research on plants on her own.[185] Her long letter to Klein rages at the difficulties facing graduate mothers, but she also had solutions to some of the problems. For scientific researchers, for example, she thought that there could be an opportunity to use laboratory space and equipment on Sundays and during holidays. There also needed to be recognition that scientific research involved 'nine tenths thought, which can be done over the kitchen sink', a place where Kay seemed to have found herself spending much time over the past few years. Her desperation to be part of the wider scientific enquiry is clear: 'Only let me keep my sanity by knowing there is one little corner one day to be enlarged…where scientific curiosity…may be eased and appeased'.[186]

Kay's experiences highlight academia's expectation of continuous scientific enquiry through an undergraduate degree, postgraduate work, PhD and then research funded by grants and fellowships. This route suited men whose wives looked after children and took care of domestic concerns. For mothers wanting to spend time with their children, be a constant presence in their very early years and not employ a nanny, this uninterrupted route through academia was impossible to follow.

The experiences of graduates who opted to teach rather than work in industrial or commercial scientific work environments reveal something of the nature of non-academic scientific workplaces. Bridget (1912) had left her job in an industrial research laboratory in 1943, explaining that she '[d]didn't like industrial atmosphere in research'.[187] She went on to work in research in a hospital, but stopped work altogether when her first child was born. When her

[185] MS 1215 28/1.
[186] MS 1215 28/1.
[187] MS 1215 27/1.

divorce prompted her to return to work for financial reasons, she had done so full-time as a chemistry teacher in a girls' school, feeling that she '[h]ad been too long out of research to return easily to it'.[188] Working in a school also gave her longer holidays that coincided with her own children's school holidays. Enid (1915), a mathematics graduate, had worked as a statistician in industry following her degree, and then as an aerodynamicist in the aircraft industry during the war. The latter had involved long and tiring hours. When her husband came home from war service, Enid decided she wanted a rest, in the hope that they would have a family. When she returned to paid work ten years later, it was as a part-time physics teacher, rather than as a mathematician working in industry.[189] Whereas Mildred (1928) wrote that in 1955 her decision to leave her full-time role as a technical officer had been due to '[f]rustration at the discrepancy in treatment between men and women research workers in industry'.[190] She took up a junior lectureship the same year and went on to finish her PhD and be promoted at the university in 1959.[191] Clearly, Mildred had witnessed sex discrimination by employers in industry and had decided to leave as a result.

As was demonstrated in Chapter 5, teaching work was seen by many women as far more compatible with family life, and many teachers in Klein's study had found part-time roles. However, teaching was not appealing to all scientists who wanted to return to work. Patricia (1922) felt that teaching was probably the best solution to her childcare concerns but was not prepared to do so. She had 'enjoyed and found satisfaction in my career as a chemist' but had not wanted to pay someone else to look after her children.[192] Now with increasingly independent older children, she thought she might now 'look for another job in industry but the

[188] MS 1215 27/1.
[189] MS 1215 29/1.
[190] MS 1215 28/1.
[191] MS 1215 28/1.
[192] MS 1215 31.

problem of school holidays still remains'.[193] For Patricia, teaching seemed like a job that was the 'obvious answer' to the school holidays dilemma, but she was clear about her views: 'nothing will persuade me to teach'.[194] Davina (1926), a physiology and chemistry graduate, had worked as a hospital biochemist from 1947 to 1956, first heading up a small laboratory herself, then as part of team in a larger laboratory. She left her job two years after her marriage, deciding that she wanted to be a full-time housewife, but had swiftly decided she did want paid work of some sort and had found a part-time job working as an assistant editor on a scientific publication. Her husband's job necessitated a move from London to Cheshire, and she had to leave her editorial job behind. Keen to return to some sort of work in 1963, Davina said she would not like to return to laboratory work and would much rather find another part-time editorial job.[195]

Scientific workforces were dominated by men in the post-war era. Dame Stephanie Shirley described in detail the working environments she experienced in computing in the 1950s and early 1960s. For example, she described in an interview what it felt like to walk into the general staff canteen which was full of men:

> It was almost scary to go into a big place like that, 100, not quite 100 per cent but ninety-nine per cent men. And, as the years have gone on, sort of, got used to it, and, can give as good as I get, but… From the management point of view, it's always much better to have a group of women rather than a sole woman trying to break into the board or whatever it is, because, the stress is just so high. And also if you're the only one, if you fail, you fail for all women, and they say, 'Well we tried one of those and she was awful.' Whereas if you succeed, it's also remembered, but, somehow the presumption is that, 'We had her and she was good; at least we'll try another one and see if it works again.' Ugh![196]

[193] MS 1215 31.
[194] MS 1215 31.
[195] MS 1215 13/3.
[196] Interview with Dame Stephanie Shirley, conducted by Dr Thomas Lean, An Oral History of British Science, 9, 11, 13, 16 and 24 August 2010, British Library, C1379/28, p. 80.

Shirley also described what happened when she got her degree and was eligible for promotion to the grade of Scientific Officer, which would allow her to go on to more senior positions.

> I don't know how I applied, but, the way in which interviews were done was that people would put together a panel of four, five, six people who would jointly interview you, so that you came in and, and took questions from a, a range of people. And, anyway, I was waiting for my panel to be called, and it didn't come, and it didn't come. Isn't it about time I actually had my interview, and so on. And I discovered that, the panel, which was made up by people all over the station and indeed outside, were refusing to serve on the panel, for the honourable reason really that they did not think any woman could do a scientific officer job. So they were saying, 'I'd never appoint her, no matter what,' and so they were resigning from the panel. So eventually there was a big delay, and I did get a panel and then I did get through.[197]

Dame Shirley's descriptions combined with the comments from science graduates in Klein's sample imply that workplaces that employed STEM graduates were largely populated and managed by men. Shirley started her own business around the time that she and her husband started a family which gave her more flexibility, but for the women in Klein's sample who wanted to be an employee rather than self-employed, other occupations such as teaching or part-time editorial work were more compatible with motherhood.

The implications of women's withdrawal from scientific research are yet to be fully understood. Analysing the history of the work of women scientists helps address problems of equality that still exist. Recent US Census Bureau reports reveal 'that men with science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) degrees are twice as likely to be hired into STEM jobs as women with the same qualifications'.[198] Scholarship on the role of women in STEM careers in the post-war era is limited, but Hicks concludes that 'gender inequality shaped and enabled one of the most important technological changes in Britain's history', adding that '[i]n this way, a social problem became a technological one that hastened British decline in the twentieth century'.[199] The experiences of Kay, the botanist, highlight that the rigid

[197] Interview with Dame Stephanie Shirley, p. 80-81.
[198] M. Hicks, *Programmed inequality: how Britain discarded women technologists and lost its edge in computing* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2017), p. 235.
[199] Hicks, *Programmed inequality*, p 239.

expectations of how an academic scientific career should progress, i.e. without interruption for family caring responsibilities, may have excluded the contribution of a raft of scientific talent in the post-war years.

There are opportunities for scholarship to interrogate further the role of women's work in the realm of scientific research. In terms of the history of women in science, Hicks argues:

> When women do not fulfil the role of inventor or entrepreneur in a way comparable to the men who have up until now been the main focus of computing history, their labor is often regarded as not being integral to the main narrative of computing's history.[200]

This research suggests that where women were experiencing sexism and inflexible working conditions, they were less likely to continue and rise to the top of their profession. This may mean that they were less likely to be authoring scientific journal papers or receiving awards and recognition for their work.

Conclusion

The post-war era saw increasing opportunities for those who had studied medicine or dentistry at university to practice within the new NHS. The advances in science, technology, engineering and mathematics during this period might also have provided increased opportunities for those who had studied STEM subjects at undergraduate and postgraduate level. However, experiences of women in Klein's study, who had pursued their interest in science or medicine and dentistry at university, reveal that working environments differed and experiences were varied. Many of those who started careers in science left their jobs behind either on marriage or the birth of children, whereas many of those who had trained as doctors and dentists managed to continue to practice in some way, usually within the NHS. There were more opportunities to work in school health clinics, and thus within school hours, and part-time too.

[200] Hicks, *Programmed inequality*, p. 20.

However, the absence of women graduates of medicine and dentistry working in senior positions in Klein's sample suggests that hospital working practices were discriminatory to mothers, and working mothers found fewer opportunities to practice, specialise and advance in areas of medicine such as surgery. It was in the area of general practice that women doctors had achieved partner status. With seniority in small general practices, some GPs had been able to fashion a working environment and hours that they felt comfortable with. Their seniority had conferred agency. Their high incomes facilitated the employment of domestic help that allowed them to continue their career.

This research can only speculate on the implications of the withdrawal of women's scientific skill from academia and industry in the post-war era, and in subsequent decades. This research suggests that in the post-war period, women science graduates were discouraged from continuing their work in academia and industry by employers, meaning that only the most resilient, and usually those without children, were able to succeed. This implies that a wealth of skills and understanding were lost; scientific advances in Britain were most likely hampered by this loss of female talent.

In contrast, the NHS offered opportunities for those with training in medicine and dentistry; the provision of new services and the need for doctors and dentists to provide them meant there were new roles and sometimes flexible working arrangements. Scientific industries were lagging behind in this provision of more flexible hours. Comments from those who had left industry suggest that sex discrimination by employers was common-place. Academic scientific research environments seem also to have been wary of working mothers, and sometimes wives, making the decision to continue to work one that required resilience and energy. But whilst many doctors and dentists found opportunities to work in the NHS, and some scientists continued to work, the difficulties faced by mothers in managing their domestic responsibilities should not be underestimated.

The impact of the loss of women doctors' skill and expertise in senior positions and in hospitals has yet to be understood, just as there is a need to understand the implications of the withdrawal of women scientists' skills and expertise. More research is required to examine women's work in science and medicine in the post-war years, and the consequences of the lost opportunities for capitalising on female talent. How many medics were unable to undertake the training that would allow them to specialise in areas of health that improve women's lives? How might medical training have been different if more women doctors were shaping its evolution? This thesis cannot answer these questions, but this research clearly indicates there is a role for further historical analysis to inform current debates on inequalities that exist in medicine, not least in terms of training and provision of women's health services.

CONCLUSION

This thesis provides a new perspective on the history of university-educated women's work in post-war Britain. By formulating an analysis informed by the history of emotions and the scholarship of feminist economics and the ethics of care, it provides a distinctive contribution to the understanding of how work – paid or unpaid caring, domestic or voluntary – impacts self-fulfilment and contributes to the sense of self. It demonstrates that middle-class mothers in the long 1950s could gain a sense of agency by arranging their lives so that they were able to achieve intellectual fulfilment alongside family life. It also demonstrates the obstacles that they faced to fully realising their intellectual goals and career ambitions. It highlights the emotional labour women were undertaking managing the emotions of their spouses and children and ensuring that any work they undertook did not have a negative effect on the family. Overall, this thesis advances understanding of what work means to individuals and how it relates to a sense of creativity, fulfilment and well-being, suggesting more nuanced ways to reflect on current inequalities between men and women.

The post-war era was characterised by conflicting attitudes to women working. Assumptions were made by the state, employers, husbands and wives themselves that unpaid caring work in the home and looking after children was the responsibility of women. The implications of these assumptions failed to be fully recognised. Questions about how to resolve the tension between caregiver and worker remained unanswered, and so calls for women teachers to return to work were made without state childcare provision. This thesis has examined the emotional implications of women navigating these expectations.

A university education shaped a woman's life, and it also shaped a mother's desire to achieve intellectual fulfilment alongside family life. Analysis of Klein's graduate sample of over 900 women reveals that life-stage was a very important factor in whether a mother took on paid

work. Mothers could feel more comfortable about the idea of working once their children were at school; most workers had their youngest child at school. A significant section of this middle-class sample was geographically mobile, and this could have a big impact on wives' opportunities for paid work. This was largely due to the disruption of their networks and having to leave good positions when they moved area. Husbands had clearly benefitted from the career progression that had resulted from their continuous employment (including promotions) since marriage until the time of the survey in 1963 and were in more senior roles than their wives.

It was by incremental change rather than revolution that the concept of mothers working for personal fulfilment became more acceptable in the long 1950s. This meant that middle-class women, who often did not need to work for financial reasons, felt able to do so. However, working was only deemed acceptable if they had adequately planned for the care of their children and the family home. Married women saw domestic responsibilities as their concern, and if they took a job, they had to feel confident that they had effectively delegated their domestic work. They often delayed a return to work after having children until their youngest was at school. They relied heavily on employed domestic help and looked for work with shorter hours, that would allow them to continue to care for their children and homes in the way they felt they should. After paying for domestic help, the net financial gain of work could be small, but the benefits meant that many continued to work. Disposable income was spent on private education and holidays. But the material incentive was often less fundamental than the desire for intellectual fulfilment and a sense of self beyond that of wife and mother.

This thesis demonstrates that many graduate mothers were working in both part-time and full-time jobs. Graduate mothers were finding ways of combining work and family life, but it required robust health and organisation to sustain their careers and they were continually assessing the impact of their work on the family, managing the emotions of husbands and children. The main obstacles to taking on paid work were the difficulties of finding domestic

help, the way domestic help costs were treated by the tax system, and the negativity of husbands about their wives working. Those who had ruled out taking a job tended to cite their concerns about how their caring responsibilities could be managed, whilst some questioned whether they had the energy to be a working mother. A woman was more likely to take a job if she had been able to find good domestic help and felt supported and encouraged by her husband to work.

Whilst many graduate women found an outlet for their intellectual energy in paid work, others found it in voluntary and unpaid work in the home. Through their voluntary work graduates were making a substantial contribution to the welfare state. They appreciated the intellectual fulfilment they got through a range of voluntary opportunities, the sense of contributing to the community and the flexibility to accommodate the needs of the family that these roles frequently offered. Those women who chose to remain at home as housewives found intellectual fulfilment in books, music, helping with their husbands' work and facilitating their children's academic success and emotional well-being. However, some housewives understood that there were longer-term implications of having taken themselves out of paid employment. These women expressed concern about what the future held for an older woman wanting to return to some form of employment after a long break to look after family.

Middle-class mothers believed they were the best judge of what was right for their family, had thought very hard about how to reconcile their intellectual self with their caring self and took pride in their ability to combine work with family life. Mothers could gain a sense of agency in negotiating what they felt to be appropriate ways of combining professional work and family. Teaching and medical/dental work in schools more readily provided hours close to what they were looking for. Whilst the choice to take up such work should be viewed in the context of very limited options, the ways in which women discussed the satisfaction gained from paid roles and the interplay with family life illustrates that the choice was more complex, considered, and part of a personally framed strategy.

Teaching was an obviously popular form of work for women graduates in post-war Britain. Schools and colleges were some of the few workplaces with shorter working days and longer holidays, and thus were more likely to complement childcare commitments. In many professional careers linear career progression based on full-time working was the norm, and there was little in the way of opportunities for flexible working. The fact that so many women in this sample had chosen teaching work may well have been because opportunities for flexible, family friendly employment in other sectors were so limited in the post-war period.

There were increasing opportunities for those who had studied medicine or dentistry at university to practice within the new National Health Service. Many of those who had trained as doctors and dentists managed to continue to practice in some way, usually within the NHS. However, there had been few opportunities to advance medical careers alongside flexible working. Many science graduates had left their work in academia and industry on marriage or the birth of children. A wealth of skills and understanding was thereby lost. Indeed, scientific advances in Britain were most likely hampered by this loss of female talent, and opportunities for women to shape medical research may also have been lost due to the small number of women in senior positions in medicine.

Hubback concluded after surveying her contemporaries that women should avoid trying to replicate male approaches to work and career, perceiving that viewing ambitions for work and marriage from a position of compromise seemed more likely to lead to contentment.[1] Contentment across the sample of Klein's graduate women was highest amongst those who felt they had achieved a balance in their lives between caring for their family and intellectual stimulation. Paid work was not the only way in which these middle-class women channelled their intellectual energy. Klein's graduates demonstrated that contentment was possible from

[1] McCarthy, *Double Lives: A History of Working Motherhood* (London, 2020), p. 265.

combining paid work and family life, voluntary work and family life, as well as from being a housewife. Graduate women were shaped by their education, marriage and motherhood. They arrived at fulfilment in a variety of different ways. They were redefining contentment, success and what it meant to lead a good life. Of course, they were navigating expectations of what caring work they should do, as well as limited opportunities to pursue flexible paid work. Not all were fulfilled by caring work. They might have felt more fulfilled if their caring work had been reduced and their opportunities for a fulfilling career had been increased. But the ways in which the interweaving of these roles played out depended on seriously considered criteria.

Those who were most content with their lives had recognised that even though they enjoyed being a wife and mother, there were other aspects of their personality that needed to be nourished. Where they felt able to be themselves, to use their skills and pursue their interests, whether that be in the home, through voluntary work or through paid work, they were most fulfilled. Graduate women who were least content felt crushed by the weight of expectation regarding their domestic responsibilities or frustrated by the lack of the flexible paid work opportunities which they perceived would give then an intellectual life. Middle-class marriages were shaped by the paid and unpaid work wives did. Experiences reveal that companionate marriage was possible in a range of situations, whilst also confirming the complexities of fulfilling the ideal. Concerns raised by some housewives also reveal the potential anxiety associated with removing oneself from the paid economy.

The individualised approach to managing paid and unpaid caring work and their own well-being was accepted by most women. Women understood the joy and privilege of caring work, as well as the burdens it could bring. When faced with small, or even large injustices as married women workers, Klein's respondents seem to have felt that they were fortunate even to have a job as mothers. Some women were beginning to question why the state, employers and their husbands were not doing more to assist them. Those who questioned whether government

policy was helping or hindering them in their quest to combine paid work and motherhood tended to confine their criticism to tax and pension policy, although a few did mention the lack of state nursery provision. These rumblings of discontent were a prelude to discussions of second-wave feminism and demands for further legislation for women's rights.

Even though it became more acceptable in the post-war era for women to work in order to feel more fulfilled, it was hard for a woman to enjoy motherhood and a fulfilling and successful career. Their career was unlikely to advance in the way that their husband's career did. Career progression usually required continual employment, something which many mothers felt was incompatible with having babies and looking after young children. Mothers could be aware that by choosing part-time and flexible work options, they were never going to achieve the career progression that their husbands had. This was either accepted, viewed with resignation, or occasionally with frustration. Most women were just getting on with their lives, dealing with difficulties as they arose and delighting in the joys of family life. Those who found interesting paid work felt fortunate in having done so. They also felt grateful if their husbands helped them out at home and gave them encouragement with their work, and if they had found caring and reliable nannies, housekeepers and cleaners to assist them.

This thesis highlights the ways in which rigid expectations of gender roles were problematic; they increased burdens and decreased opportunities for women. It increased the burden of a wife who felt it was her role to get up and attend to an unsettled toddler and survive on less sleep the following day. It decreased her opportunity for intellectual fulfilment and financial independence from paid work because the workplace was not designed for an employee responsible for caring work. Neither children nor elderly relatives were less vulnerable during office hours; caring responsibilities were ongoing and followed no timetable. The post-war workplace rarely took account of this. Instead, it relied on wives to fulfil caring work, so that husbands could continue working full-time without significant breaks. Teaching, with its

shorter days and longer holidays, was one of the few professions that offered a little more flexibility. As did the sessional work in schools for medics and dentists. The absence of science graduates who stayed in industry, compared to medics and dentists who managed to continue their careers, clearly illustrates how inflexible or discriminatory working environments can lose valuable skilled workers.

This thesis highlights the role of life-stage as a category of analysis in future research on the history of work and emotions. It also illustrates the benefit of an interdisciplinary approach. In this thesis, analysis through the lens of feminist economics and the ethics of care has allowed a fresh analysis of women's paid and unpaid caring work. It is suggested that future historical research of work also needs to consider the assumptions that have been made about what work has value, as well as interrogating where the responsibility of care lies and the implications this has on an individual's ability to operate in the paid economy.

This thesis also points to the role of future research to continue to advance understanding of the implications of the loss of women's skills in STEM industries and research, as well as at senior levels of medicine and dentistry. It highlights the need to further understand the long-term economic implications for women of opting for part-time work or removing themselves from the paid economy entirely. It is likely that the success and agency these women achieved had long term consequences on the accumulation of wealth, particularly when compared with that of their husbands.

Overall, this thesis demonstrates the importance of understanding experiences of work. By interrogating experiences of paid and unpaid labour and how this relates to well-being and sense of self, we advance our understanding of the social, economic and emotional history of post-war Britain. By using life-stage as a category of analysis, we acknowledge the changes that take place across the life-cycle. Formulating a historical analysis at the intersection of the

history of work and the history of emotions allows us to advance our understanding of the experience of being human. Listening closely to the voices of these highly educated and thoughtful women – who might have seemed the most likely to be disappointed, frustrated or resentful – reveals rather the complexity of thinking relating to the place of different types of work in a full life. Close analysis of the reflections of this group of women graduates illuminates the nuanced ways in which each dealt with new opportunities and old expectations.

APPENDIX

Source material

The questionnaires were held in six separate box files all contained in MS1215 at the University of Reading Special Collections archive. Use of the collection was subject to strict conditions laid down by the Archivist at Reading University Special Collections intended to safeguard the anonymity of the respondents and ensure that any potential risks regarding copyright were minimised. Analysis of the 'further comments' section and accompanying letters in particular were considered as potentially aiding understanding of why women moved on from, or remained in paid employment after marriage, and the role of domestic and voluntary work in that decision. Due to the Archivist's concerns relating to copyright concerns, it was agreed that in this thesis paraphrasing would be used where possible rather than extensive quotations to detail individual stories. It was also agreed that respondents would be anonymised by the use of pseudonyms. An application was made to CUREC, so that the implications of collecting data relating to women who might still be alive were appropriately considered. The process proved useful in both considering the ethical issues and developing a strategy regarding how data collection and management would take place. Approval was given on the project in February 2016. Respondents are referred to in the thesis by their pseudonym followed by the year of their birth. A footnote details the file in which their questionnaire can be found within the archive.

Nine hundred and fifteen questionnaires were found in the archive, and each was photographed at the archive and transcribed at home. Surnames and house names were not inputted into the database, only a first initial and the road, village, town and county. This was done to preserve anonymity. Once the transcription process was completed the photographs were deleted. The quality of the digital photographs and the ability to zoom in on sections that were more difficult

to read meant that 910 questionnaires were able to be transcribed in their entirety. There were only a few photographs relating to five questionnaires from files 28 and 29 which failed to capture all the detail due to the images being of poorer quality. Since some detail was captured from each questionnaire, and as the five questionnaires represent just 0.5% of the total of 915 questionnaires found in the archive, a decision was made to include the data that could be captured in the analysis. The tables in Chapter 1 detail where there was insufficient data from questionnaires, and this relates to these five questionnaires, and other questionnaires where respondents' answers were incomplete, unclear or illegible.

Klein's questionnaire was introduced to respondents with a letter, explaining the nature of the research, and asking directly for their help. This is shown in Figure 2 below. The format of the questionnaire is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Questionnaire

PATTERNS IN WOMANPOWER: A STUDY OF THE RELATIONS OF FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES TO DISCONTINUITY OF STUDY AND WORK EXPERIENCE IN PROFESSIONAL WOMEN (All information will be treated in strict confidence and be used for the purpose of statistical compilation only.)

I. Name.....
Address.....
Marital status.....Year of birth.....Year of marriage

II. A. Husband's occupation
a. at time of marriage.....
b. at present.....

B. Number of children (if any)....
(a) Their dates of birth (b) Type of education
....
....

C. Other dependents needing care or financial support (please underline which)
.....

III. A. Date of leaving university.....
B. Qualification (degree, diploma, etc.).....
C. Subject(s).....
D. Did you undergo professional or any other training after graduation?
Yes.....No.....
If yes, what training?.....
E. Did you interrupt your education and/or your vocational training?
Yes.....No.....
If yes, please give (a) dates of break(s) and resumption (s):
....
(b) reasons for interruptions
.....
F. Have you had any further vocational training in addition to the one mentioned under "D" above?
Yes.....No.....
If yes (a) nature of further qualification.....
(b) how obtained (full-time or part-time study, evening classes, correspondence course etc.).....
(c) reason for change(if any)
G. Is your name currently on any professional register? Yes.....No.....

IV. A. Are you employed at present (incl. self employed)?
(a) full time.....
(b) part-time..... (if so, please give details)

IV.B. Please give in chronological order the history of your employment since leaving college, including periods of non-employment, and reasons for breaks:

Started Work	Left Work	Field of Employment	Position(s) Held	Full Time	Part Time
(1).....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
(2)					
(3)					
(4)					
(5)					

Reasons for discontinuing employment in each individual case:
(1).....
(2)
(3)
(4)
(5)

C. If not now working in your own field (or are not employed at present), have you ever tried to return?
Yes.....No.....
If yes, please give dates.....
If not successful, why? (e.g. age, working hours required, geographical location etc.)
.....
What assistance did you miss most (e.g. vocational counselling, re-training facilities, domestic help, etc.)
.....
D. Are you doing, or have you ever done any regular voluntary work? Yes.....No.....
If yes, what kind of unpaid work did you do?

	Type of Work	Dates
(1)		
(2)		
(3)		
(4)		
(5)		

Further comments:.....
(If there is not enough space in any section, feel free to write on the back of each page).
PLEASE GIVE INFORMATION AS ACCURATELY AS YOUR MEMORY ALLOWS AND RETURN THE QUESTIONNAIRE TO ME, USING THE ENCLOSED STAMPED RETURN ENVELOPE

(Dr.) Viola Klein (Ph.D.)

Figure 2: Letter introducing questionnaire

University of Manchester, Department of Social Administration, Dover Street, Manchester 13
March 1963

I am at present engaged in a study (supported by a small grant from the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research) of the resources, both real and potential, of PROFESSIONAL WOMANPOWER.

A new look at the pattern of women graduates' lives has become necessary, not only because shortages of professionally qualified women have increased over a wide range of fields while the number of women remaining single is dwindling, but because so many of them, in their endeavour to combine the responsibilities – and satisfactions – of a family and a profession, have what an American investigator has called an "in-and-out status", i.e., periods of work alternating with interludes of various lengths.

This period of intermittent employment – some full time, some part time, some involving a change in occupation, and others unpaid voluntary work – is not usually included in calculations of the average length of service professional women are estimated to give after being trained.
We still know much too little of the ways in which recent social changes are shaping the lives of women.

Will you help me to discover the causes and effects of 'career-breaks' on the women themselves, the main obstacles to vocational continuity they meet, and thereby to find constructive means of overcoming them?

You can do this by filling in the attached questionnaire as accurately as your memory allows and by returning it promptly. Your 'case history' will combine with that of others to fill a gap in our knowledge of the career pattern of women graduates today. The information you give me will, of course, be treated in the strictest confidence and for the purposes of this research only.

One more request; please, be as precise in your answers as you can; do not, for instance, write "marriage" as your reason for interrupting your training or discontinuing your career, but state the cause more specifically, e.g. "marriage bar", "husband disapproved", "wanted to devote myself entirely to home and family" etc.

Any further comments or suggestions will be most welcome.

Yours sincerely

(Dr. Viola Klein)

Simon Research Fellow

Occupation of husband in a sample of towns and cities

Town/City	Occupations
Bath	Teacher, lecturer, company secretary, naval architect, architect, manufacturer
Bristol	Professor, academic, lecturer, teacher, surgeon, dental surgeon, barrister, sales manager, accountant, research biochemist
Cardiff	Schoolteacher, civil servant
Chislehurst, Kent	University lecturer, college lecturer, general manager, senior executive, company director, civil servant
Dundee	Headmaster, university lecturer, professor, chartered accountant, radiologist, civil servant, managing director, bank manager, insurance claims assessor, civil engineer
Farnborough, Hampshire	Civil servant, research scientist, physicist, aerodynamicist, surveyor and estate agent, engineer
Glasgow	University professor, mathematician, dermatologist, GP, consultant physician, civil servant, solicitor, chartered accountant, architect, librarian, journalist, stockbroker
Huddersfield	Schoolmaster, headmaster, head of department at technical college, civil servant, textile manufacturer
Leeds	University professor, university senior lecturer, university lecturer, schoolmaster, headmaster, museum director, doctor, engineer, civil engineer, managing director
Leicester	Headmaster, schoolmaster, university lecturer, senior lecturer, professor, consultant dermatologist, company director, leather manufacturer, engineer, solicitor, vicar
London W, SW, SE, N, NW districts	University lecturer, professor, research scientist, statistician, doctor, solicitor, barrister, engineer, broker, civil servant, company director, writer and broadcaster, journalist, chartered accountant, Church of England priest, publicity manager (publishing), chemical engineer, manufacturer,
Norwich	Schoolmaster, radiologist, medical practitioner, dental surgeon, government valuer
Nottingham	Lecturer, professor, schoolmaster, headmaster, GP, dentist, architect, photographic technician
Reading	University lecturer, schoolmaster, research chemist, doctor, scientist (industry), technical manager, engineer, pharmacist, civil engineer (railway), lighting engineer, writer, priest,
Shrewsbury	Schoolmaster, doctor/GP, consultant bacteriologist, laboratory technician, research chemist, civil servant, area sales manager
Southampton	Solicitor, university lecturer/registrar, professor, technical college lecturer, schoolmaster, doctor, dental surgeon, officer in mercantile marine, civil servant, librarian
Stockton-on-Tees	Teacher, medical practitioner, dental surgeon, senior technologist, works manager, chemical plant manager, director, industrial chemist/scientist, company manager, solicitor, accountant
Wolverhampton	Teacher, headmaster, medical practitioner, research physicist, civil servant, newspaper editor, electrical engineer, marine engineer, factory manager, vicar

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript and Archival Sources

Special Collections, University of Reading – Papers of Viola Klein

MS 1215 13/3

MS 1215 26/1

MS 1215 27/1

MS 1215 28/1

MS 1215 29/1

MS 1215 31

Mass Observation Archive, University of Sussex

FR 3075, Present Day Cost of Living (January 1949)

Mass Observation Directive Questionnaire (March 1951), Respondent 5209

Britain and Her Birthrate: A report prepared by Mass-Observation for the Advertising Service Guild The sixth of the 'Change' Wartime Surveys (London, 1945)

Mass Observation Archive, FR 3025, Further Notes On Attitudes To Present Day Education (Sept 1948)

Official Papers, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford

1951 Census - England and Wales General Tables Comprising Population

1951 Census – England and Wales Occupation Tables

1961 Census – Great Britain Summary Tables

1961 Census - England and Wales Education Tables

Oral History Transcripts, British Library

Interview with Dame Josephine Barnes, conducted by Rebecca Adams, National Life Stories Leaders of National Life, 24 and 26 October 1990, British Library, C408/015

Interview with Dame Stephanie Shirley, conducted by Dr Thomas Lean, An Oral History of British Science, 9, 11, 13, 16 and 24 August 2010, British Library, C1379/28

Parliamentary Papers

Parliamentary Papers (1947/8), Cm 7321, Statement on personal incomes, costs and prices

Parliamentary Papers (1962/3), Cm 2154, Higher Education Report of the Committee appointed by the Prime Minister under the Chairmanship of Lord Robbins 1961-63

Parliamentary Papers (1948/9), Cm 7695, Royal Commission on Population Report 1949

Audio Recordings

The Collected Works of D. W. Winnicott, Audio Recordings, http://www.oxfordclinicalpsych.com/oxford/page/608/the-ordinary-devoted-mother-and-her-baby (27 September 2018)

Printed Primary Sources[1]

Bell, C., *Middle Class Families: Social and Geographical Mobility* (London, 1968)

Beveridge, W., *Social Insurance and Allied Services* (London, 1942)

Brayshaw, A. J., 'The Stability of Marriage', *Eugenics Review*, 44/2 (1952), pp. 85-96

Brayshaw, A. J., 'Marriage and Divorce in Britain Today', *Marriage and Family Living*, 15/4 (1953), pp. 299-301

British Medical Journal

Baker, H. B., 'Women in Medicine', *British Medical Journal*, 1/4874 (1954), p. 1322

Barnes, J., 'Women in Medicine', *British Medical Journal*, 1/4872 (1954), p. 1210

D'Arcy Hart, R., 'Women in Medicine', *British Medical Journal*, 1/4873 (1954), p. 1266

Dawkins, J., *British Medical Journal*, 1/5292 (1962), p. 1627

Editor, B.M.J., *British Medical Journal*, 1/4872 (1954), p. 1210

French, A., 'Women in Medicine', *British Medical Journal*, 1/4875 (1954), p. 1377

Gardner, I., 'Women Doctors', *British Medical Journal*, 1/5539 (1963), p. 1236

Griffiths, S. M., 'Women Doctors', *British Medical Journal*, 1/5294 (1962), p. 1764

Happold, M. E., 'Women doctors', *British Medical Journal*, 1/5283 (1962), p. 1013

[1] Please note references refer to edition consulted and not necessarily the year of publication

Harrower, K., ‘Women doctors’, *British Medical Journal*, 1/5291 (1962), p. 1553

Hellier, F. F., ‘Marriage Guidance Council’, *British Medical Journal*, 2/5144 (1959), p. 154

Ivens, F., *British Medical Journal*, 1/3343 (1925), p. 192

Morgan, J. A. U., ‘Women doctors’, *British Medical Journal*, 1/5279 (1962), p. 714

Ottley, C. M., ‘Women in Medicine’, *British Medical Journal*, 1/4875 (1954), p. 1377

Owen, A., ‘Women doctors’, *British Medical Journal*, 1/5288 (1962), p. 1343

Savage, A., ‘Women Doctors’, *British Medical Journal*, 1/5294 (1962), p. 1763

‘The Family Planning Association: Need for Voluntary Effort’, *British Medical Journal*, 2/4617 (1949), p. 29

Thompson, C., ‘Shortage of doctors’, *British Medical Journal*, 1/5271 (1962), pp. 113-114

Westcombe, R., *British Medical Journal*, 1/5275 (1962), pp. 397-99

‘Women in Medicine’, *British Medical Journal*, 2/4683 (1950), pp. 822-823

Birkinshaw, M., *The Successful Teacher: An Occupational Analysis based on an enquiry conducted among women teachers in secondary schools* (London, 1935)

Fraser, A., *My History: A Memoir of Growing Up* (London, 2015)

Friedan, B., *The Feminine Mystique* (New York, 1963)

Gavron, H., *The Captive Wife: Conflicts of Housebound Mothers* (Harmondsworth, 1968)

Gorer, G., *Exploring English Character* (London, 1955)

Hubback, J., *Wives Who Went To College* (London, 1957)

Jackson, B., and Marsden, D., *Education and the Working Class* (London, 1986)

Jenkins, E., *The View From Downshire Hill* (Norwich, 2004)

Jenkins, E., *The Tortoise and the Hare* (London, 1954)

Jephcott, P., *Married Women Working* (London, 1962)

Kelsall, R.K., *Women and teaching: report on an independent Nuffield Survey following-up a large national sample of women who entered teaching in England and Wales at various dates pre-war and post-war* (London, 1963)

Klein, V., *Britain's Married Women Workers* (London, 1965)

Labour Party, *Let Us Face The Future*, Manifesto for 1945

Myrdal, A. and Klein, V., *Women's Two Roles: Home and Work* (London, 1956)

Nature

'Shortage of Mathematics Teachers in Britain', *Nature* 191 (1961)

'Shortage of Graduate Teachers of Science', *Nature*, 183 (1954), pp. 196-197

Panter-Downes, M., *One Fine Day* (London, 1947)

Pahl, J.M. and R.E. *Managers and their wives*, (London, 1971)

Princess Elizabeth's 21st Birthday Speech (1947) https://www.royal.uk/21st-birthday-speech-21-april-1947 (7 October 2018)

Pym, B., *Excellent Women* (London, 2008)

Rich, A., *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as experience and institution* (London 1986)

Smallshall, K., *How To Run Your Home Without Help* (London, 2005)

Steedman, C., *Landscape For A Good Woman* (London, 2005)

The Church Information Board, *Marriage, Divorce and the Royal Commission: A Study Outline of the Report of The Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce 1951-1955* (London, 1956)

The Times, London, England

'Need for Independent Inquiry into Doctor Shortage', *The Times* [London], no. 55388 (11 May 1962), p. 11, Times Digital Archive (4 Nov. 2021)

'Skill Going to Waste', *The Times* [London], no. 55564 (3 December 1962), p. 13, Times Digital Archive (4 Nov. 2021)

Mutch, A., 'Skills Going To Waste', *The Times* [London], no. 55569 (8 December 1962), p. 9., Times Digital Archive (4 Nov. 2021)

Robb, G. H., 'Skills Going To Waste', *The Times* [London], no. 55569 (8 December 1962), p. 9, Times Digital Archive (4 Nov. 2021)

R. A. Butler, 'Reform in the Schools', *The Times* [London], no. 51001 (21 February 1948), p. 5, Times Digital Archive (4 Nov. 2021)

'Women Teachers of Boys', *The Times* [London], no 51036 (3 April 1948), p. 3, Times Digital Archive (4 Nov. 2021)

Tomalin, C., *A Life Of My Own* (London, 2017)

Whitehorn, K., *Selective Memory* (London, 2007)

Woolf, V., *A Room Of One's Own And Other Essays* (London, 2000)

Yudkin, S., and Holme, A., *Working Mothers and their children: a study for the Council of Children's Welfare* (London, 1963)

Zweig, F., *Women's life and labour* (London, 1952)

Printed Secondary Works[2]

Books

Barker, D., and Feiner, S. F., *Liberating Economics: Feminist Perspectives on Families, Work and Globalization*, (Michigan, 2004)

Beard, M., *Women & Power: A Manifesto* (London, 2017)

Beaumont, C., *Housewives and citizens: Domesticity and the women's movement in England, 1928-64* (Manchester, 2013)

Bew, J., *Clement Attlee: The Man Who Made Modern Britain* (Oxford, 2017)

Brooke, S., *Sexual Politics: Sexuality, Family Planning, and the British Left from the 1880s to the Present Day* (Oxford, 2011)

Brown, C. G., *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding secularisation 1800-2000*, (London, 2009)

Bruley, Sue, *Women In Britain Since 1900* (Basingstoke, 1999)

Collins, M., *Modern Love: an intimate history of men and women in twentieth-century Britain* (London, 2003)

[2] Please note references refer to edition consulted and not necessarily the year of publication

Colpus, E., *Female Philanthropy in the Interwar World: Between Self and Other* (London, 2018)

Cook, H., *The Long Sexual Revolution: English Women, Sex, and Contraception 1800-1975* (Oxford, 2004)

Court, A., and Watson, C., *Birmingham made a difference: The Birmingham Women's Welfare Centre* (Birmingham, 2001)

Davis, A., *Modern Motherhood: Women and Family in England c. 1945-2000* (Manchester, 2012)

Davis., A., *Pre-school childcare in England, 1939-2010: Theory, practice and experience* (Manchester, 2015)

De Bellaigue, C., *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800-1867* (Oxford, 2007)

Delap, L., *Knowing their place: domestic service in twentieth-century Britain* (Oxford, 2011)

Dyhouse, Carol, *Girl Trouble: Panic and Progress in the History of Young Women* (London, 2013)

Dyhouse, Carol, *No distinction of sex? Women in British universities, 1870-1939*, (London, 1995)

Dyhouse, Carol, *Students: A Gendered History* (London, 2006)

Elliott, Jane, *Using Narrative in Social Research*, (London, 2005)

Field, G., *Blood, Sweat, and Toil: Remaking the British Working Class* (Oxford 2011)

Fisher, K., and Szreter, S., *Sex Before the Sexual Revolution: Intimate Life in England 1918-1963* (Cambridge 2010)

Folbre, N, *Greed, Lust and Gender, A History of Economic Ideas* (Oxford, 2009)

Folbre, N. and Bittman, M., *Family Time: The Social Organization of Care* (London, 2004)

Forster, Laurel, *Magazine Movements: Women's Culture, Feminisms and Media Form* (London, 2015)

Garnett, J., Grimley, M., Harris, A., Whyte, W. and Williams, S. (eds), *Redefining Christian Britain: Post 1945 Perspectives* (London, 2007)

Gavron, J., *A woman on the edge of time: a son's search for his mother* (Melbourne, 2015)

Gilligan, C., *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge, Massachusetts ,1993)

Gleadle, K., *Borderline Citizens: Women, Gender and Political Culture in Britain, 1815-67* (Oxford, 2009)

Glennerster, H., *British Social Policy: 1945 to the present* (Oxford, 2007)

Glew, H., *Gender, Rhetoric and Regulation: Women's work in the Civil Service and the London County Council, 1900-55* (Manchester, 2016)

Hall, C., *White, Male and Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge, 1992)

Halsey, A.H., and Webb, J., *Twentieth-Century British Social Trends* (Basingstoke, 2000)

Harris, J., *William Beveridge* (Oxford, 1997)

Held, V., *The Ethics of Care: Personal, Political and Global* (Oxford, 2006)

Hicks, M., *Programmed inequality: how Britain discarded women technologists and lost its edge in computing* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2017)

Hinton, J., *Seven Lives from Mass Observation: Britain in the Late Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 2016)

Hinton, J., *Women, Social Leadership, and the Second World War: Continuities of Class* (Oxford, 2002)

Jeanes, E., *A Dictionary of Organizational Behaviour* (Oxford, 2019)

King, L., *Fatherhood and Masculinity in Britain 1914-1960* (Oxford, 2015)

Knott, S., *Mother: An Unconventional History* (London, 2019)

Kynaston, D., *Austerity Britain 1945-8: A World To Build* (London, 2009)

Kynaston, D., *Family Britain, 1951-7* (London, 2009)

Langhamer, C., *The English in Love: The Intimate Story of an Emotional Revolution* (Oxford, 2013)

Langhamer, C., *Women's leisure in England: 1920-60* (Manchester, 2000)

Lewis, J., *Women in England 1870-1950: Sexual Divisions and Social Change* (Hemel Hempstead, 1984)

Light, A., *Mrs Woolf and the Servants* (London, 2008)

Lowe, R., *The Welfare State in Britain since 1945*, (Basingstoke, 2005)

Marçal, K., *Who Cooked Adam Smith's Dinner? A Story About Women and Economics* (London, 2015)

McCarthy, H., *Double Lives: A History Of Working Motherhood* (London, 2020)

Murray, J., *Woman's Hour: from Joyce Grenfell to Sharon Osborne: Celebrating Sixty Years of Women's Lives* (foreword) (London, 2006)

Nicholson, V., *Perfect Wives in Ideal Homes: The story of women in the 1950s* (London, 2015)

Oakley, A., *Father and Daughter: Patriarchy, gender and social science* (Bristol, 2014)

Pederson, S., *Family, Dependence and the Origins of the Welfare State: Britain and France 1914-45* (Cambridge, 1995)

Perkin, H., *The Rise of Professional Society: England Since 1880*, (London, 2002)

Plamper, J., and Tribe, K., *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford, 2015)

Prochaska, F., *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London, 1988)

Riley, D., *War In The Nursery: Theories of Child and Mother* (London, 1983)

Rintala, M., *Creating The National Health Service: Aneurin Bevan and the Medical Lords* (London, 2003)

Roberts, E., *Women and Families: An Oral History, 1940-1975* (Oxford, 1995)

Robinson, F., *The ethics of care: a feminist approach to human security* (Philadelphia, 2011)

Robinson, J., *Ladies Can't Climb Ladders: The Pioneering Adventures of the First Professional Women* (London, 2020)

Rosenwein, B. and Cristiani R., *What is the History of Emotions?* (Cambridge, 2018)

Savage, M., *Identities and Social Change in Britain Since 1940: The Politics of Method* (Oxford, 2010)

Shapira, M., *The War Inside: psychoanalysis, total war, and the making of the democratic self in postwar Britain* (Cambridge, 2013)

Spencer, S., *Gender, Work and Education in Britain in the 1950s* (Basingstoke, 2005)

Thane, P., *Divided Kingdom a history of Britain, 1900 to the present* (Cambridge, 2018)

Thane, P., *Old Age In English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (Oxford, 2000)

Thane, P., Evans, T., *Sinners? Scroungers? Saints? Unmarried Motherhood in Twentieth-Century England* (Oxford, 2012)

Thomson, M., *Lost Freedom: The Landscape of the Child and the British Post-War Settlement* (Oxford, 2013)

Thomson, M., *Psychological Subjects: Identity, Culture, and Health In Twentieth Century Britain* (Oxford, 2006)

Todd, S., *Snakes and Ladders: The Great British Social Mobility Myth* (London, 2021)

Todd, S., *The People: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class 1910-2010* (London, 2014)

Todd, S., *Young Women, Work and Family* (Oxford, 2005)

Vickery, A., *The Gentleman's Daughter* (London, 1998)

Webster, W., *Imagining Home: Gender, 'Race' and National Identity 1945-64* (London, 1998)

Weeks, J., *Sex, Politics and Society: The regulation of sexuality since 1800* (Harlow, 1989)

Zweiniger-Bargielowska, I., (ed.), *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2001)

Articles

Abrams, L., 'Liberating the female self: epiphanies, conflict and coherence in the life stories of post-war British women', *Social History*, 39/1 (2014), pp. 14-35

Abrams, L., 'The Self and Self-Help: Women Pursuing Autonomy in Post-War Britain', *Royal Historical Society Transactions* (2019), pp. 201-221

Adolph, A., 'Austerity, Consumption, and Postwar Gender Disruption in Mollie Panter-Downes's *One Fine Day*', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 31/4 (2008), pp. 18-35

Barclay, K., 'Emotions in the History of Emotions', *History of Psychology*, 24/2 (2021), pp. 112-115

Barclay, K., 'State of the Field: The History of Emotions', *History*, 106/371, pp. 456-466

Barker, J. L. and Ellsworth, K., 'Introduction: Women inventing the 1950s', *Women's Studies: An inter-disciplinary journal*, 40/8 (2011), pp. 969-973

Beaumont, C., 'What Do Women Want? Housewives' Associations, Activism and Changing Representations of Women in the 1950s', *Women's History Review*, 26/1 (2017), pp. 147-162

Bell, J., 'Putting Dad in the Picture: fatherhood in the popular women's magazines of 1950s Australia' *Women's History,* 22/6 (2013), pp. 904-929

Bingham, A., 'An Era of Domesticity'? Histories of Women and Gender in Interwar Britain, *Cultural and Social History*, 1/2 (2004), pp. 225-33

Bothelho, L. A., 'Age and History as Categories of Analysis: Refiguring Old Age', *Age, Culture, Humanities*, 1 (2014), pp. 199-208

Bowden S. and Offer, A., 'Household Appliances and the Use of Time: The United States and Britain since the 1920s', *Economic History Review*, 47/4 (1994), pp. 725-748

Brooke, S., 'Gender and Working Class Identity in Britain during the 1950s', *Journal of Social History*, 34/4 (2001), pp.773-795

Brooke, S., 'Problems of 'Socialist Planning': Evan Durbin and the Labour Government of 1945' *Historical Journal*, 34/3 (1991), pp. 687-702

Bush, J., ‘Special strengths for their own special duties’: women, higher education and gender conservatism in late Victorian Britain, *History of Education*, 34/4 (2005), pp. 387-405

Colpus, E., ‘Women, Service and Self-Actualization in Inter-War Britain’, *Past and Present,* 238/1 (2018), pp. 197-232

Jeremy Colwill, ‘Beveridge, women and the Welfare State’, *Critical Social Policy*, 14/41 (1994), pp. 53-78

Cook, H., ‘From Controlling Emotions to Expressing Feelings in Mid-Twentieth-Century-England’, *Journal of Social History*, 47/3 (2014), pp. 626-646

Cooper, F., ‘Medical feminism, working mothers, and the limits of home: finding a balance between self-care and other-care in cross-cultural debates about health and lifestyle, 1952-1956’, *Palgrave Communications*, 2/1 (2016), [doi: 10.1057/palcomms.2016.42] pp. 1-11

Crofts, W., ‘The Attlee Government’s Pursuit of Women’, *History Today*, 36/8 (1986), pp. 29-35

Davis, A., ‘A Critical Perspective on British Social Surveys and Community Studies and Their Accounts of Married Life c.1945-70’, *Cultural and Social History*, 6/1 (2009), pp. 47-64

Delap, L., ‘Housework, Housewives, and Domestic Workers’, *Home Cultures*, 8/2 (2011), pp. 189-209

Dyhouse, C., ‘Driving ambitions: women in pursuit of a medical education, 1890-1939’, *Women’s History Review*, 7/3 (1998), pp. 321-434

Dyhouse, C., ‘Going to University in England between the Wars: Access and Funding’, *Journal of the History of Education Society*, 31/1 (2002), pp. 1-14

Dyhouse, C., ‘Graduates, Mothers and Graduate Mothers: family investment in higher education in Twentieth-Century England’, *Gender and Education*, 14/4 (2012), pp. 325-336

Dyhouse, C., ‘Signing the pledge? Women’s investment in university education and teacher training before 1939’, *History of Education*, 26/2 (1997), pp. 207-223

Dyhouse, C., ‘The British federation of university women and the status of women in universities, 1907-1939’, *Women’s History Review,* 4/4 (1995), pp. 465-485

Gales, K. E. and Marks, P. H., ‘Twentieth Century Trends in the Work of Women in England and Wales’, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 137 (1974), pp. 60-74

Giles, J., ‘Help for housewives: domestic service and the reconstruction of domesticity in Britain, 1940-50’, *Women's History Review*, 10/2 (2001), pp. 299-324

C. Gilligan, ‘In a Different Voice: Women’s Conceptions of Self and Morality’, *Harvard Educational Review*, 47/4 (1977), pp. 481-517

Gleadle, K., ‘The Imagined Communities of Women's History: current debates and emerging themes, a rhizomatic approach’, *Women’s History Review,* 22/4 (2013), pp. 524-540

Haggett, A., ‘Desperate Housewives and the Domestic Environment in Post-War Britain: Individual Perspectives’, *Oral History*, 37/1 (2009), pp. 53-60

Harris, J., ‘Political Thought and the Welfare State 1870-1940: An Intellectual Framework for British Social Policy’, *Past & Present*, 135 (1992), pp. 116-141

Hesford, V., and Diedrich, L., ‘On ‘The evidence of experience’ and its reverberations: An interview with Joan W. Scott’, *Feminist Theory*, 15/2 (2014), pp. 197-207

Johnson, L., ‘‘As Housewives We Are Worms’: Women, Modernity and the Home Question’, *Cultural Studies*, 10/3 (1996), pp. 449-463

Kiely, E., and Leane, M., ‘‘What Would I Be Doing at Home All Day?’: oral narratives of Irish married women’s working lives 1936–1960’, *Women’s History Review*, 13/3 (2004) pp. 427-445

King, L., ‘Future Citizens: Cultural and Political Conceptions of Children in Britain 1930s-1950s’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 27/3 (2016), pp. 389–411

King, L., ‘Hidden Fathers? The Significance of Fatherhood in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain’, *Contemporary British History,* 26/1 (2012), pp. 25-46

Klaver, K., van Elst, E. and Baart, A. J., ‘Demarcation of the ethics of care as a discipline: Discussion article’, *Nursing Ethics*, 21/7 (2014), pp. 755-765

Langhamer, C., ‘Adultery in Post-War England’, *History Workshop Journal*, No. 62 (2006), pp. 86-115

Langhamer, C., ‘Feelings, Women and Work in the Long 1950s’, *Women’s History Review*, 26/1 (2017), pp. 77-92

Langhamer C., ‘Love, Selfhood and Authenticity in Post-War Britain’, *Cultural and Social History*, Volume 9, Issue 2 (2012), pp. 277–297

Langhamer, C., ‘The Meanings of Home in Postwar Britain’, *Journal of Contemporary History,* 40/2 (2005), pp. 341-362

Lerner, J.C. and Newcombe, N., ‘Britain between the Wars: The Historical Context of Bowlby’s Theory of Attachment’, *Psychiatry*, 45 (1982), 1-12

Levene, A., ‘The Meanings of Margarine in England: Class, Consumption and Material Culture from 1918 to 1953’, *Contemporary British History*, 28/2 (2014), pp. 145-165

Lewis, J., ‘Gender, the family and women’s agency in the building of ‘welfare states’: the British case’, *Social History*, 19/1 (1994), pp. 37-55

Lewis, J., ‘Public Institutions and Private Relationships: Marriage and Marriage Guidance, 1920-1968’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 1/3 (1990), pp. 233-263

Logan, A., ‘In Search of Equal Citizenship: the campaign for women magistrates in England and Wales, 1910-1939’, *Women’s History Review*, 16/4 (2007), pp. 501-18

Logan, A., ‘Professionalism and the Impact of England’s First Women Justices, 1920-1950’, *The Historical Journal*, 49/3 (2006), pp. 833-850

Mackinnon, A., and Gregory, P., ‘‘A study corner in the kitchen’: Australian graduate women negotiate family, nation and work in the 1950s and early 1960s’, *Australian Historical Studies*, 37/127 (2006), pp. 63-80

Mandler, P., ‘The Two Cultures Revisited: The Humanities in British Universities Since 1945’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 26/3 (2015), pp. 400-423

Mandler, P., *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society Presidential Address: Educating The Nation I: Schools,* 24 (2014), pp. 5-28

Martin, E., ‘Social work, the family and women’s equality in post-war Australia’, *Women’s History Review,* 12/3 (2003), pp. 445-468

McCarthy, H., ‘Social Science and Married Women’s Employment in Post-War Britain’, *Past & Present*, 233/1 (2016), pp.269-305

McCarthy, H., ‘Women, Marriage and Paid Work in Post-war Britain’, *Women’s History Review*, 26/1 (2017), pp. 46-61

McCarthy, H., ‘Women, Marriage and Work in the British Diplomatic Service’, *Women’s History Review,* 23/6 (2014), pp. 853-873

McCarthy, H. and Thane, P., ‘The Politics of Association in Industrial Society’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 22/2 (2011), pp. 217-229

Morris, G., ‘Intimacy in Modern British History’, *The Historical Journal*, 64/3 (2021), pp. 796-811

Murray, G., ‘Taking Work Home: the private secretary and domestic identities in the long 1950s’, *Women’s History Review*, 26/1 (2017), pp. 62-76

Oksala, J., ‘Affective Labor and Feminist Politics’, *Signs*, 41/2 (2016), pp. 281-383

Paterson, L., ‘I don’t feel like my own person’: paid work in women’s narratives of self and working motherhood, 1950-1980’, *Contemporary British History,* 33/3 (2019), pp. 405-426

Philips A. and Taylor, B., ‘Sex and Skill: Notes towards a Feminist Economics’, *Feminist Review,* 6 (1980), pp. 79-88

Plamper, J., Reddy, W., and Rosenwein, B., ‘The History of Emotions: an interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwien, and Peter Stearns’, *History and Theory*, 49/2 (2010), pp. 237-65

Pooley, S., ‘Parenthood, child-rearing and fertility in England, 1850-1914’, *The History of the Family*, 18/1 (2013), pp. 83-106

Ramsden, S., ‘Remaking Working-Class Community: Sociability, Belonging and ‘Affluence’ in a Small Town, 1930-80’, *Contemporary British History,* 29/1 (2015), pp. 1-26

Ritchie, R., ‘‘Beauty isn’t all a matter of looking glamorous’: attitudes to glamour and beauty in 1950s women’s magazines’, *Women’s History Review*, 23/5 (2014) pp. 723-743

Savage, M., ‘The missing link? The relationship between spatial mobility and social mobility’, *The British Journal of Sociology*, 39/4 (1988), pp. 554-577

Scales, A. C., ‘The Emergence of Feminist Jurisprudence: An Essay’, *The Yale Law Journal*, 95/7 (1986), pp. 1373-1403

Scott, J. W., ‘Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis’, *The American Historical Review*, 91/5 (1986), pp. 1053-1075

Scott, J. W., ‘The Evidence of Experience’, *Critical Inquiry*, 17/4 (1991), pp. 773-797

Seaton, A., ‘Against the ‘Sacred Cow’: NHS Opposition and the Fellowship for Freedom in Medicine, 1948-72’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 26/3 (2015), pp. 424-449

Shepard A., ‘Crediting Women in the Early Modern English Economy’, *History Workshop Journal,* 79/1 (2015), pp. 1-24

Singer More, E., ‘The Necessary Factfinding Has Only Just Begun: Women, Social Science, And The Reinvention of the “Working Mother” in the 1950s’, *Women’s Studies: An inter-disciplinary journal,* 40/8 (2011), pp. 974-1005

Skevik, A., ‘Family economy workers or caring mothers? Male breadwinning and widows’ pensions in Norway and the UK’, *Feminist Economics*, 10/2 (2004), pp. 91-113

Stina Lyon, E., ‘Viola Klein: Forgotten Emigré Intellectual, Public Sociologist and Advocate of Women’, *Sociology*, 41/5 (2007), pp. 829-842

Szuhan, N., ‘Sex in the laboratory: the Family Planning Association and contraceptive science in Britain, 1929-1959’, *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 51/3 (2018), pp. 487-510

Taylor, C. D., ‘The Worth of Wives: 1950s Corporate America “Discovers” Spousal Social Capital’, *Essays in Economic and Business History*, 26/1 (2008), pp. 33-46

Thane, P., ‘Exploring Post War Britain’, *Cultural and Social History*, 9/2 (2012), pp. 271–275

Thane, P., ‘Girton Graduates: earning and learning, 1920s-1980s’, *Women’s History Review,* 13/3 (2004), pp. 347-361

Thane, P., ‘Michael Young and Welfare’, *Contemporary British History*, 19/3 (2005), pp. 293-299

Thomson, A., ‘Tied to the kitchen sink’? Women’s Lives and Women’s History in Mid-Twentieth Century Britain and Australia’, *Women’s History Review*, 22/1 (2013), pp. 126-147

Tisdall, L., ‘Education, Parenting and Concepts of Childhood in England c. 1945-1979’, *Contemporary British History*, 31/1 (2017), pp. 24-46

Todd, S., ‘Class, Experience and Britain’s Twentieth Century’, *Social History*, 394 (2014) pp. 489-508

Todd, S., ‘Domestic Service and Class Relations in Britain 1900-1950’, *Past & Present*, 203 (2009), pp. 181-204

Todd, S., ‘Family Welfare and Social Work in Post-War England, c.1948–c.1970’, *The English Historical Review*, 129/537 (2014), pp. 362-387

Todd, S. and Young, H., ‘Baby Boomers to Beanstalkers’, *Cultural and Social History*, 9/3 (2012), pp. 451-467

Vickery, A., ‘Golden age to separate spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English women’s history, *The Historical Journal*, 36/2 (1993), pp. 383-414

Vickery, A., ‘Mutton dressed as lamb? Fashioning age in Georgian England’, *The Journal of British Studies*, 52/4 (2013), pp. 858-886

Walkerdine, V., ‘Reclassifying Upward Mobility: Femininity and the neo-liberal subject’, *Gender and Education*, 15/3 (2003), pp. 237-248

Williamson, M., ‘‘I'm going to get a job at the factory’: attitudes to women's employment in a mining community, 1945-65’, *Women’s History Review*, 12/3 (2003), pp. 407-421

Wilson, D. S., ‘A New Look at the Affluent Worker: The Good Working Mother in Post-War Britain’, *Twentieth Century British History* 17/2 (2006), pp. 206-29

Worth, E., ‘A Tale of Female Liberation? The Long Shadow of De-Professionalization on the Lives of Post-War Women’, *Revue Française de civilisation britannique*, 23/1 (2018), pp. 1-18

Worth, E., ‘Women, Education and Social Mobility in Britain during the Long 1970s’, *Cultural and Social History*, 16/1 (2019), pp. 67-83

Zweiniger-Bargielowska, I., ‘Rationing, Austerity and the Conservative Party Recovery After 1945’, *The Historical Journal*, 37/1 (1994), pp. 173-197

Chapters in Edited Volumes

Bawden, N., 'Preface' to Dorothy Whipple, *Someone At A Distance* (London, 2011), pp. v-xi

Beaumont, C., 'Housewives, Workers and Citizens: Voluntary Women's Organisations and the Campaign for Women's Rights in England and Wales during the Post-War Period', in N. Crowson, M. Hilton and J. McKay (eds.), *Non-State Actors in Society and Politics since 1945* (Basingstoke, 2009), pp. 59-76

Beaumont, C., 'The Women's Movement, Politics and Citizenship, 1918-1950s', in I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.), *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 262-277

Delap, L., 'The 'woman question' and the origins of feminism', in G. Stedman Jones and G. Claeys (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 319-348

Finch, J. and Summerfield, P., 'Social reconstruction and the emergence of companionate marriage, 1945-59', in D. Clark (ed.), *Marriage, domestic life and social change. Writings for Jacqueline Burgoyne (1944-88)* (London, 1991), pp.7-32

Garnett, J., 'Political and domestic economy in Victorian social thought: Ruskin and Xenophon', in S. Collini, R. Whatmore and B. Young (eds.), *Economy, Polity, and Society: British Intellectual History 1750-1950* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 205-233

Giles, J., 'Good Housekeeping: Professionalising the Housewife', in K. Cowman and L. A. Jackson (eds.) *Women and Work Culture: Britain c. 1850-1950* (Abingdon, 2016), pp. 70-86

Harris, J., 'Introduction: Civil Society in British History: Paradigm or Pecularity?', in J. Harris (ed.), *Civil Society in British History: Ideas, Identities, Institutions* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 1-12

Harris, J., 'Political Ideas and the debate on State Welfare 1940-5', in H. L. Smith (ed.), *War and Social Change* (Manchester, 1986), pp. 233-63

K. Holden, 'Family, caring and unpaid work', I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.), *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 134-148

Johnson, P. and Zaidi, A., 'Work over the Life-Course' in N. Crafts, I. Gazeley, and A. Newell (eds.), *Work and Pay in 20th Century Britain* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 98-116

Lewis, J., 'Marriage', in I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.), *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 69-85

Mantel, H., 'Introduction' to Elizabeth Jenkins, *The Tortoise And The Hare* (London, 2011), xi-xiv

McCall Smith, A., 'Introduction' to Barbara Pym, *Excellent Women* (London, 2008), vii-xii

McCloskey, D., 'Paid Work', in I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.), *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 165-179

Skedd, S., 'Women teachers and the expansion of girls' schooling in England, c. 1760-1820', in H. Barker and E. Chalus (eds.), *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities* (Harlow, 1997), pp. 101-125

Skoog, K., 'Striving for Editorial Autonomy and International Recognition: BBC Woman's Hour' in M. Andrews and S. McNamara (eds.), *Women and the Media: Feminism and Femininity in Britain, 1900 to the present* (Abingdon, 2014), pp. 99-112

Summerfield, P., 'Women in Britain Since 1945: companionate marriage and the double burden', in Obelkevich, J. and Catterall, P. (eds.), *Understanding Post-War British Society* (London, 1994), pp. 58-72

Thane, P., 'Ageing – Older Women', in I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.), *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 102-118

Thane, P., 'Family Life and "Normality" in Postwar British Culture', in R. Bessel and D. Schumann (eds.), *Life after death: approaches to a cultural and social history during the 1940s and 1950s* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 193-210

Thane, P., 'Labour and welfare', in P. Thane, D. Tanner, N. Tiratsoo (eds.), *Labour's First Century* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 80-118

Zweiniger-Bargielowska, I., 'Housewifery', in I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.), *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2001), pp. 149-164

Unpublished Theses

Elston, M.A., 'Women doctors in the British health services: a sociological study of their careers and opportunities' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1986)

Freeguard, J., 'It's time for women of the 1950s to stand up and be counted' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Sussex, 2004)

Gallwey, A., 'Lone motherhood in England, 1945-1990: economy, agency and identity' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick, 2011)

Golding, L., 'Having it all in the 1950s: Expectations and experiences of motherhood in women's magazines' (M.A. thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2012)

Jones, H., 'The Conservative Party and the Welfare state, 1942-1955' (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1992)

Logan, A., 'Making women magistrates: feminism, citizenship and justice in England and wales 1918-1950' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Greenwich, 2002)

Paterson, L., 'Woman and Paid Work in Industrial Britain c.1945 – c.1971' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Dundee, 2014)

Worth, E., 'The welfare state generation: life histories of women born in Britain c.1938-1952' (D.Phil Thesis, University of Oxford 2017)

Websites

'History of SSAFA: Part Four: Since the War', Compiled by Alison Barnes https://www.ssafa.org.uk/media/4jmlzbwr/ssafa-history-part-four.pdf (2 September 2019)