UNIVERSITY TEACHING AS A PROFESSION

FOR WOMEN IN OXFORD, CAMBRIDGE AND LONDON:

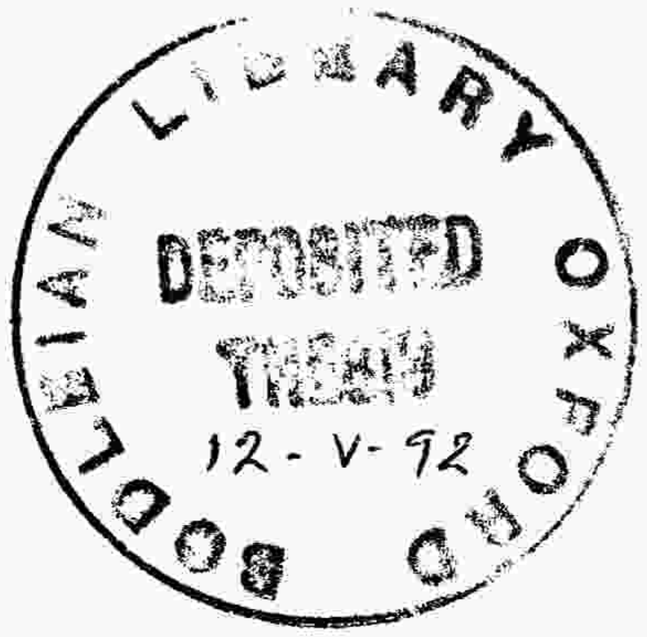
1870-1930

FERNANDA HELEN PERRONE

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Modern History

University of Oxford



Linacre College

Hilary 1991

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an account of how an academic profession for women evolved in England during the period 1870 to 1930. While a great deal of work has been done from a feminist perspective on the education of girls, higher education has been less frequently examined, especially from the point of view of the academic staff. Studies of women's higher education have tended to concentrate on the women's colleges, and how they provided an alternative to the traditional family for single women. While this approach is valuable, it is also necessary to place women academics within the context of the development of an academic profession in which both men and women participated.

Academic careers for women can be seen in connection with the opening of employment opportunities for women in the nineteenth century, as well as part of the general expansion and reform of the professions during this period. These points are discussed in the first chapter, in which comparison with the role of women academics in the United States and continental Europe provides a further context. The second chapter introduces the statistical sample upon which this study is based. Biographical data was collected on women academics at the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges and selected London colleges at ten-year intervals. This statistical profile reveals the scale and structure of the academic profession for women, and the social origins, education, and career patterns of its members.

In the third chapter, the types of provision for women's higher education at the three universities are assessed, in order to help judge how much the academic profession was influenced by the institutional context, and how much by the workings of gender. In the fourth chapter, the early women's colleges are discussed with reference to the founding principals and their influence on the structure and ethos of their colleges. After establishing these contexts, the fifth chapter looks at the establishment of an embryonic academic profession at the women's colleges in the late 1880s.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters examine the academic profession for women in the twentieth century. Before the First World War, women academics became more integrated into the male profession as employment opportunities began to appear outside the women's colleges. Women academics also followed the trend towards research, and were gradually admitted to learned societies. The war accelerated the assimilation of women into the profession; the increases in government funding following the war benefited the poverty-stricken women's colleges, enabling them to raise salaries and expand. Women's integration into the profession was not, however, complete. Chapter 8 explores the reaction against women's role in the university during the 1920s.

Finally, Chapter 9 gives an assessment of the academic profession for women in 1930. Although there were few actual barriers to women's participation in the profession, academic women remained in a minority for a number of reasons, underlying which was the difficulty of reconciling marriage and career.

EXTENDED ABSTRACT:

UNIVERSITY TEACHING AS A PROFESSION FOR WOMEN 1870-1930

This thesis is an account of how an academic profession for women evolved in England during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It places these developments within the context of the opening of employment opportunities for women in the nineteenth century, and the general expansion and reform of the professions. While a great deal of work has been done on the education of girls, higher education has been less frequently examined, especially from the point of view of the academic staff. Studies which have discussed women academics have tended to locate them within the context of the women's colleges--examples of single-sex communities which provided an alternative to the traditional family. While this approach is valuable, it is also necessary to see women academics in relation to the development of an academic profession in which both men and women participated.

This thesis is based on a case study of three universities--Oxford, Cambridge, and London--all of which provided opportunities for women to have academic careers. With the exception of Durham and Glasgow, these were the only universities in Great Britain which possessed affiliated women's colleges. Women's colleges were initially the only institutions which employed women

academics, although later the coeducational London colleges and civic universities would appoint them. The registers kept by these colleges to encourage fundraising and general support are an important source of biographical information about women academics. One of the objects of this thesis is to create a typology of women academics at the institutions in question. Furthermore, this thesis will attempt to assess how the professionalisation process affected women academics, and to explore the conflicts inherent in the creation of professional careers for women.

The first chapter discusses women university teachers within the context of developments in the professions, education, and the universities. The striking imbalance in the population of men and women revealed in the 1851 census led to a number of attempts to create suitable employment opportunities for middle-class women, of which teaching at various levels was perhaps the most important. At the same time, the academic profession for men was going through a process of restructuring. Originally part of the clerical vocation, academic employment developed into a secular lifetime career, of which teaching and research were important components. The academic profession differed, however, from medicine and law--professions that have been used as models by sociologists--in that it did not have a regulatory body governing the profession nor was it strictly speaking a qualifying profession. There was no professional

association until the founding of the Association of University Teachers in 1919. The fluidity of the profession made it possible, however, for women to gain entry to coeducational institutions, and to create their own professional structures--women's colleges which sprang up alongside the universities. While a similar process occurred in the United States, in continental Europe the coeducational pattern made it more difficult for women to gain admission to the universities both as students and as teachers. It was not until after the First World War that a handful of women academics appeared in the French and German universities.

One of the specific contextual points which Chapter 1 addresses is the relationship between the creation of the academic profession for women and nineteenth-century university reform. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, previously excluded groups--dissenters, Catholics--and later women were able to benefit from the opportunities offered by the ancient universities. The movement for reform of the curriculum also had particular implications for women. In Oxford and Cambridge, the new examinations introduced at the end of the nineteenth century--English literature and modern languages--were useful for aspiring women teachers, while at London university, new subjects of study such as education, social studies, and domestic science were attractive to women because of their association with women's traditional sphere. In London, the

effects of the constitutional reforms of 1900 which created a teaching university enabled both men and women to have academic careers there.

In the second chapter, biographical data has been compiled to map the evolution of the academic profession for women. Data was collected at ten-year intervals during the period 1883/4 to 1923/4. Included are the following institutions: the Oxford women's societies--Somerville, Lady Margaret Hall, St. Hugh's, St. Hilda's, and the Society of Oxford Home Students, later known St. Anne's College; the two Cambridge women's colleges--Girton and Newnham, and six London colleges--the single-sex Bedford, Royal Holloway, and Westfield and the coeducational University College, King's College, and the London School of Economics.

The statistical profile reveals the scale and structure of the academic profession for women, and the social origins, education, and career patterns of its members. In the 1880s, the first women to teach in higher education institutions in Britain appeared; the profession grew slowly in the late nineteenth century and rapidly in the early twentieth century, stabilising in 1930, when women made up about 14 percent of the profession in England. Variables such as subjects studied, social origins, place of education, and career patterns help create a typology of women academics and help assess how far women academics were assimilated into the profession. Career patterns evolved

gradually; the connection between the academic profession for women and the secondary school teaching profession, a link which continued to some degree into the twentieth century was particularly significant. One of the most important purposes of the statistical survey is to gather evidence on nuptuality rates, and to determine how relevant these were to the shaping of the profession.

This profile suggests some of the processes which were at work in the emergence of an academic profession for women. Chapter 3 looks more closely at the institutional contexts of the three universities studied and how they influenced the development of the profession. Oxford and Cambridge were collegiate universities, while London had a federated, departmental structure. In Oxford, the Society of Home Students was the only non-residential women's society, while in London, Bedford, UCL, King's and the LSE were all non-residential. This chapter evaluates the relative importance of the institutional setting and the workings of gender in determining the nature of the profession. Women were forced to adapt to existing conditions--in Oxford and Cambridge, where the relationship of religion to the universities was being challenged, women had to consider carefully the religious provisions they would make in their own colleges. Furthermore, the fact that Oxford and Cambridge were collegiate universities meant that women had to create institutions parallel to the long-

standing male communities of which the ancient universities consisted. In contrast, in London, the women's colleges had to prepare students for a centralised examining system.

Chapter 4 examines the careers and policies of the early women principals, the women who played a fundamental role in creating the context in which the academic profession for women would develop. A biographical sketch of these women reveals to what extent they shared a common background, a similar education, and common attitudes. Their role was a precarious one; they had to counter criticism of women's higher education as unhealthy and unfeminine, criticism which claimed to have a scientific basis. The influence of gender conventions can clearly be seen in the form the early women's colleges took; most were small and intimate, and were often compared to the Victorian family. Fear of criticism also led to the imposition of strict standards of propriety which would remain characteristic of the women's colleges. This caution was combined, at Bedford and Girton at least, with commitment to the emancipation of women. The extent to which the early women principals could be identified as feminist is an important source of historical debate, as is the question of characterising the views of the early principals on the best education for women. While some historians have divided early women educationists into those who believed women should have an identical education to men and those who

wanted separate education, this model does not adequately reflect the complexity and range of their ideas.

The early women principals created the structure and ethos of their colleges, and set an example for later women academics to follow. Chapter 5 looks at the first women academics themselves. By the late 1880s, an embryonic academic profession for women was beginning to appear in the Oxford, Cambridge, and London women's colleges. In the new profession, women attempted to incorporate feminine qualities with male professional values. This chapter examines how the earliest women tutors were chosen, and to what extent their responsibilities were more than simply academic. Their activities were constrained by the poverty of the women's colleges, which in particular resulted in low levels of remuneration for their staff, and by their considerable administrative and disciplinary responsibilities. A further point of reference is to compare early women academics with their male counterparts; the well-paid college fellows, and in London the professors whose position was sometimes little better than that of the women.

Changes in the 1890s involved moves towards professionalisation within the context of the women's colleges. Guide-lines for the appointment, the responsibilities and the conditions of employment of tutors began to be regularised. Although the move for degrees in

Oxford and Cambridge of 1895-7 was unsuccessful, the defeat did not in practice harm women academics who continued to thrive despite their lack of official status. Historians of women academics have tended to describe women's colleges during this period as supportive communities which provided intellectual and personal fulfilment for single women. This chapter assesses how far women's colleges actually were communities at this time, and attempts to modify their perhaps too positive image, bearing in mind that the women's college was only one type of provision for the education of women during this period.

So far the focus has been on single-sex colleges. Chapter 6 looks at expansion into coeducational institutions. By the early twentieth century, women academics became more integrated into the male profession as employment opportunities began to appear outside the women's colleges. During this period new disciplines emerged which women helped define and which created new career opportunities for them. The extent to which these new opportunities were at the junior level is also an important consideration. Women university teachers also attempted to accommodate the research ethos which had attached itself to the academic profession during the early twentieth century into their own careers. An attempt will be made to assess to what extent women received recognition for their work, as for example by the award of academic prizes and admission to

learned societies. Another important question is to what degree women did research close to the mainstream of academic discourse, and if women made any attempt to write on subjects relevant to women's position in society. A related point is to what extent women adopted the social service ethic of the period and what influence it had on their careers.

Chapter 7 looks at the effect of the First World War on the academic profession for women, and tries to evaluate how the war accelerated the trend towards assimilation. The economic crisis of the war and the immediate post-war years had important implications for the financially-starved women's colleges. The crisis brought about a substantial increase in state involvement in higher education which enabled the women's colleges to expand and raise salaries. Women also played a part in post-war attempts to organise the profession, which resulted in the foundation of the Association of University Teachers in 1919. The effect of government grants and AUT policy on women academics must also be assessed. The admission of women to degrees and membership of the University at Oxford in 1920, and to titles of degrees and membership of the Faculties at Cambridge in 1923-6 ended the isolation of the women tutors from the rest of the university. The extent to which women's expectations were fulfilled at the ancient universities is, however a difficult question. Ironically,

women lost some of the autonomy over teaching arrangements and discipline that they had enjoyed before their integration into the universities.

Chapter 8 looks at the reaction against the post-war gains made by women academics, assessing how substantial it was, and analysing its causes and effects. The reaction revealed that opposition to women's claims to professional status was far from dead, as well as showing a certain ambivalence on the part of women academics themselves towards academic careers. At the ancient universities, as numbers of women students increased and women academics gained a small voice in faculty and university policy, there was fear that the women's influence would change the intellectual and social character of these institutions which had been defined by men There was also to some degree a crisis of confidence within the women's colleges, as younger women began to react against the strict discipline and what they perceived as the outdated feminism of the older generation. The reaction was partly created by the writings of some psychologists which described single women as deviant. These views may have discouraged young women from embarking on academic careers, and probably damaged the image of academic women in general during the interwar period.

Chapter 9 attempts to measure the scale of the academic profession for women in 1930, the point at which the earlier rapid growth in the numbers and proportion of women academics began to diminish. Based on university and college calendars, these data meet the need for an accurate count of numbers of women academics, which has not been provided by other sources. The data reveals the institutional and subject distribution, and rank of women academics at all universities in England for which information could be found. An attempt is made to assess why the academic profession for women stabilised at this point, with reference to developments in the economy, demographics, the professions, and importantly, through comparison with the experience of women academics in the United States, where there appear to have been more direct barriers to expansion. Attention is also drawn to the continuing minority position of academic women until the present, and suggests that by the 1960s, the need to accommodate married women in the profession had become urgent. Lastly an attempt is made to characterise some of the academic women who had successful careers during interwar period.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1	Introduction	1
Chapter 2	The Outline of the Development of the Academic Profession for Women	26
Chapter 3	Oxford, Cambridge and London: the Context of Professional Development	66
Chapter 4	The Early Women Principals: Precursors of an Academic Profession for Women	90
Chapter 5	The Academic Profession and the Women's Colleges: 1869-1897	126
Chapter 6	Expansion of Women's Role in the Academic Profession: 1897-1914	178
Chapter 7	Integration into the Academic Profession: 1914-1930	231
Chapter 8	Reaction: 1920-1930	263
Chapter 9	Women in the Academic Profession in 1930	307
Chapter 10	Conclusions	330
Appendices		
	1 Select Biographical Appendix	340
	2 Note on Methodology	347
	3 Women Who did Research on Women	348
Bibliography		350

TABLES

Table 1	Numbers of Women Teaching at the Oxford and Cambridge Women's Colleges and Selected London Colleges	55
Table 2	Numbers of Women Academics Holding Senior University Positions	56
Table 3	Subjects Taught by Women Academics	57
Table 4	Women Academics: Fathers' Occupation	58
Table 5	Women Academics: Secondary Education	59
Table 6	Women Academics: Undergraduate University Education	60
Table 7	Women Academics and Research	61
Table 8	Women Academics and Higher Degrees	62
Table 9	Women Academics: Previous Occupations	63
Table 10	Women Academics: Subsequent Occupations	64
Table 11	Women Academics and Marriage	65
Table 12	Average Salaries at the Oxford and Cambridge Women's Colleges	262a
Table 13	Salaries at Selected London Colleges and Civic Universities	262b
Table 14	Women Students' Marriage Rates	306
Table 15	Numbers of Women Academics at English Universities: 1930-1931	328
Table 16	Women Academics Holding Senior Positions: 1924	329

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Colleges:

King's College for Women	KCW
Lady Margaret Hall	LMH
London School of Economics	LSE
Royal Holloway College	RHC
Society of Oxford Home Students	SOHS
University College London	UCL

Archives:

Bedford College Archives	BCA
Cambridge University Archives	CUA
Girton College Archives	GA
Lady Margaret Hall Archives	LMHA
King's College for Women Archives	KCWA
Newnham College Archives	NA
Oxford University Archives	OUA
Reading University Archives	RUA
Somerville College Archives	SCA
St. Anne's College Archives	SAA
St. Hilda's College Archives	SHIA
St. Hugh's College Archives	SHUA
University College London Archives	UCA
Westfield College Archives	WCA

Associations and other Bodies:

Association of Collegiate Alumnae	ACA
Association for Promoting the Higher Education of Women in Oxford	AEW
Association of University Teachers	AUT
British Federation of University Women	BFUW
Charity Organisation Society	COS
National Union of Women Workers	NUWW
University Association of Women Teachers	UAWT
University Grants Committee	UGC
Women's University Settlement	WUS

PREFACE

This thesis originated in the intersection of my own interest in women's history and my supervisor Mrs. Janet Howarth's work on women's higher education in connection with the History of Oxford University Project. Throughout the past four years Mrs. Howarth has made available to me her extensive knowledge of the subject, as well as patiently and conscientiously helping me with my own efforts. She directed me to the mine of information contained in the registers of the Oxford, Cambridge and London women's colleges, which have previously been little used. Dr. Mark Curthoys of the History of Oxford University Project was also invaluable in helping me locate sources as well as generating data which I used for comparative purposes.

My most important archival sources have been the records of the Oxford, Cambridge, and London women's colleges and former women's colleges. In the past ten years, these archives have been brought to life by virtue of the celebration of the centenaries of a number of these institutions. Unfortunately Royal Holloway and Bedford New College has been without an archivist for the past two years and the archives of Westfield College were recently moved owing to the merger of Westfield with Queen Mary College. My discussion of coeducational colleges inevitably suffers from the fact that the archives of the London School of Economics were closed for recataloguing during most of the time that I have been working on my thesis.

I am course indebted to the archivists and librarians of all these institutions, particularly Elizabeth Bennett, formerly archivist of Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, Janet Sondheimer of Westfield, Pauline Adams of Somerville, Ann Phillips of Newnham and Elisabeth Leedham-Green of the Cambridge University Archives. I would also like to thank Carol Miller and Nancy Blakestad for sharing ideas and references with me. Finally, thanks to my friends at Linacre for moral support, especially David Pemberton and Sarah Scott.

To my Parents

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, women began to play a role in the emerging academic profession in Great Britain. During this period academics were few in number, and women made up a fraction of the total. The women who had an academic career were overwhelmingly middle class and single. Their influence, however, outweighed their small numbers and exceptional status. As well as achieving recognition at coeducational universities, these women developed their own single-sex institutions, which provided a unique opportunity for women to develop professional careers. The high academic standards and emphasis on service to society fostered by the women's colleges helped gain respect and credibility for women's education.

This thesis will explore the development of an academic career for women through a case study of women academics at Oxford, Cambridge and London universities during the period 1870-1930. While initially seeming of limited significance, the study of women's university careers provides insight into the history of the professions, the development of women's education, and the changing nature of nineteenth and twentieth century universities.

Before discussing the development of the academic profession for women, some attempt must be made to define the problematic term `profession'. Recent work in the sociology of the professions has moved away from simply listing the attributes of a profession towards exploring the

process of professionalisation itself. Attention has also been focused on the relationship between professionals, elites, and the distribution of power in society.[1] The early approach to the study of the professions is valuable, however, in that it reveals what was considered characteristic of a profession by professional groups themselves and by those aspiring to professional status.[2]

Geoffrey Millerson defines a profession as:

> A type of higher grade, non-manual occupation, with both subjectively and objectively recognized occupational status, possessing a well-defined area of study or concern and providing a definite service, after advanced training and education.

It follows that `professionalisation' is the process by which the conditions necessary for an occupation to meet these criteria are established.[3]

The academic profession differs in several ways from the traditional model of a profession. First, the boundaries of the academic profession are not clearly defined.[4] For instance, should employees at research institutes and lecturers at teacher training colleges be classified as academics or does this term only apply to

---

[1]Eliot Freidson, `The Theory of Professions' in Robert Dingwall and P. Lewis, eds. Sociology of the Professions, 1985, pp. 19-22. See also Magali Sarfatti Larson, The Rise of Professionalism (Berkeley, 1977) and Philip Elliot, The Sociology of the Professions (London, 1972).

[2]For an influential early empirical discussion of the professions, see, A.M Carr-Saunders and P.A. Wilson, The Professions (Oxford, 1933).

[3]Geoffrey Millerson, The Qualifying Associations (London, 1964), p. 10.

[4]Donald Light, Jr., `The Structure of Academic Professions,' Sociology of Education, 47 (1974), p. 3.

those employed by the universities? Donald Light suggests that the academic profession can be defined as a subset of the scholarly profession which exists within institutions of higher education.[5] In his definition, all academics are scholars but not all scholars are academics. This distinction, however, does not solve the problem of variations in the professionalisation process at different universities. As will be seen, a distinct model of the academic profession developed at Oxford and Cambridge which was very different from that which evolved at London and the redbrick universities. Furthermore, as well as being divided by institution, the academic profession is separated into disciplines: in a sense one can discuss each discipline as a separate profession.[6]

The academic profession also differs from other professions in that although candidates are expected to develop expertise in specific areas of knowledge, they are not necessarily trained in teaching or research, and no licensing procedure or special examination exists to determine their competence. In Great Britain, the Ph.D. only became a requirement for obtaining most academic posts in recent years. Previously a good university degree was the only requirement. Finally, the academic does not perform a direct fiduciary service for a client, but rather

---

[5] Ibid., p. 11.
[6] This approach is taken for example by Doris S. Goldstein in 'The Professionalization of History in Britain in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,' Hist. historiographie, 3 (1983).

is employed by an institution which provides a service to society as well as to the individual.[7]

Because of these differences, in discussing the extent to which academic work became a profession in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a modified definition of a profession must be adopted. The academic profession will be defined as a full-time, secular, permanent career within the university, characterised by teaching and research responsibilities in specialised areas, self-government sanctioned by the state, high status, and sufficient material rewards. The following thesis will explore to what extent women academics were able to attain these goals.

The evolution of the academic profession in the nineteenth century was part of the `great transformation' of society which followed the industrial revolution.[8] The urbanisation, growth of scientific knowledge and secularisation of society which occurred during this period produced the needs and conditions in which the professions could flourish. The growing involvement of the state in the economy and education created a need for large numbers of civil servants and teachers, who began to claim their status as professionals in their own right.[9] The increasing need for scientific and technological expertise in urban,

---

[7]For more on this point see Elliot, p. 100.
[8]I have borrowed the term `great transformation' from Larson, p. xvi.
[9]Sheldon Rothblatt, `The Diversification of Higher Education in England,' in Konrad Jarausch, ed., The Transformation of the Higher Learning (Cologne, 1982), p. 132.

industrial society led to the emergence of new `industrial professions' such as architecture, engineering and accountancy.[10] At the same time, the traditional professions--the church, the law and medicine were redefined and restructured.[11]

Although the professions could hardly be said to have been democratised during this period, they became more accessible for the less prosperous middle classes, who benefited from the decline of patronage and the rise of examinations as a means of recruitment. Another group which sought entry to the professions during the nineteenth century was women. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson and Sophia Jex-Blake's battle to enter the medical profession, which resulted in the opening of the London School of Medicine for Women in 1874 has been well-documented.[12] Before 1900, several hundred women would qualify as doctors.[13] In the nineteenth century, women were barred from other professions

---

[10]T.R. Gourvish, `The Rise of the Professions,' in T.R. Gourvish and A. O'Day, eds., Late Victorian Britain (London, 1988), pp. 29-33.

[11]For a general account of the development of the professions in the nineteenth century, see W.J. Reader, Professional Men (New York, 1966). On individual professions see Alan Haig, The Victorian Clergy (London, 1984) and Brian Heeney, A Different Kind of Gentleman (Hamden, Connecticut, 1976) on the clergy; Daniel Duman, The Judicial Bench in England (London, 1982) on law; and M. Jeanne Peterson, The Medical Profession in Mid-Victorian London (Berkeley, 1978) on medicine. The other traditional profession, the army, expanded and became somewhat more accessible to the middle class in the late nineteenth century; however it retained more of the characteristics of an aristocratic, patronage-based institution than did the other professions being discussed. See Gwyn Harries-Jenkins, The Army in Victorian Society (London, 1977).

[12]E. Moberly Bell, Storming the Citadel (London, 1953) and Jo Manton, Elizabeth Garrett Anderson (London, 1965).

[13]Mary Ann C. Elston, `Women Doctors in the British Health Service,' (Leeds University Ph.D. thesis, 1986).

because of their sex; the passage of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act in 1919 enabled the first woman to be qualified for the bar in 1920. The Civil Service, however, interpreted the Act in such a way which still enabled women to be barred from many senior posts.[14] Women made the greatest gains in the less prestigious end of the professional spectrum; by 1914, 75 percent of elementary school teachers were women.[15]

The academic profession was among those professions which underwent a process of re-definition and restructuring during the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century, the academic profession in England was extremely small. Of several hundred fellows of the Oxford and Cambridge colleges, only a fraction actually did any teaching--only eighteen per cent at Oxford in 1858.[16] The Oxford or Cambridge don was `by profession a clergyman, not a university teacher.'[17] Most fellows were in Holy Orders and were not allowed to marry while holding their fellowships. Rather than a career in itself, teaching undergraduates was a prelude to a career in the church; many

---

[14]Meta Zimmeck, `Strategies and Stratagems for the Employment of Women in the British Civil Service,' Historical Journal, 27 (1984), 908.

[15]Figures given in Jane Lewis, Women in England (Sussex, 1984), p. 198. On the struggle to professionalise teaching, see Asher Tropp, The Schoolteachers (London, 1957), P.H.J.H. Gosden, The Evolution of a Profession (Oxford, 1972), and Geoffrey Partingdon, Women Teachers in the Twentieth Century (NFER Publishing, 1976).

[16]Arthur Engel, From Clergyman to Don (Oxford, 1983), p. 292.

[17]Arthur Engel, `Emerging Concepts of the Academic Profession at Oxford 1800-1854,' in Laurence Stone, ed., The University in Society (Princeton, 1974), i, 307.

held their fellowships until a college living became vacant. Others used their fellowships to finance a career in law or medicine.

The two ancient universities also made provision for a number of professorial chairs. The number of chairholders had declined, however, during the eighteenth century, and many professors did not bother to lecture.[18] Scottish universities, on the other hand, had from the eighteenth century onwards a highly developed `teaching professoriate'; Scottish professors coached students and lectured, but did not necessarily perform original work.[19]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, two important changes--the creation of the new universities and the reform of the ancient ones as a result of government intervention--led to the formation of the academic profession.[20] The structure of the ancient universities ensured that professional development there would differ from that at the newer foundations. At Cambridge and most notably at Oxford, a tutorial profession developed based on what the tutors perceived was their role as imparters of the liberal education, the education that was the best background for a gentleman and for the professions.[21] The role that research would play in an academic's career was a source of conflict among the Oxford tutors during this

---

[18]Sheldon Rothblatt, The Revolution of the Dons (London, 1968) and Engel, From Clergyman to Don.
[19]R.D. Anderson, `Scottish University Professors,' Scottish Economic and Social History, 7 (1987), 27.
[20]Harold Perkin, `The Professionalisation of University Teaching,' in T.G. Cook, ed., Education and Professions (Hist. of Education Society, 1973), p. 73.
[21]Peter Slee, Learning and a Liberal Education (Manchester, 1986), pp. 99-102.

period.[22] In contrast, London and the redbrick universities, which were organised according to the continental professorial model rather than along collegiate lines, readily adopted the ideal of the university as a place of advanced research and vocational training.[23] By the third decade of the twentieth century, professional development in the two types of university had come closer together, with increased emphasis on research and post-graduate work, demands for higher salaries made possible by state aid, and the formation of a professional association, the Association of University Teachers in 1919.[24]

The creation of the academic profession occurred in the context of a growing demand throughout society for better education. This movement helped bring about the Education Act of 1870 and subsequent legislation, which provided compulsory elementary education for all. While the 1870 Act provided for working-class education, the Clarendon Commission (1861-4) and the Schools Inquiry Commission or Taunton Commission (1864-9) recommended reform of upper-middle and middle-class education. Attention also became focused on the education of middle-class girls and women.

---

[22]Engel, From Clergyman to Don, p. 130ff. The value 19th century academics placed on research has also been a matter of debate among historians. Peter Slee suggests that in the late 19th century, Oxford and Cambridge dons defined themselves primarily as teachers, in contrast to T.W. Heyck, who writes `by the late-Victorian decades, research had become the means of advancement in a university career.' See Slee, pp. 161-2 and T.W. Heyck, The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England (London, 1982), p. 223.

[23]On this tradition at Manchester, see Slee, Chapter 8.

[24]Perkin, p. 78. On the history of the AUT see his Key Profession (London, 1969). It must be noted, however, that Cambridge and Oxford did not join the AUT until 1935 and 1939 respectively.

In the early nineteenth century, the educational provisions for the middle-classes, especially middle-class girls were erratic.[25] While a few girls probably received a good education, many others were merely taught the accomplishments--singing, dancing and a smattering of French--by governesses or in inferior schools, in the hopes that these skills would help them attract a husband.[26] The census of 1851, however, revealed a considerable excess of women over men, a disparity especially acute in the middle classes. This `surplus' of women grew during the following decades.[27] In 1892, Clara Collet, a social investigator, estimated that in the richer London suburbs unmarried women aged 35-45 outnumbered unmarried men by over three to one, and only one-third were domestic servants.[28] As so many women would inevitably be deprived of the opportunity of marriage, it became imperative to find some means to enable them to support themselves. The answer seemed to lie in better education and training for teaching, which was one of the few occupations which nineteenth century middle-class women could enter without forfeiting their social position.

---

[25]The education of working class girls was in many ways a separate issue. See for example, June Purvis, `The Double Burden of Class and Gender in the Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Nineteenth Century England,' in L. Barton and S. Walker, eds., Schools, Teachers and Teaching (London, 1981).

[26]On early nineteenth century girls' education, see Margaret Bryant, The Unexpected Revolution (London, 1979) and her The London Experience of Secondary Education (London, 1986).

[27]Of the population in England and Wales aged 15-44 there were 613,000 more unmarried women than unmarried men in 1901. Lewis, p. 5.

[28]Quoted in Lewis, p. 4. On surplus women see also Rosemary Auchmuty, `Victorian Spinsters' (Australian National University Ph.D. thesis, 1975) and several articles in the Journal of Family History, 9 (Winter, 1984).

In the 1860s, several schemes appeared simultaneously which were designed to improve the education of women. In 1864, Emily Davies, who later would found Girton College, successfully persuaded the Schools' Inquiry Commission to include girls' schools in their investigation of middle-class education. The poor quality of girls' schools revealed by the commissioners resulted in a stipulation by the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 that money from the ancient foundations be made available for funding girls' schools as well as boys'. The Act also encouraged a private initiative, the Girls' Public Day School Company, formed in 1872, which ran a group of highly successful schools.[29] At the same time Davies organised efforts to have girls admitted to local examinations for schoolboys; women candidates were first allowed to sit the Cambridge local examinations in 1863. Davies' ultimate goal, however, was the opening of the universities to women.[30]

During this period, the universities throughout Great Britain and in fact throughout Europe and North America attempted to respond to the demands of a society which was rapidly becoming more intellectually and technologically sophisticated and more democratic. In the course of the century, the universities became accessible to students of all religious denominations and developed an expanded

---

[29]On the Schools Inquiry Commission see Sheila Fletcher, Feminists and Bureaucrats (Cambridge, 1980). On the GPDST see Josephine Kamm, Indicative Past (London, 1971).
[30]Janet Howarth, `Introduction,' to Emily Davies, The Higher Education of Women, (London, 1988, first published 1866), pp. xxvi-xxviii.

curriculum which proved attractive to the professional middle classes. The universities also confronted the question of how to accommodate women's demands for higher education. This demand took two forms: the right for women to share in men's university education and the provision of separate higher education for women.

Emily Davies founded the first women's college, which was opened at a house in Hitchin, Hertfordshire in 1869. It moved to the village of Girton outside Cambridge and became known as Girton College in 1871.[31] Her students were required to follow the same curriculum and fulfill the same requirements as to residence and time frame as male Cambridge students.

As Davies was founding Girton, a parallel movement for women's education was developing in the North of England. Beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century, fellows of Oxford and Cambridge colleges and professors from London University began to travel to the provinces to lecture to Mechanics' Institutes and women's educational associations.[32] These lectures were meant for teachers or governesses who wished to improve their educational qualifications, or for those who did not need to work, but attended out of interest. In 1873, Cambridge created an external department to manage the lecture scheme, which had

---

[31]Bedford College, which was founded in 1849 would evolve into one of the London University women's colleges, but before the 1870s the instruction it provided was mainly at the higher secondary level.

[32]Stuart Marriott, Backstairs to a Degree (Leeds, 1981), Chapter 1.

previously been informal.[33] While local lectures were flourishing in the provinces, a need was felt for a hostel for women who came to follow ladies' lecture courses given in Cambridge, which led to the founding of what was to become Newnham College in 1871. As will be seen, in the 1870s there was conflict between the proponents of the college scheme and the lecture scheme over which was the proper way for women's education to be constructed.

Elsewhere, two residential colleges for women affiliated to London University, Westfield College in Hampstead and Royal Holloway College in Egham, Surrey were founded in 1882 and 1886 respectively.[34] The first two women's colleges in Oxford, Somerville and Lady Margaret Hall were founded in 1879. The women at the Oxford and Cambridge colleges followed the same courses and in many cases completed the same requirements as the male students, but were barred from receiving degrees.

The new provincial universities were more ready to accept women. One of the earliest to do so was the Durham College of Science at Newcastle, where women were given the right of entry upon its foundation in 1871. No women appeared until 1880, however, and they were not allowed to read for degrees until the following year.[35] Provisions for women at London University also compared favourably to

---

[33]Cambridge University Extension is discussed in Edwin Welch, The Peripatetic University (Cambridge, 1973).

[34]Women at Royal Holloway could at first read for the Oxford Final Honours Schools as well as for London degrees. This practice was phased out after the college entered the new teaching university of London in 1900.

[35]C.E. Whiting, The University of Durham (London, 1932), p. 205. Owens College, Manchester allowed women to enter in 1871 as well.

Oxford and Cambridge. At University College, London, a few lectures were given for women in the 1860s, and during the 1870s, women were gradually admitted to the men's lectures. University College was officially opened to women students in 1878, the year that all degrees of the University of London were thrown open to women.[36] By 1904, women were admitted for degrees at all universities in the United Kingdom, with the notable exception of Oxford and Cambridge.[37]

During this period women in continental Europe also began to seek admission to the universities, although with less immediate success than in Great Britain. In mid-nineteenth century Germany, girls were barred from the universities and from the gymnasium or higher secondary schools which prepared boys for university. One of the demands of the German feminist movement, which originated in the 1860s, was for better education for women. The German Women Teachers Association, founded in 1890 by Helen Lange, pressed for the establishment of university preparatory courses in girls' schools.[38] They met resistance from the upper classes, who resented attempts by women and the middle class to challenge their dominance of the universities.[39] Nevertheless, in 1895, the Prussian government granted women

---

[36]Negley Harte, The Admission of Women to University College, London (London, 1979) and H. Hale Bellot, University College, London (London, 1929), Chapter 10.

[37]Women were allowed to take degrees at Trinity College, Dublin in 1904. Kenneth C. Bailey, A History of Trinity College, Dublin (Dublin, 1947), Chapter 2.

[38]J.C. Albisetti, `Could Separate be Equal?' History of Education Quarterly, 22 (Fall, 1982), 301-317.

[39]Michele Tournier, `Women and Access to University in France and Germany (1861-1967),' Comparative Education, 9 (Oct., 1973), 113-114.

the right to take the university-qualifying examination, the Abitur, which enabled them to audit courses at the universities. The universities of Baden were opened to women in 1901 and Prussia in 1908. By the beginning of the First World War, all German universities admitted women.[40]

Similarly in France, before women could be admitted to the universities, they had to gain permission to take the baccalauréat, comparable to the Abitur. While women were never officially barred from the baccalauréat, the state secondary school system, set up in 1880, did not provide girls with the requisite training in classical languages and philosophy.[41] Although a small number of women passed this examination before 1914, women did not start to attend the universities in significant numbers until after the First World War, when in 1924, a law was passed introducing a university preparatory course as an option into the curriculum of girls' secondary schools.[42]

In 1889, two-thirds of the women students at the Sorbonne were Russian. The policy of the Tsarist government towards women's education was erratic. By mid-century, liberal reformers and feminists had begun to call for the extension of educational opportunities for women.[43] Women began attending the universities in the 1850s, but were

---

[40]Jill Stephenson, `Girls' Higher Education in Germany in the 1930s,' Journal of Contemporary History, 10 (1975), 41-42.
[41]Karen Offen, `The Second Sex and the Baccalauréat in Republican France,' French Historical Studies, 13 (Fall, 1983).
[42]Ibid. See also Françoise Mayeur, L'Enseignement secondaire des jeunes filles sous la Troisième République (Paris, 1977).
[43]Gail Warshofsky Lapidus, Women in Soviet Society (California, 1978), p. 30.

officially barred in 1863, forcing many of them to go abroad for their education. In subsequent years, the universities were periodically closed and reopened to women depending on the political temper of the time. Russian women students were unique in Europe in their association with political radicalism.[44]

In continental Europe as in Great Britain, pressure to open the universities to women came from both liberal reformers and feminists. Because European universities were largely non-residential, women did not need to gain access to them through setting up separate women's colleges. Helen Lange, who wanted to set up colleges of higher education for women in Germany modelled on Girton College was exceptional. Under her influence, a `college for ladies,' the Victoria Lyzeum in Berlin, was transformed into an academically-rigo rous institution in 1888.[45] Women's colleges proliferated, however, in the United States, where the first one, Mt. Holyoke, was founded as early as 1837.[46] By the end of the nineteenth century, American women were able to attend a large selection of colleges and universities; traditional bastions of higher education such as Yale and Princeton Universities, however, remained closed to them.

---

[44]Richard Stites, `Women and the Russian Intelligentsia,' in D. Atkinson, A. Dallin, and G.W. Lapidus, eds., Women in Russia (Sussex, 1977), pp. 43-44.
[45]Albisetti, `Could Separate be Equal?' p. 303.
[46]On American women's higher education see Barbara Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women (New Haven, Connecticut, 1985).

In Great Britain, until the early 1970s, most scholarship in the history of women's education was dominated by what June Purvis has termed the `narrative' approach.[47] Several insightful biographies of pioneering women educationalists such as Barbara Stephen's study of Emily Davies, Catherine Firth's biography of Constance Maynard, the first principal of Westfield College, and Josephine Kamm's study of Dorothea Beale and Frances Buss can be included in this category.[48] This approach can also be seen in the histories of the women's colleges. While some are more useful than others, in general these accounts helpfully summarise material which is difficult to find elsewhere.[49] Two especially valuable studies are Margaret Tuke's very detailed history of Bedford College and Mabel Tylecote's study of women at Manchester University.[50]

Beginning in the mid-1970s, historians of women's education, influenced by the newly revived feminist movement, began to look at the ways in which women's

---

[47]June Purvis, `A Feminist Perspective on the History of Women's Education,' in Proceedings of the 1984 Annual Conference of the History of Education Society of Great Britain (Leicester, 1985), p. 7.

[48]Barbara Stephen, Emily Davies and Girton College (London, 1927), C.B. Firth, Constance Louisa Maynard (London, 1949) and Josephine Kamm, How Different from Us (London, 1958). A more recent example is Georgina Battiscombe, Reluctant Pioneer (London, 1978) on Elizabeth Wordsworth, the first principal of LMH and the founder of St. Hugh's.

[49]For example, Alice Gardner, A Short History of Newnham College, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1921), Gemma Bailey, ed. A Short History of Lady Margaret Hall (Oxford, 1923) and Muriel St. Clare Byrne and C.H. Mansfield, Somerville College (Oxford, 1922).

[50]Margaret Tuke, A History of Bedford College for Women (London, 1939) and Mabel Tylecote, The Education of Women at Manchester (Manchester, 1941).

education was determined by the constructs of femininity.[51] For example, Sara Delamont argues that women educators were caught in the snare of `double conformity,' the need to follow `two sets of rigid standards: those of ladylike behaviour at all times and those of the dominant male cultural and educational system.'[52] Using the careers of Emily Davies and Anne Jemima Clough of Newnham as examples, Delamont asserts that this contradiction restricted the potential of women's education.

Another way in which women's education was confined by the expectations of femininity is demonstrated by work on the concept of the `gendered curriculum,' the ways in which knowledge has been selected and presented in a form deemed appropriate for women.[53] While particularly applicable to the study of the elementary school curriculum, it will be shown that this concept does not adequately account for the range of disciplines in which women in higher education were to be found.[54]

A third preoccupation of feminist historians of women's education is the extent to which early female educationalists could themselves be described as `feminists.' An example is Joyce Pedersen's work on a group

---

[51]See Pauline Marks, `Femininity in the Classroom,' in J. Mitchell and A. Oakeley, eds., The Rights and Wrongs of Women (London, 1976) and Carol Dyhouse, Girls Growing up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England (London, 1981).

[52]Sara Delamont, `The Contradictions in Ladies' Education,' in Sara Delamont and Lorna Duffin, eds., The Nineteenth Century Woman (London, 1978), p. 140.

[53]See Felicity Hunt, `Divided Aims,' and Annmarie Turnbull, `Learning her Womanly Work,' in Felicity Hunt, ed., Lessons for Life (Oxford, 1987).

[54]Janet Howarth shows the complexity of this relationship in `Gender, Curriculum, and Career,' History of Education Society Occasional Publication, 8 (1987).

of early headmistresses, where she shows the conservatism of, among others, Dorothea Beale, the founder of St. Hilda's College, Oxford.[55] As will be seen, the ideas and commitments of women academics and the women's colleges had a complex relationship with the changing women's movement of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain.

Another perspective on the history of women's education can be gained from the concept of a women's culture. The American historians who first developed this concept showed the significance of women's networks, relationships, and rituals, usually within the private sphere of the home, in understanding women's history.[56] Estelle Freedman applies these ideas to the public sphere in her analysis of female institutions such as women's colleges, clubs, and settlement houses. She argues that in the male-dominated society of late nineteenth century America, women were able to gain status and political power through the strategy of creating a `public female sphere.'[57]

Freedman's ideas are greatly elaborated by Martha Vicinus in Independent Women, her study of women's single-sex communities in Great Britain.[58] She devotes a chapter to academic women which are also the subject of her article

---

[55]Joyce S. Pedersen, `Some Victorian Headmistresses,' Victorian Studies, 24 (Summer 1981).

[56]The concept of a women's culture is discussed in Ellen Dubois, Mari Jo Buhle, et. al., `Politics and Culture in Women's History,' Feminist Studies, 6 (1980). British historians have made use of this concept as well such as Liz Stanley, `Feminism and Friendship in England from 1825 to 1938,' Studies in Sexual Politics ,8 (Dept. of Sociology, University of Manchester, 1985-6).

[57]Estelle Freedman, `Separatism and Strategy,' Feminist Studies, 5 (Fall 1979), 513.

[58]Martha Vicinus, Independent Women (London, 1985).

`One Life to Stand Beside Me.'[59] In Independent Women, Vicinus shows how `superfluous' women were able to find intellectual and personal fulfilment, and occasionally achieve public recognition through their participation in single-sex communities. She is primarily concerned, however, with `the emotional, spiritual, and social significance of women's separate institutions,'[60] rather than with women in the larger professional context.

It is possible only to mention briefly the large corpus of sociological work which has been done on the academic profession and more recently on women academics. The major sociological survey of the academic profession in Great Britain, A.H. Halsey and M. Trow's The British Academics, published in 1971, gives little space to women's role in the academic profession.[61] The enormous growth in women's studies which followed the appearance of the contemporary women's movement in the early 1970s, however, encouraged work on gender differences in the professions generally and a few sociological surveys of women academics.[62] A

---

[59]`One Life to Stand Beside Me,' Feminist Studies, 8 (Fall, 1982), 603-28.
[60]Vicinus, Independent Women, p. 8.
[61]Halsey states, `The proportion of women academics has probably risen slightly during the century as more women have entered the universities but they still constitute a small minority of 10 per cent who tend to concentrate in the lower ranks and in the faculties of arts and social studies.' p. 158.
[62]Michael Fogarty, et. al. discuss special difficulties faced by women in the workplace in Sex, Career and Family (London, 1971). An important sociological debate on women academics can be seen in the work of Tessa Blackstone, Master of Birkbeck College and Margaret Masterman, formerly of Lucy Cavendish College, Cambridge. See Tessa Blackstone, `The Scarce Academics,' The Times Higher Education Supplement, (16 March 1973) and Margaret Masterman, `Life Death, and Resurrection of the Academic Woman,' The Fawcett

precursor of these by several years was Ingrid Sommerkorn's doctoral thesis on women academics which was completed in 1967.[63] By interviewing a sample of several generations of women academics, she was able to assemble data on their education and status, as well as explore their attitudes towards their work and their career aspirations. More recently, Margherita Rendel gives some historical antecedents to the present position of academic women in a brief article.[64] Using material from the Commonwealth Universities Yearbook, Rendel shows how the number of women academics and their distribution in different universities, subject areas and rank have changed over the period 1912-1976. While posing many important questions, Rendel does not enter into the discussion of the context in which these changes occurred.

A final body of scholarship which is relevant to the study of women academics is research on the history of universities. There has been a reawakening of scholarly interest in this topic over the last fifteen years, characterised by increasing awareness of the social context in which universities exist.[65] Many of these studies have, however, have paid little attention to the presence of women

---

Lecture given at Bedford College, University of London (24 October 1974).

[63]Ingrid Sommerkorn, `On the position of Women in the University Teaching Profession in England' (University of London PH.D. diss. 1967).

[64]Margherita Rendel, `How Many Women Academics 1912-76,' in Rosemary Deem, ed., Schooling for Women's Work (London, 1980).

[65]For example Lawrence Stone, ed., The University in Society (Princeton, 1974) and Fritz K. Ringer, Education and Society in Modern Europe (Bloomington and London, 1979).

students and staff at the universities,[66] although recent research, such as the work of the History of Oxford University Project is attempting to rectify this omission.[67]

As yet the history of women's university education in Great Britain lacks a comprehensive study similar to Barbara Solomon's American survey. The struggles to have women admitted to degrees at Oxford and Cambridge have been analysed by Annie Rogers and Rita McWilliams-Tullberg respectively.[68] Rogers, who was herself one of the protagonists of the movement for degrees at Oxford displays a keen awareness of the university context in which the controversy took place. Like Rogers, McWilliams-Tullberg was the first to unravel the complex strands of events which marked the degree controversy. Neither author, however, discusses the role women academics played in the controversy in any great detail.

The preceding discussion clearly shows that there is a need to look at university women in the context of the historical development of a joint male and female academic profession. Although the past twenty years have produced many works on the history of women's education, the study of women academics has been relatively neglected. As has been

---

[66]For example, Konrad Jarausch, ed. The Transformation of the Higher Learning 1860-1930 (Cologne, 1982) and George Weisz, The Emergence of Modern Universities in France (Princeton, 1983) and Fritz Ringer's work on German universities.

[67]J. Gwynn Williams, The University College of North Wales (Cardiff, 1985) also contains interesting material on women.

[68]Annie M.A.H. Rogers, Degrees by Degrees (Oxford, 1938) and Rita McWilliams-Tullberg, Women at Cambridge (London, 1975).

seen, Martha Vicinus's relatively short study is the major historical work specifically on British women academics.

The low numbers of women academics in France and Germany during this period make it difficult to talk about an academic profession in these countries. With occasional notable exceptions such as Marie Curie, few women gained posts at European universities, and women were in general less successful in entering the higher professions.[69] The University of Paris calendar for 1920 lists only one woman professor, Marie Curie; she had taken over her husband's chair in the Faculty of Science after his death in 1906.[70] The only other woman member of staff was a Miss Proknitskaia, lectrice in Russian. By 1929-30, however, there were eleven women out of a total of 650 staff members, slightly more than 1 per cent.[71] Most of these women were in junior positions; there were six women professors in France as a whole in 1930.[72] Similarly, in Germany in 1927, women made up only .7 per cent of all academics.[73] In 1929,

---

[69]On women in the professions in France and Germany, see James McMillan, Housewife or Harlot (Brighton, 1981) and Jill McIntyre, `Women and the Professions in Germany,' in Erich Matthias and A.J. Nicholls, eds., German Democracy and the Triumph of Hitler, 1971.

[70]On Marie Curie and the involvement of her husband Pierre in her career see Pnina G. Abir-Am and Dorinda Outram, eds., Uneasy Careers and Intimate Lives (London, 1987). Also see her daughter Eve Curie's biography, Madame Curie (Reprint, London, 1958).

[71]The staff members included in the calendar were teaching and administrative personnel of the University of Paris, le Collège de France, the Natural History Museum, l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, l'Ecole Nationale des Chartes, and l'Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes.

[72]Edmée Charrier, L'évolution intellectuale feminine (Paris, 1931).

[73]McIntyre, pp. 176-179. A more recent study is James Albisetti, Schooling German Girls and Women (Princeton, 1988).

there were two women full professors, eighteen associate professors and twenty-seven lecturers in Germany.[74]

Because of the much greater number of colleges and universities in the United States, many more women held academic posts there. Several studies have recently been made of American women academics, such as Patricia Palmieri's work on the academic community at Wellesley College and Margaret Rossiter's research on women scientists.[75]

To return to the British context, Arthur Engel's work on Oxford male academics provides a useful point of departure for the study of the female academic profession. Engel suggests that the `creation of an academic profession for women in Oxford [was] a separate story,' because the problems women encountered were very different from those faced by male academics. Women academics' professional development was influenced by the poverty of the women's colleges, their long struggle for official recognition, and, most importantly, the different roles in society prescribed for men and women, particularly different expectations about the relationship between marriage and career.[76] The poor financial position of the women's colleges had implications for their ability to fund research, pay adequate salaries, and ensure adequate levels of staffing. The perceived

---

[74]Albisetti, Ibid., p. 292.
[75]Patricia Palmieri, `"Here was Fellowship" A Social Portrait of Academic Women at Wellesley College 1895-1920,' History of Education Quarterly, 23 (1983). See also Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, Alma Mater (New York, 1984), Margaret Rossiter's Women Scientists in America (Baltimore, 1982), and Penina Migdal Glazer and Miriam Slater, Unequal Colleagues (New Jersey, 1987).
[76]Engel, From Clergyman to Don, pp. 5-6, n.5.

incompatibility of marriage and careers for women meant that for the most part, only single women were able to take advantage of the opportunities for professional careers in the universities.

A closer look at female academics reveals both similarities and differences between the male and female sides of the academic profession. For instance, if universities other than Oxford and Cambridge are considered, both male and female professional development appears to be part of a general drive for recognition by assistant staff members. Furthermore, many of Engel's categories for analysing the development of the academic profession such as the continual tension between teaching and research and the movement to create a progressive career can equally be applied to women. It can be said that a small female academic profession developed in some respects separately and in others in conjunction with the male profession. Women academics did, however, create their own professional ethos which was characterised by high academic standards, attention to propriety and an emphasis on the pastoral care of students.[77]

Rich, if rather scattered source material exists on the history of women academics. Biographical data can be obtained from the registers of the Oxford and Cambridge

---

[77]Penny Summerfield discusses the professional ethos of women secondary school teachers in `Women and the Professional Labour Market 1900-1950,' History of Education Society Occasional Publication, 8 (1987) and in `Cultural Reproduction in Girls' Schools,' in Felicity Hunt, ed., Lessons for Life (Oxford, 1987).

women's colleges and those of several London colleges, from The Directory of Women Teachers, which was published four times between 1913 and 1927, and from college calendars. Where gaps exist, alumni journals and obituaries provide additional information. For reasons which will be discussed in the next chapter, these sources give a more complete picture of women academics than that given by the Commonwealth Universities Yearbook used by Margherita Rendel.

The archives of the women's colleges, some of which have hitherto been little used by historians, contain a great deal of important manuscript material on women academic staff. In contrast, the archives of coeducational universities retained little material on their female staff, resulting in an unavoidable emphasis on the women's colleges. This greater emphasis is, however, justified in that it was at these institutions that the female academic profession had the greatest potential for development.

The following thesis will trace the development of the female academic profession at Oxford, Cambridge, and London from the origins of women's higher education in the 1860s and 1870s to the point at which dramatic expansion ceased at the end of the 1920s. First, statistical data showing the numbers, distribution, social and educational background and careers of women academics at the three universities concerned will be presented. Secondly, the changing institutional context will be discussed. These introductory chapters will be followed by a detailed examination of the

origins and development of the academic career for women in the context of women's changing social position during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

CHAPTER 2: THE OUTLINES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION FOR WOMEN

This chapter will map the size and shape of the academic profession for women during the period 1870 to 1930, using biographical data on a sample of women university teachers. Data was collected for women at Cambridge, Oxford and London at ten-year intervals during the period 1883/4 to 1923/4, showing the changing patterns in social origins, education and career structure. Comparisons are made between institutions, as well as between men and women. A further point of reference is the experience of women academics in the United States whose university system lends itself to useful comparison with Britain. The tables will be used to investigate how much the national and institutional context influenced development, and how much was determined by gender. The trends disclosed in these tables suggest some of the problems which will be addressed elsewhere in this study.

The academic profession as we now recognise it came into being in the late nineteenth century, and underwent a period of steady growth.[1] The biographical data assembled here suggest that, for women academics, this growth was particularly rapid until the 1920s. This pattern of growth followed by stabilisation has helped set the chronological limits of this thesis. Expansion in the profession for women matched a similarly rapid increase in the numbers of

---

[1]A.H. Halsey and Martin Trow, The British Academics (London, 1971), p. 140, Graph 7A; 145 Graph 7B.

women students. Numbers of women students increased from 3284 in 1900-01 to 5654 in 1910-11, and to 11,453 in 1920-1.[2]

This exercise is necessary because of the inadequacy of published statistics. The University Grants Committee data upon which previous studies mainly relied are deficient for the present purpose in two crucial respects. First, they do not disaggregate the totals by gender. Secondly, they only included posts funded by the UGC, so their record of Oxford and Cambridge academic posts, in particular, is incomplete. Margherita Rendel's work has gone some way towards supplying the first deficiency.[3] But her statistics are based on the Yearbook of the Universities of the Empire, later known as the Commonwealth Universities Yearbook, which was published annually from 1914. For 1912-13 Rendel excluded Oxford and Cambridge, and arrived at total of 161 women, representing 5.1 percent of the total academic teaching profession in Britain. Including Oxford and Cambridge for 1920-1 and 1930-1, she arrived at totals of 390 (9.7 percent) and 513 (9.9 percent) respectively.[4] These figures do, however, present problems. In 1920-1 they suggest that there were only 2 women at Oxford and Cambridge, and 83 at London. This is clearly erroneous. The present survey found 81 women at Oxford and Cambridge, and 128 at London in 1923-4.[5] the explanation for this discrepancy in the Oxford and

---

[2] Appendix to the University Grants Committee Report for the Five Years 1929/30-1934-5, pp. 52-53.
[3] M. Rendel, `How Many Women academics?' in R. Deem, ed., Schooling for Women's Work (London, 1980).
[4] Ibid., pp. 146-8.
[5] Ibid., p. 128.

Cambridge figures is easily enough identified: the Rendel figures refer only to women who held university posts at Oxford and Cambridge, and exclude college tutors who represented the majority of dons at these two universities. For London the less dramatic discrepancy arises from the fact that the Commonwealth Universities Yearbook excluded London teachers not recognised by the university and those to whom only probationary recognition had been given.

Reworked figures for the percentage of women in the academic profession in England at the end of this period (1930) are produced in Chapter 9. Even though these revise Rendel's results upwards--to 14 percent--the proportion of women in the academic profession in England remains markedly lower than in the U.S.A., where women represented between 22.4 and 24.6 percent of the academic profession in 1910, 28.2 percent in 1920, and 27.9 percent in 1930.[6] This higher proportion can perhaps be explained by the greater opportunities in gendered fields, such as education and home economics in the United States, and the greater number of women's colleges.[7] As has been seen in the preceding chapter, however, Great Britain had a substantially higher proportion of women academics than Europe.

Numbers and Distribution of Women Academics

This sample includes women at the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges, as well as at six London colleges--Royal

---

[6]Susan Carter, `Academic Women Revisited', Journal of Social History, 14 (Summer 1981), 679.
[7]Patricia Albjerg Graham, `Expansion and Exclusion,' Signs, 3 (Summer 1978), 674.

Holloway, Bedford, Westfield, King's, the London School of Economics and University College. Of the London colleges, the first three were women's colleges and the second three were coeducational. UCL was very early to admit women students, but was late to employ women academics. King's initially had more women academics through the presence of an attached institution for women, successively known as the Ladies' Department, the Women's Department, and King's College for Women. The Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges were staffed entirely by female academics, while the London women's colleges had mixed staffs, although at Westfield and RHC, all the resident staff were women.[8] An important practical consideration determined the choice of these three universities for this exercise. Women are not readily traceable--unlike their male counterparts, they were rarely included in standard directories such as Who's Who--but women's colleges systematically kept biographical information on their staff and students.

The sample used in Tables 1, 2 and 3 was mainly compiled from college and university calendars. In the case of the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges--not included in the university calendars--published and manuscript registers were used. The sample includes all women who were employed as teachers or researchers at the institutions in question for two years or more; post-graduate students, assistant demonstrators and administrative staff were not included. The classification of a subject as academic is to

---

[8]Bedford College, University and King's Colleges and the LSE were non-residential.

some extent arbitrary; an effort was made to include only subjects where women were doing research or teaching at an advanced level, and to exclude subjects primarily geared towards technical training. Therefore, music, art, hygiene, speech, nursing, and teacher training were excluded. Social work training was included, however, because, as will be seen, social work helped provide the basis for the emerging discipline of sociology.

Unlike the statistics compiled by the University Grants Committee, this study includes women who did part-time work. Some women found it easier to combine part-time employment with their family responsibilities, while others were forced to take these positions because of the small number of students in their discipline. For instance, in the 1920s none of the Oxford women's colleges could support a full-time tutor in Mathematics, so the mathematician Dorothy Wrinch held part-time appointments at several colleges concurrently. Women who did occasional coaching or lecturing without holding posts, however, were excluded.[9]

Table 1 shows the institutional distribution of the women surveyed in the sample. In 1893, 45 percent were at Cambridge, 20 percent were at Oxford and 37 percent were at London. By 1923, 14 percent were at Cambridge, 24 percent at Oxford and 61 percent at London. Numbers increased by almost 75 percent between 1893-4 and 1903-4, and by almost as much again between 1903-4 and 1913-14. By 1923-4,

---

[9]Women who were employed by the Association for Promoting the Higher Education of Women in Oxford were only included in the early years before the advent of college teaching posts.

however, the rate of increase had slowed down. Among the institutions, Cambridge, which had taken the lead, had been overtaken by London by 1903, and Oxford by 1913. London, the largest in relation to numbers of women students, was free from the type of limitations which restricted numbers of women at Cambridge to 500 in 1920 and 840 at Oxford in 1927. An exception to the upward trend was King's, which experienced a decline in the numbers of women academics from 1913-1923 owing to the demise of King's College for Women, the women's college associated with King's, and its metamorphosis into King's College of Household and Social Science.

How do the total figures compare with numbers of women in other professions? In 1911 there were over 180,000 women teachers in England and Wales, and 77,060 nurses.[10] But seen in relation to numbers of women in higher professions, these figures appear more favourable. In 1921, there were 17 women solicitors and 20 women barristers. Only numbers of women doctors were considerably higher than numbers of women academics, 1253 in this year.[11] Another survey conducted in the mid-1920s discovered 21 women architects and 10 chartered accountants.[12]

---

[10]Lee Holcombe, Victorian Ladies at Work (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 203-4.
[11]1921 Census of England and Wales, `Occupations' (London, 1924), p. 19.
[12]Charlotte Haldane, Motherhood and its Enemies (London, 1927), p. 107.

Relatively few of the women who did have academic careers gained high-ranking posts in the profession. Table 2 shows positions of seniority achieved by women academics. This pattern was partly caused by the exclusion of women at Oxford and Cambridge from university posts. Women were not eligible to election to university lectureships, readerships and professorships until 1920 at Oxford and 1926 at Cambridge. Even after 1926, however, few women at the ancient universities were appointed to these positions, many of which were attached to men's colleges, making women ineligible. The first woman professor at Cambridge was the archaeologist Dorothy Garrod in 1939, while the first at Oxford was the ophthalmologist Ida Mann, appointed in 1946. In 1923-4, 2 women at Oxford held university lectureships, meaning they were paid in part by the university.

Women had a better chance of advancement at London, where there were 4 readers at the colleges in this survey in 1913-14 and 12 in 1923-4. The first women professors at London were the botanist Margaret Benson of RHC and the English scholar Caroline Spurgeon of Bedford, appointed in 1912 and 1913 respectively. In 1923-4, 13 London women held senior lectureships, meaning they had several lecturers, both male and female working under them. Many women at London University, however, held junior positions. University College employed large numbers of women in Karl Pearson's genetics laboratory, and in the phonetics department, where there were 5 women assistants in 1923-24. Women in the United States teaching at coeducational universities were also concentrated in junior positions. A

1921 survey revealed that women made up 23.5 percent of instructors, but only 7.9 percent of professors in coeducational colleges and universities.[13]

The distribution of women academics by subject can be seen in Table 3. During the period under review, the overall number of academic subjects greatly increased, and women academics were found in an increasing variety of areas.[14] The majority of women academics taught in arts subjects, although this percentage had declined slightly by 1923-4.[15] In the sciences, women were particularly well-represented in botany; in contrast, only a small proportion of women academics were found in physics. The growth of the social sciences was particularly significant as women were well-represented in this area. The subject distribution partly reflected the strengths of the institutions where the women taught. Oxford consistently had the lowest percentage of scientists, only reaching just under 10 percent in 1923-4. In contrast, 32 percent of London women academics were scientists in that year and 43 percent of Cambridge women academics. Although there were ten women scientists at UCL

---

[13]Patricia Hummer, The Decade of Elusive Promise (Michigan, 1979), pp. 100-101. In the United States, the highest rank was full professor, followed by associate professor, assistant professor and instructor.

[14]On the expansion of the curriculum see J. Roach, ed. The Victoria History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely (London, 1959), Arthur Engel, From Clergyman to Don (Oxford, 1983), and Negley Harte, The University of London (London, 1986).

[15]Women academics in the United States were also most often found teaching languages and humanities. See Hummer, p. 135.

in 1923-4, all but one were assistant lecturers or demonstrators. London also had the highest percentage of social scientists, largely because of the presence of the London School of Economics and the social studies programme at Bedford College. At the women's colleges, the subject distribution of women academics also reflected the proportion of women students in each area. Among Oxford women students in 1911-13, only 4 percent sat the Natural Science examinations, as compared to 12 percent at Cambridge in these years, and 22 percent at London.[16]

Tables 4-11 were compiled using a slightly different sample from that used in Tables 1-3. These tables are based on women employed by each institution in the calendar year in question rather than during the university session. The totals show the greatest disparity in the year 1914, 146 in Tables 1-3 compared to 164 in Tables 4-11, because of the disruption caused by the outbreak of the First World War. The reasons for this change in method are related to the sources used in compiling the sample. The Oxford and Cambridge registers indicate the appointment of each staff member by year, rather than by the actual term in which she was appointed. Similarly, the Directory of Women Teachers for 1914 gives biographical information for women employed for that year. Because of the need to collect as much information as possible, it was judged inexpedient to exclude someone who, for example did not appear in a 1913-14

---

[16]J. Howarth and M. Curthoys, `Gender, Curriculum and Career,' History of Education Society Occasional Publication, 8 (1987), 16-17.

calendar because she was appointed in January 1914, but for whom biographical information could be found in the Directory or other source.

The most important sources used in compiling the second sample were the registers of the women's colleges. These registers, which give details about father's occupation, education, career and activities of the students and staff, were kept to encourage fund-raising and general support among old students. The registers of Girton, Newnham, Somerville, LMH and St. Hilda's have been published, while those of St. Hugh's, St. Anne's, RHC and King's College for Women can only be used in manuscript. RHC published a register in 1958, which only gives the class degree its students obtained and in a few cases mentions subsequent careers. The LSE published a useful register in 1932.

The registers differ greatly in the amount of detail they present. The Girton College Register is the most complete, while those of Somerville and Newnham also give very full information. Although the LMH register does not include father's occupation and education in many cases, these can be obtained from the entrance papers, the forms filled out by students upon their arrival at the College. The King's College for Women Register is particularly erratic, entirely missing the entries for certain years. In cases where women academics could not be found in one of the registers, the Directory of Women Teachers, which was published in 1913, 1914, 1925 and 1927 provides information about education and career. It must be used with caution,

however, for contemporaries complained about its inaccuracy; entries were based on replies to a circular, so were largely dependent on people bothering to complete them.[17] Other useful sources are annual reports, alumni magazines, and obituaries. In many cases, however, one or more variables could not be found, particularly in the London sample. Therefore, as will be pointed out, the results often suggest trends rather than conclusively explaining them.

Women Academics: Background and Education

The social location of women academics can be suggested by looking at their family and educational background. The first table of this second group, Table 4 lists the occupations of the fathers of the women academics in this study. Unfortunately, it was conventional to only record father's occupation--mothers were not usually noted. This practice omits an important dimension: a few women academics had mothers who were academics themselves or were schoolmistresses, such as Barbara Wootton, the head of Social Studies at Bedford College in the 1920s, who was the daughter of Adela Adam, lecturer in classics at Girton and Newnham in the 1900s. Another problem is that of differences of status within an occupational group.[18] For instance, a clergyman, depending on the size of his living, could be anything from poor to comfortably wealthy, as could

---

[17]Society of Women Tutors Minutes (27 Jan. and 5 May 1913), SCA.

[18]On this problem, see W.A. Armstrong, `The Use of Information about Occupation,' in E.A. Wrigley, ed., Nineteenth Century Society (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 202-3..

schoolmasters according to the type of school at which they taught.

Table 4 reveals that the majority of women academics came from the salaried professional and business classes. Although, except in 1884, this proportion is below 50 percent, a random distribution of the unknowns would push the figures above 50 percent. Only a small percentage of academic women had fathers who were landowners or possessed independent fortunes (3 percent in 1914). For instance, the Somerville tutor Alice Bruce was the daughter of Lord Aberdare. Similarly, only 3 percent in this year came from lower middle-class families (tradesmen, shopkeepers, clerks, commercial travellers, and minor officials).[19] No women academics were known to have come from working-class families in any year. It is possible, however, that the high percentage of unknowns (43 percent) among the London women conceal lower-middle class or working class origins. Women who lived in London could have attended the non-residential colleges fairly inexpensively. Unfortunately these institutions did not retain much information on the social background of their students, so little is known about those who later became academics.

As can be seen, in 1894, 10 percent of the fathers of academic women were themselves academics. Family support had an important role in encouraging women to take up

---

[19]Geoffrey Crossick divides the late nineteenth century lower-middle class into two groups: the petty bourgeoisie of shopkeepers and small businessmen, and the new white collar salaried occupations such as clerks, schoolteachers, minor government officials, etc. See `The Emergence of the Lower Middle class in Britain,' in G. Crossick, ed., The Lower Middle Class in Britain (London, 1977).

academic careers. The Cambridge historian Mary Bateson, the Oxford economist Violet Butler, and the London classicist Agnes Ramsay were all the daughters of academics. Many parents who were not themselves academics also encouraged their daughters to pursue scholarly interests. The fathers of the RHC botanists Margaret Benson and Emily Berridge introduced them to science,[20] while the father of the LMH English tutor Grace Hadow was a scholarly clergyman. Her biographer commented, `It is doubtful whether school could have given her an intellectual stimulus to supplement home, let alone rival it.'[21] The families of other women were, however, discouraging. Caroline Spurgeon's family offered to give her the equivalent of anything she might make from her academic work if she would agree to give it up.[22] She refused.

The occupational distribution among families of women dons changes surprisingly little over the fifty-year time period. Changes such as the decline in the percentage of women from clerical families and the increase in the percentage whose fathers were members of newly professionalised occupations such as architecture merely reflect wider social trends.[23] Comparison with data on early women students at the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges, and at Royal Holloway for the period 1881-1913

---

[20]Obituaries of E. Berridge and M. Benson, Elizabeth Blackwell Papers, RHCA.
[21]Helena Deneke, Grace Hadow (London, 1946), p. 13.
[22]C. Spurgeon to E. Harvey (18 March 1898), C. Spurgeon Papers, BCA.
[23]See T. R. Gourvish, `The Rise of the Professions,' in T.R. Gourvish and A. O'Day, Late Victorian Britain (London, 1988)

reveals that a similar percentage of the Oxford and Cambridge students came from professional backgrounds.[24] In contrast, the RHC students had a higher proportion of fathers who were clerks or tradesmen (24 percent), possibly related to the fact that RHC possessed a larger number of scholarships than did the Oxford women's colleges.[25]

Comparison with data on the social background of Oxford male dons also shows a roughly similar pattern, with 50 percent between 1881 and 1900 coming from professional families.[26] There was more of a gap between male tutors and students, however; many of the students came from landed backgrounds while a relatively low percentage of the tutors did. Engel shows that in 1881 to 1900, 9 percent of dons had fathers who were gentry or possessed independent means.[27] In contrast, 21 percent of students matriculating at Oxford in 1891 had fathers from this class.[28]

A further indicator of social class is the type of secondary school attended. Table 5 shows the secondary education of the women academics in the sample. The categories used in this table are based on those devised by Janet Howarth for the classification of girls' secondary

---

[24]Janet Howarth and Mark Curthoys, `The Political Economy of Women's Higher Education,' Historical Research (1987), 217.
[25]Caroline Bingham, The History of Royal Holloway College (London, 1987), p. 74.
[26]Engel, From Clergyman to Don, Appendix 2, p. 287.
[27]Ibid.
[28]L. Stone, `The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body,' in L. Stone, ed., The University in Society, i (Princeton, 1974), p. 103.

schools for the period 1880-1914.[29] The category `at home' refers to girls who were educated by private governesses or by their parents. Private schools were small domestic girls' schools, which, however, ranged in size, price and exclusivity. Those favoured by university women were among the more select and expensive. Public day schools were large high schools, controlled by governing bodies, which were modelled after Frances Buss's North London Collegiate School, while public boarding schools like St. Leonard's, St. Andrew's and Wycombe Abbey were schools for girls modelled deliberately on boys' public boarding schools. These categories became, however, somewhat blurred; some day schools took boarding pupils and boarding schools took day pupils. In general private schools and public boarding schools, of which the most select cost from £90 to £135 a year, were the most expensive, although fashionable London public day schools like Queen's College, Harley Street cost 20-30 guineas a year, compared to £15 a year for the high schools operated by the Girls' Public Day School Company.

The fourth category, `higher grant' refers to schools which received a higher rate of government grant, which under the Board of Education 1907 regulations required them to give a quarter of their places to scholars from elementary schools.[30] The schools run by the Girls Public Day School Company, which became a trust in 1906, did not accept the higher rate of grant because `the conditions prescribed would interfere with their desire to maintain

---

[29]J. Howarth, `Public Schools, Safety-nets and Educational Ladders,' Oxford Review of Education, 11 (1985).
[30]Ibid., pp. 61-62.

their schools as secondary schools of the highest grade.'[31] A few endowed schools like King Edward VI, Birmingham, although they did not receive the higher rate of grant, were able to award a large number of scholarships.[32] The seventh category, `higher grade elementary schools' were schools run by the local education authorities which allowed children who passed a scholastic test to stay on at school until age fourteen or fifteen.[33]

The schools attended by women academics were traced through several directories. Nineteenth-century schools can be found in D. Carteret Bisson, Our Schools and Colleges, ii (1884), Hampton's Scholastic Directory (1894-1901) and The Education Annual (1889-91). For early twentieth century schools an excellent source is the Girls School Yearbook, published from 1907.[34] The results shown in Table 5 reflect developments in girls' education as well as changes in the social background and education of women academics. They show the great decline in education in the home by parents or governesses and the increase in the numbers and popularity of public girls' day schools. It must be noted that some of the trends in these tables arise from changes in the percentage of unknowns, which reflect the growing London element, who are less traceable.

---

[31]Quoted in Josephine Kamm, Indicative Past (London, 1971), p. 117.
[32]S.A. Burstall, English High Schools for Girls (London, 1907), p. 25.
[33]Mary Cathcart Borer, Willingly to School (London, 1975), p. 283.
[34]The schools which received a higher rate of grant can be found in Abstracts of Accounts of Secondary Schools on the Grant List in England and Wales, 1911-12, PP 1913, L, p. 99ff.

What is clear is that a significant proportion of women academics were home-educated or had attended schools that aspired to educate the daughters of the upper-middle classes. Although the percentage had been declining over the fifty-year time span, in 1924, 9 percent of women academics had still been educated at home, 12 percent at private schools, and 7 percent at public boarding schools. If the figures for Oxford alone are considered, the percentages are much higher (20 percent, 24 percent and 13 percent respectively).

In 1924, only .5 percent of all women academics had attended a higher grade elementary school, while only 5 percent had attended a school in receipt of the higher rate of grant, suggesting that very few women from working class or lower middle class backgrounds were able to move through the education system to university and eventually to an academic post, although some more may be concealed among the unknowns. A few such careers can be traced, however. Phoebe Sheavyn, the daughter of a draper, attended a board school and served as a pupil-teacher before winning a scholarship to University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. She later became a tutor at Somerville and lecturer at Manchester University. Another was Ann Davies, the daughter of a tailor, who attended Kentish Town Secondary School, one of the new secondary schools founded after the 1902 Education Act. She won a scholarship to Royal Holloway College, where she later taught before becoming a university lecturer at Cambridge.

Women academics seem to have been educated more expensively than the average woman student. In 1914, 21 percent of Oxford women academics had been educated at home as compared to 8 percent of the students from the 1881-1913 cohort, and 30 percent of women academics were educated in private schools as compared to 17 percent of women students.[35] This comparison suggests that women dons came from more elite social backgrounds than did many of their students. It is known that certain women academics, such as Margery Fry, who became principal of Somerville in the 1920s and Joan Evans, the art historian attached to St. Hugh's were very well-off indeed.[36]

There were also differences between institutions. London women academics were less likely to have had an expensive education than their Oxford and Cambridge counterparts. In 1914, 7 percent of London women had been educated at home as compared to 21 percent at Oxford and 17 percent at Cambridge, 13 percent were educated in private schools as compared to 30 percent at Oxford and 21 percent at Cambridge, and 6 percent in public boarding schools as compared to 15 percent at Oxford and 7 percent at Cambridge.

Table 6 indicates the extent to which women academics were recruited to teach in the universities they themselves had attended. Only universities attended by women academics as undergraduates are included, while the percentage who

---

[35]Howarth and Curthoys, `Political Economy,' p. 225.
[36]See Enid Huws-Jones, Margery Fry (London, 1966) and Joan Evans, Prelude and Fugue (London, 1964).

attended two universities is subtracted. As can be seen, the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges had extremely high levels of internal recruitment. The proportion of women dons teaching in their own universities was 86 percent at Cambridge and 89 percent at Oxford in 1914, although by 1924, these figures had declined slightly, to 74 percent and 77 percent respectively. A comparison can be made with data on Oxford male academics, which Mark Curthoys of the History of Oxford University project assembled for the author.[37] This data shows that internal recruitment was equally high at the Oxford men's colleges. In 1892, of 168 Oxford college tutors and lecturers, only 18 (11 percent) had been educated outside of Oxford. In 1912, only 22 out of 197 (9 percent) were educated outside of Oxford. High levels of internal recruitment persisted in the twentieth century. In 1935, 24 heads of 29 Oxford colleges had been undergraduates at that college and 12 of 21 Cambridge heads.[38]

The prestige of Oxford and Cambridge, in spite of the fact that they did not award degrees for women, was revealed by the fact that most of those who attended two universities, (as high as 17 percent among Oxford women academics in 1904), attended London or another university followed by Oxford or Cambridge. Bedford College was often used as a stepping-stone to one of the ancient universities. Five of the 1894 sample attended Bedford before moving on to Oxford or Cambridge. Furthermore, in 1904, 13 percent of

---

[37]M.G. Brock and M.C. Curthoys, eds., 19th Century Oxford, Part II [History of Oxford University, Volume 7, forthcoming].
[38]Halsey, p. 163.

the London women academics had read for Oxford examinations while attending RHC or King's College for Women, an option which was gradually discontinued after London became a teaching university in 1900. The popularity and prestige of London was gradually increasing, however. By 1924, 53 percent of the London sample had attended London University, along with 11 percent of the Oxford and 6 percent of the Cambridge sample. Moreover, by 1924 women academics had attended a much greater variety of institutions than in preceding years, reflecting the growing number of civic universities chartered in the early twentieth century.

Women Academics and Research

As has been seen, in the late nineteenth century, research became an increasingly important component of the academic career for men. Tables 7 and 8 are intended to indicate how far this was applicable to women. Because it is so difficult to determine what constitutes original research, tentative categories have been adopted to reflect this uncertainty. The first category, `research' includes women who had published monographs or articles in scholarly journals as well as those who did research degrees. The second group, `possibly research' describes those who published translations, edited works, or produced what appeared to be textbooks. The third category comprises women academics who are not known to have published or done higher degrees, and whose careers were probably geared more towards teaching or administration, rather than research.

Table 7 reveals a surprising high percentage of women doing research. The proportion of women dons doing research tripled between 1884 and 1924. In 1914, 58 percent of women at Oxford, 69 percent at Cambridge, and 62 percent at London did research. Some examples of women who made a significant contribution to research in the 1914 sample were Ellen McArthur, the Girton economic historian who became a fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and helped train a younger generation of women economic historians in research; Eleanor Lodge of LMH, who also became a fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and was awarded the Gold Medal of the Institut Historique et Héraldique de France in 1925 for her work in French medieval history, and Margaret Murray, the University College egyptologist who was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, Scotland, and published extensively on ancient Egyptian language and literature.

The evidence from Oxford indicates that research was as important, if not more important for women academics than it was for men. Comparison with the History of Oxford University data on male academics for the year 1892 shows that roughly the same proportion of men did research as the women in the 1894 cohort. In 1914 a higher proportion of women did research than the men in the 1912 cohort.[39] This surprising difference suggests that perhaps, because of their tenuous relationship to the university, women academics felt more of a need, at least at Oxford and Cambridge, to prove themselves as scholars than did their male counterparts. Certainly the women's colleges began to

---

[39]Curthoys' data, see above.

follow some of the more progressive men's colleges in using the production of original research as a criterion for making appointments.

Table 8 gives a more formal index of research commitment by demonstrating the extent to which women academics earned higher degrees. The table indicates the proportion of women academics in the sample who had earned a higher degree by the date in question. The category M.A. does not include Oxford and Cambridge M.A.s, which were automatic following the first degree, or the Scottish M.A., which was equivalent to a B.A. M.A.s were also automatic at the University of Leeds until 1907, Manchester until 1915 and Sheffield until the mid-1930s.[40] The University of London M.A., however, was a true higher degree which after 1902 included a short original thesis as well as examinations. The London M.Sc., which was created in 1914, was earned solely by research.[41]

The third category, Ph.D., or D.Phil as it was known at Oxford, was the latest post-graduate degree of the group to be introduced--at Oxford in 1917, Cambridge in 1919 and London in 1921. The women who earned Ph.D.s in the earlier years did so at foreign universities, particularly in France and Switzerland. For instance, Eleanor Jourdain of St. Hugh's and Mildred Pope of Somerville earned the French doctorat at the Sorbonne. The first woman to do the Oxford D.Phil. was Evelyn Spearing, English tutor at St. Hugh's in the early 1920s.

---

[40]Renate Simpson, How the Ph.D. Came to Britain (Guildford, Surrey, 1983), p. 156.
[41]Ibid., p. 92.

The B.Litt. and B.Sc. were new research degrees set up at Cambridge in 1894 and Oxford in 1895, for which women were not eligible.[42] It was an anachronism that women could enter for honour schools, but could still not do research degrees. In 1913, Oxford women were permitted to receive certificates of merit corresponding to the B.Litt. and B.Sc. degrees.[43] Only 2 women in the sample, however, are known to have done the B.Litt.

The majority of the degrees in the D.Lit/D.Sc. category were London degrees.[44] Originally, candidates for the London D.Lit. were required to pass the M.A. examinations as well as a higher examination introduced in 1865. In 1886, a short thesis was introduced.[45] The D.Sc., introduced in 1858, could be obtained by passing an examination, and from 1880, required the addition of a thesis embodying `properly authenticated Independent Research.'[46] Examinations for the D.Sc. were done away with in 1886. The D.Litt. (or Litt.D.) and D.Sc. were introduced in Cambridge in 1883 and Oxford in 1900, and were awarded on the basis of writings submitted to a faculty board.[47] Bertha Phillpotts, principal of Westfield and later mistress of Girton, took the Cambridge Litt.D. at Trinity College Dublin, which, when it opened its degrees to women in 1904, permitted women who had completed Oxford and Cambridge examinations to take their degrees. The first woman to be awarded an Oxford D.Sc. was the

---

[42]Simpson, p. 63 and Engel, p. 265.
[43]Annie Rogers, Degrees by Degrees (Oxford, 1938), p. 88.
[44]D.Lit was spelled with one `t' in London and two in Oxford and Cambridge.
[45]Harte, pp. 135-137.
[46]Ibid., pp. 111-112.
[47]Engel, p. 265, n. 37 and Simpson, p. 54, n. 1.

mathematical biologist Dorothy Wrinch in 1929.[48] Very few Oxford male academics did higher degrees; those who did were mostly scientists.[49]

Table 8 shows an increase in the proportion of women academics doing higher degrees during the period under review, with the exception of the D.Lit./D.Sc. category, where the percentage decreases slightly, from 15 percent in 1914 to 13 percent in 1924, possibly because of the introduction of the Ph.D. London consistently had the highest percentage, of course, because higher degrees were not available for women at Oxford and Cambridge during most of this period. As has been seen in Table 7, however, the absence of degrees did not prevent Oxford and Cambridge women academics from doing research, and it must be remembered that research degrees were not in this period a career requirement for academics in Britain. In contrast, in the United States, the Ph.D. was becoming an important component of an academic career at an earlier date. The first women to earn a Ph.D. was Helen Magill, at Boston University in 1877. By 1900, 228 women and 2372 men had been awarded doctorates. In 1910, 11 percent of doctorates were awarded to women, and in 1920, 15 percent.[50]

Women Academics: Career Patterns

The growing emphasis on research as a component of the academic profession was part of the gradual emergence of

---

[48]Pnina G. Abir-Am and Dorinda Outram, eds., Uneasy Careers and Intimate Lives (London, 1987), p. 252.
[49]Curthoys' data.
[50]Barbara Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women (New Haven, 1985), p. 134.

university teaching as a life career. Table 9 shows the previous occupations of women academics before they became university teachers. Table 10 shows their employment after leaving the academic profession. `No Subsequent Occupation' indicates that the academic profession was their lifetime career. In both tables, the category `research' refers to work done outside the university, whether independently or through industry, while the category `industry' in Table 10 refers to managerial work in industry.

Table 10 reveals that during the period in question, an increasing number of women made academic work a lifetime profession; over a half by the turn of the century, a proportion comparable to male academics. Engel found that 57 percent of Oxford dons appointed from 1881 to 1900 had future careers within the university.[51] By 1924, few women were moving from academic careers into posts as schoolmistresses or headmistresses, showing a growing separation between the secondary and higher education spheres. It was still common in 1924, however, for a woman to gain experience first as a schoolmistress before becoming an academic, probably because posts in schools were much easier to obtain. Women academics usually taught in schools similar to those they had attended as students. Kate Warren, Westfield tutor in English literature taught in her old school, the North London Collegiate.

In the early years, well-paid posts as headmistresses were attractive to academic women. The King's College vice-principal Lilian Faithfull left academic work for the well-

---

[51]Engel, Appendix 1, p. 286.

paid post of headmistress of Cheltenham Ladies College in 1907. Ethel Strudwick, head of the Latin Department at Bedford College from 1903 to 1913 became headmistress of the City of London School for Girls. The proportion who later became headmistresses had, however, declined to 1 percent by 1924, as more opportunities appeared in universities.

There were also links between the women's colleges and graduate teacher training colleges and university education departments. Although training was not a requirement for a post in a secondary school, several training colleges and departments designed to train secondary schoolteachers were founded in England in the late nineteenth century. The first of these, the Bishopsgate Training College for Women, later known as the Maria Grey Training College, was founded in London in 1878. In 1885, the Cambridge Training College for Women was founded.[52] Bedford College established an education department in 1891. A few women academics did post-graduate diplomas in education before embarking on their careers in the university. Violet Butler, tutor in economics to the Society of Oxford Home Students did the London diploma in Education in 1907, as did Eglantyne Jebb before her appointment as Somerville English tutor in 1913. The Society of Home Students French tutor Marianne Hugon and the RHC classics lecturer Mary Gordon both did the Cambridge Teaching Certificate. Other women academics moved between university posts and positions in training colleges. Jessie Slater taught at Maria Grey before her appointment as

---

[52]R.W. Rich, The Training of Teachers (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 248-262.

chemistry lecturer at Newnham in 1913. Sarah Melhuish, who read history at Somerville and taught there from 1892 to 1895, became head of the secondary teacher training department at Bedford College in 1910. A few women also took posts in colleges which trained elementary school teachers, such as the Girton linguist Mary Bentinck-Smith, who became principal of Avery Hill Training College in London in 1906.

Men were less likely to move between the secondary school and university teaching professions, although in the early years a few prominent headmasters such as John Percival of Clifton became heads of men's colleges.[53] The proportion of male academics at Oxford who began their careers as schoolmasters was much smaller than the percentage of women, 8 percent in 1892, and 7 percent in 1912. The percentage of men who became headmasters after an academic career was tiny, less than 1 percent in 1892 and 1 1/2 percent in 1912.[54] There is no evidence of male academics taking certificates in education; attempts in the late nineteenth century to create secondary school training colleges for men were largely unsuccessful.[55] Many schoolmasters believed that teaching in a boys' public school was something that any gentleman having the appropriate social origins and education could learn through experience.[56]

---

[53]Mark Curthoys, `The Collegiate Pattern in the New Era,' Draft Chapter, Vol.vii, History of the University of Oxford , p. 36.
[54]Curthoys' data.
[55]Rich, pp. 263ff.
[56]Brian Simon, Does Education Matter? (London, 1985), p. 79.

The crucial difference between academic careers for men and women was over marriage. Table 11 shows that throughout the period in question, the majority of academic women were unmarried. In this table, academic women were initially divided into two categories, those who never married, and those who married at some point in their careers. Women who married were divided in turn between those who left upon marriage, and those who remained teaching after their marriages. Other women in this group were widows as well as women who married after retirement. The percentage of women academics who were life-long spinsters increased from 79 to 85 percent during the period 1884 to 1904. In these years women like Constance Herschel, resident lecturer in natural sciences and mathematics at Girton from 1878 to 1881, taught for a few years after taking the Tripos examinations, but left upon her marriage. By 1904, however, as has been seen in Table 10, more academic women were committed to teaching as a lifetime careers. After 1904, the percentage of spinsters began to drop, to 67 percent in 1924, while the proportion who married while teaching increased to 14 percent in 1924. Very few women, however, were known to have had children while they were teaching.

The small proportion of women academics who married (less than one quarter in each year of the study) reflects the low rate of marriage among college-educated women in general. According to the registers of the women's colleges, in the years 1881/3, 1891/3, 1901/3, and 1911/13, 30 percent of Oxford women students married.[57] Similarly in

---

[57]Howarth and Curthoys, `Political Economy,' p. 218.

the United States, of 1025 women who received their Ph.D.s between 1877 and 1924, 80 percent were not married.[58] The proportion of tutors and lecturers in the Oxford and Cambridge men's colleges who did not marry was much smaller--about 50 percent in 1912, but was still far above the national average, as will be seen in the following chapter.[59]

Tables 1-11 are designed to give an outline of the academic profession for women as it developed from 1884 to 1924, and to show differences between the three universities in question when possible. The following chapters will fill in the details of the picture and endeavour to explain the reasons for the developments which have been sketched briefly in this chapter.

---

[58]Saul D. Feldman, Escape from the Doll's House (Berkeley, 1974), p. 5.
[59]Curthoys, p. 110.

Table 1: Numbers of Women Teaching at the Oxford and Cambridge Women's Colleges and Selected London Colleges

	1883-4	1893-4	1903-4	1913-4	1923-4
Girton	5	9	10	11	15
Newnham	5	14	17	16	15
Tot Cam	10	23	27	27	30
LMH	1	2	4	7	9
Somerville	1	4	8	10	10
St Hughs			4	5	14
St Hildas			1	3	6
Ox Hom Stu				7	12
AEW	1	4	1		
Tot Ox	3	10	18	32	51
Bedford	1	4	10	26	36
RHC		9	15	19	21
Westfield	3	6	7	10	12
Kings			8	14	12
LSE			1	5	16
UCL			1	14	31
Tot Lond	4	19	42	88	128
Total	17	52	87	147	209
(Taught 2 univs.)		(1)	(1)	(1)	
Total	17	51	86	146	209

Note: Numbers in parentheses should be subtracted.

Table 2: Numbers of Women Academics Holding Senior University Positions

	1913-4			1923-4		
	Ox	Cam	Lon	Ox	Cam	Lon
Prof			2			4
Asst Prof						2
Reader			4			12
Univ/Sen Lec			1	2		13
N	33	29	103	46	31	129

Note: Westfield did not indicate senior lecturers.

Table 3: Subjects Taught by Women Academics (Numbers)

	1883-4	1893-4	1903-4	1913-4	1923-4
Classics	5	14	16	18	21
English	1	5	10	18	29
Mod Langs	1	8	15	26	32
History	2	5	14	21	30
Archaeol				1	1
Moral Sci	2	2	1	2	
Philos			2	4	3
Pali/Budd Lit				1	
Or St				1	1
African St				1	
Phonetics					7
Law					1
Tot Arts	11	34	58	93	125
Nat Sci	2	2	2	3	2
Botany		4	5	13	8
Bio			1		
Zoo			2	3	5
Physio	1	1		4	5
Anat		1			
Psychology			1	1	1
Tot Bio Sci	3	8	11	24	21
Maths	4	9	8	9	16
Chem		2	11	5	12
Geology		1	1	4	3
Physics		2		1	6
Crystallography					1
Tot Phys Sci	4	14	20	19	38
Pol Econ.			1		
Economics				3	7
Social Stud/Sci				2	8
Stats					2
Applied Stats				5	2
Anthro/Ethno				1	3
Geography				5	6
Tot Soc Sci			1	16	28
(Taught 2 Subjects)	(1)	(5)	(4)	(6)	(3)
N	17	51	86	146	209

Table 4:
Women Academics: Fathers' Occupation (Percentages)

	1884	1894	1904	1914	1924
land/gentry		2	1	1	0.5
farm/land ag				1	2
ind.means	5	2	2	2	2
clergy C of E	16	19	11	9	7
" other	5		2	1	1
barristers			3	2	1
solicitors		2		4	4
doctors	11	5	9	5	5
army	5		2	3	1
civ serv		4	4	2	2
loc govt				1	0.5
Acad:univ	11	10	7	4	5
" school	5	3		1	3
" other	5		1	2	0.5
accountant		2	2	1	0.5
arc/surv			2	2	1
soc work			1	1	0.5
arts			1		0.5
Tot Prof	58	45	45	38	31.5
commerce	5	3	2	2	0.5
merchants		2	7	9	6
industry		3	2	4	4
Tot Bus	5	8	11	15	10.5
Trades/Shop		2	2	2	2
clerks/comm trav/min off	5	3		1	.5
wking class					
foreign		3	3	3	3
dec	5	7	5	7	4
unknown	21	27	28	30	43
N	19	59	92	164	206

Table 5:
Women Academics: Secondary Education (Percentages)

	1884	1894	1904	1914	1924
At Home	32	24	12	12	9
Private	42	20	22	17	12
Public Day	16	31	41	40	33
Public Boarding	5	3	8	8	7
Higher Grant					5
Convents				1	
Higher Grade			1	1	.5
Orphanage		2	1		
Abroad		5	3	4	4
Unknown	5	15	12	17	28
	100	100	100	100	100
N	19	59	92	164	206

Although schools receiving the higher rate of grant were a subset of public day schools, they were counted separately.

Percentages were rounded to the nearest whole number.

Table 6:
Women Academics: Undergraduate University Education
(Percentages)

Place of Education	Institution Taught								
	1904			1914			1924		
	Ox	Cam	Lon	Ox	Cam	Lon	Ox	Cam	Lon
Oxford	89	0	15	89	3	13	74	0	6
Cambridge	6	96	32	12	86	23	13	77	22
London	11	11	40	6	14	54	11	6	53
London (read Ox)			13			9		3	4
Manchester						1		3	1
Liverpool						1			1
Durham									1
Leeds									1
Bristol									1
Wales	6		2			3			2
Edinburgh							2		1
Glasgow				3		1	2		
Aberdeen			1				2		2
St. And/Dun	6	4				1			1
Belfast							4		
Abroad			2			1	2	10	2
No Univ								3	1
Unknown			2			4			5
(Att. 2 Univs.)	(17)	(11)	(6)	(9)	(7)	(12)	(11)	(3)	(2)
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Subtract figure in parentheses.
Percentages were rounded to the nearest whole number.

Table 7:
Women Academics and Research (Percentages)

	1884	1894	1904	1914	1924
Research	21	36	53	63	65
Poss.Research	5	19	22	14	15
No Research	74	43	21	15	15
Unknown		3	4	9	5
	100	100	100	100	100
N	19	59	92	164	206

Note: Percentages were rounded to the nearest whole number.

Table 8: Women Academics and Higher Degrees (Percentages)

	1884	1894	1904	1914	1924
MA/MSc		7	5	7	22
B Litt					2
D Phil/PhD		7	7	7	8
D Litt/DSc	5	5	16	15	13
(Did more than 1 degree)			(4)	(6)	(11)
N	19	59	92	164	206

Note: Percentages were rounded to the nearest whole number.
Subtract the figure in parentheses.

Table 9:
Women Academics: Previous Occupations (Percentages)

	1884	1894	1904	1914	1924
No Prev. Occ.	74	56	58	44	40
Schoolteaching	16	25	29	24	22
Head of school		2	1	2	2
Lec (Training College)		2	1	4	4
Ed. Work Other		3	1	1	1
Civil Service			1	1	2
Social Work			1	1	3
Librarianship				1	.5
Journalism				1	.5
Research	5	2	1	4	3
Private Sec.				1	1
Clerical Work		2	2	2	1
Nursing			1	1	.5
Unknown	5	10	10	16	25
(More than 1 occupation)		(3)	(5)	(4)	(5)
	100	100	100	100	100
N	19	59	92	164	206

Note: Percentages were rounded to the nearest whole number.
Subtract the figure in parentheses.

Table 10:
Women Academics: Subsequent Occupations (Percentages)

	1884	1894	1904	1914	1924
No Sub. Occ.	37	48	64	62	70
Schoolteaching	11	5	5	1	1
Head of school	21	12	7	2	1
Prin (Training College)	5			1	1
Lec (Training College)		5	4	1	1
Ed. Work Other		7	1	3	3
Civil Service				1	.5
Local Govt	5				.5
Int'l Work				1	
Social Work	5	3	2	1	.5
Missionary Work	5			1	
Joined Religious Order				1	
Librarianship		2	2	2	1
Journalism		2	1	1	1
Medicine			2	1	
Law					.5
Industry				1	
Research		5	5	5	2
Clerical Work	5				
Vol Work Only	5	5	1	1	
Marriage	21	8	9	5	8
Died Early	5	3	2	1	1
Unknown		3	2	8	12
(More than 1 occupation)	(26)	(8)	(10)	(2)	(4)
	100	100	100	100	100
N	19	59	92	164	206

Note: Percentages were rounded to the nearest whole number.

Subtract the figure in parentheses.

Table 11: Women Academics and Marriage: (Percentages)

	1884	1894	1904	1914	1924
Never Married	79	83	85	74	67
Married	21	15	15	18	22
Unknown		2		9	10
	100	100	100	100	100
Left upon Marriage	21	10	7	5	7
Married While Teaching		5	7	9	14
Children While Teaching		3	3	2	2
N	19	59	92	164	206

Note: Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

CHAPTER 3

OXFORD, CAMBRIDGE AND LONDON:

THE CONTEXT OF PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Before beginning to analyse the development of the academic profession for women, it is necessary to gain some understanding of the institutions at which women academics taught and did research. The institutional context interacted with the constraints of gender to determine the way the profession would evolve. In the second half of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century, the three universities in this study were going through a process of reform, which led to the evolution of the academic profession in its modern form. When women academics began to appear in the 1880s and 1890s, the profession was still in a relatively fluid state, enabling women to be accommodated more easily than in highly developed professions such as law and medicine. The point at which women entered the universities was thus important in determining how academic careers would develop for them.

The ancient universities and the University of London represented two distinct models of the university. Oxford and Cambridge were characterised by a collegiate structure while London University was a federal system on one level and a professorial, departmental structure on another. British universities were peculiar in this respect. As has been mentioned, on the Continent, most universities were organised according to the professorial, departmental model, as were large research-oriented institutions in the United States. Like England, however, the United States possessed

separate colleges for women, many of which were independent of male universities and gave their own degrees. Of interest here is to examine which type of institution, collegiate or departmental, single-sex or coeducational most favoured the development of academic careers for women.

Oxford and Cambridge Universities in the Nineteenth Century

As has been seen, Oxford and Cambridge in the nineteenth century were made up of groups of colleges; the only other collegiate university in England was Durham University, chartered in 1837. The colleges, some of which were very wealthy, were financially independent of the university. Within the colleges, the academic profession was based on a fellowship system, a system unique among universities. A fellowship was legally a share of the college's property, rather than a salary.[1] The average income of a young fellow in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was about £500 a year. Only heads of colleges made as much as £1000 a year.[2] The income from college endowments, however, enabled the fellows to maintain a high standard of living within the college walls, where the quality of the food was high and servants were numerous.

It is difficult to speak, however, of a separate academic profession at this point. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the academic profession at Oxford and Cambridge can be more accurately seen as an outgrowth of the clerical vocation. Until 1871 all scholarships and

---

[1]Arthur Engel, From Clergyman to Don (Oxford, 1983), p. 65.
[2]Mrs. Humphrey Ward, A Writer's Recollections (New York, 1918), pp. 119-20.

fellowships had been restricted to members of the Church of England;[3] non-Anglicans could be elected to fellowships but not retain them.[4] Furthermore a large percentage of fellows were required to be in Holy Orders; at Oxford the proportion was between one-third and two-thirds depending on the college.[5] A direct link existed between holding a fellowship and a career in the Church; men used their fellowships as a means of support while waiting for college livings to become available.[6] A rapid turnover among the fellows was ensured by the stipulation that fellows be unmarried. In the second half of the nineteenth century, however, the fellowship system and the connection between the universities and the established church were increasingly criticised. Three Royal Commissions--(1850-2), (1871-3) and (1877)-- addressed these problems. The passage of statutes following the 1877 Commission gave many fellows the right to marry and reduced the number of fellows required to be in Holy Orders.

In 1869, when the first women students arrived at Hitchin, the religious question remained unresolved, and the religious character of the earliest women's colleges reflected the various shades of opinion. At Girton, Emily Davies arranged for Anglican religious observances,[7] while

---

[3]Engel, p. 56 and John Roach, ed., The Victoria History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely (London, 1959), p. 258.
[4]Mark Curthoys, `The Collegiate Pattern in the New Era,' Draft Chapter, Vol. vii, History of Oxford University, p. 45.
[5]Ibid., p. 46 and Roach, p. 247.
[6]Engel, p. 3.
[7]Barbara Stephen, Girton College (Cambridge, 1933), p. 162.

at Newnham, whose founder Henry Sidgwick had renounced Holy Orders, there was no chapel, although some provisions for religious services were made.[8] At Oxford, divisions between supporters of the Church and proponents of secularisation led to the founding of two women's societies instead of one. Lady Margaret Hall was founded as a hall for women run on Church principles in 1879; the first chairman of its Council was Edward Talbot, the warden of Keble, the Anglican men's college which had been founded in 1868.[9] At LMH, unlike at Keble, the students were allowed freedom of conscience. The principal and resident tutors were expected to be members of the Church of England, however, although exceptions were made in some cases.[10] The last religious restriction, on the principal, was removed in 1968. The year 1879 also saw the opening of Somerville, an undenominational hall under a committee presided over by John Percival, the president of Trinity.[11]

The major difference between the men's and women's colleges at the ancient universities was the absence of comparable endowments. Of the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges, only Girton had some endowment income which was hardly substantial.[12] In this respect the women's colleges paralleled the less well-off men's colleges like St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, which suffered from lack of endowment.[13] As

---

[8]Council Minutes (12 June 1870), NA.
[9]See Gemma Bailey, ed., A Short History of Lady Margaret Hall (Oxford, 1923).
[10]LMH Council Minutes (30 April 1910), LMHA.
[11]See Muriel St. Clare Byrne and C.H. Mansfield, Somerville College (Oxford, 1922) and Vera Farnell, A Somervillian Looks Back (Oxford, 1948).
[12]Stephen, pp. 77-82.
[13]Curthoys, p. 9.

will be seen, the poverty of the women's colleges had implications for their ability to provide scholarships, ensure adequate salaries for their staff, and fund research.

The limitations of the early women's colleges were partly compensated for by their relationship to the institutions which surrounded them. For instance, in Oxford, the women's colleges benefited from the tutorial system used in the university, in which students were taught individually or in pairs in their colleges or by arrangement with external tutors. Early women students attended tutorials given by male academics when men were willing to teach them. Late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Oxford women students believed that contact with `men of European reputation' gave them an advantage over later generations.[14]

Following the example of the men's colleges, Somerville College was the first to establish its own staff of tutors in the 1880s, and the other colleges gradually followed suit. The influence of the tutorial system spread beyond Oxford through women who had attended the Oxford women's colleges. Lilian Faithfull, who studied at Somerville from 1883 to 1887 tried to institute the Oxford tutorial system at King's College Women's Department, when she was vice-principal.[15] Similarly, while lecturer at Bedford College, Caroline Spurgeon, who had been one of Faithfull's first

---

[14]Henrietta Haynes Memoir (1902), E. Jamison Reminiscences Collection, LMHA.
[15]Lilian Faithfull, In the House of my Pilgrimage (London, 1924), p. 74.

students, coached students individually and kept reports of their progress.[16]

In contrast, at Cambridge, the tutorial method in the men's colleges was not established until the 1890s, although some intercollegiate lectures were begun in the 1860s,[17] and in the 1870s, some Newnham students were given tutorials by reform-minded dons.[18] In the nineteenth century, much teaching in Cambridge was still done by private coaches.[19] Early women at Cambridge suffering, like other middle class women, from the deficiencies of girls' education of the period, felt the absence of a strong tutorial system. A history student who entered Newnham in 1906 recalled the boredom of lectures and the lack of attention from her tutor Alice Gardner: `[I] knew that I should have done better in Oxford with its splendid system of tutorials, with dons who stung one into thought.'[20]

The male tutor was also expected to have a pastoral as well as an educational role; he was responsible for the moral welfare and religious life of the undergraduates under his care. This concept was adopted by the women's colleges. In 1875, the duties of the mistress of Girton were compared to those of a tutor in a men's college: `The tutor...is a guardian and adviser to the undergraduates, and it is to him

---

[16]Records of Academic Work, Caroline Spurgeon Papers, BCA.
[17]Roach, p. 260.
[18]Rita McWilliams-Tullberg, Women at Cambridge (London, 1975), p. 16.
[19]Sheldon Rothblatt, The Revolution of the Dons (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 198-200. Coaching also existed in Oxford from the early nineteenth century, but declined in the 1860s after the advent of the combined lecture scheme. Engel, pp. 3-4 and p. 86.
[20]Ann Phillips, ed. A Newnham Anthology (Cambridge, 1988), p. 60.

that the students should go in any difficulty that may arise.'[21] In their care of their students, women tutors were also, of course, influenced by contemporary fears over women's physical and mental fragility, and the need to deflect criticism of the women's colleges.[22] This `pastoral' concept was adopted by other women's colleges; it could be seen almost forty years later at Royal Holloway College, London: `We also feel that the moral influence of the woman on the character and outlook of the student is very great....the man's influence on the man [sic] students is the same, but the one cannot replace the other.'[23]

The role of the tutor was related to the idea that in a residential college, the relationship between tutor and student paralleled that between parent and child. Oxford and Cambridge students were required to be resident for three years or nine terms. Residence made Oxford and Cambridge more expensive than other universities, but also contributed to their elite status. The experience of residence was seen as much a part of education as were lectures and tutorials. This ideal of residential college life was adopted almost unanimously by the women's colleges, but their interpretation of it was again influenced by perceptions of what the role of a women's college should be. Both Anne Jemina Clough, the first principal of Newnham, and

---

[21]Memorandum of Information as to Duties to be Performed by the Mistress in Respect of Studies, Discipline and Domestic Administration, 1875, Bodichon Papers, GA.
[22]Joan Burstyn, Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood (London, 1980), p. 170.
[23]Circular Letter from Old Students Concerning the Resignation of Miss Field (10 March 1913), in RHC Letter (July 1913).

Elizabeth Wordsworth, the first principal of LMH conceived of residence in a hall as a type of extended family life. Clough wrote in response to a criticism of her college, `I am sure you may feel assured that we are not unwomanly here. Are we not surrounded by family life?'[24] Similarly, Elizabeth Wordsworth was disappointed when LMH grew too large for her to know each student personally.[25] In contrast, on the Continent, where universities were non-residential, going to university could involve living alone in a strange city.[26]

The advantages of residence for women could also be justified on feminist grounds. As well as protecting women students from the outside world, residence was a means by which women students could escape from the domestic responsibilities and the lack of sympathy with their desire for education which inevitably fell to them in many homes. Discussing the plans for Girton College, Emily Davies wrote to her friend Henry Tomkinson, `I will try to be respectful to parents, but how is it possible to describe college life without showing how infinitely pleasanter it will be than home?'[27] In 1908, Margery Fry, the future principal of Somerville wrote in a similar vein of the possibilities of University House, the Birmingham University hostel of which she was warden:

---

[24]A.J. Clough to A. Marshall (28 Jan 189?), A.J. Clough Papers, NA.
[25]Battiscombe, p. 78.
[26]James C. Albisetti, Schooling German Girls and Women (Princeton, 1988), pp. 284-5.
[27]Quoted in Barbara Stephen, Emily Davies and Girton College (London, 1927), p. 174.

> What one wants to see done is to give people the best of possible conditions to grow up on their own lines and help each other--a place where they know they are not going to be criticised all the time....Shelter from their own families is often what they need most of all.[28]

In contrast, Bertha Johnson, the principal of the Society of Oxford Home Students, believed that it was just this question of domestic responsibilities which made it important for women to become used to trying to study at home.[29] For this reason, the Society of Home Students was the only non-residential women's society in Oxford or Cambridge.

The other two Oxford women's colleges adopted the residential model of LMH and Somerville. St. Hugh's College was founded in 1886 by Elizabeth Wordsworth, using an unexpected inheritance from her father's estate. Wordsworth rented a small semi-detached house on Norham Road in North Oxford which was the first home of St. Hugh's. This new hall was meant for the daughters of poorer professional men, who could not afford the fees of LMH; the Church principles were the same as at the parent institution.[30] St. Hilda's, founded in 1893 by Dorothea Beale, the principal of Cheltenham Ladies' College, was initially a very different type of institution. It was designed primarily for teachers and students at Cheltenham to have some experience of university life, although it was also open to other

---

[28]Enid Huws Jones, Margery Fry (London, 1966), p. 80.
[29]Ruth Butler and M.H. Prichard, eds., The Society of Oxford Home Students (Oxford, 1930), p. 37.
[30]Battiscombe, pp. 119-122 and Penny Griffin, ed. St. Hugh's (Oxford, 1986), pp. 15-20.

students. Beale purchased Cowley House, a Georgian house with a nineteenth-century extension in 1893; for the first three years of its existence, St. Hilda's was affiliated on a probationary basis to the Society of Oxford Home Students. Like LMH and St. Hugh's, St. Hilda's was Church of England, but there were no restrictions on the admission of students of other denominations.[31]

London University in the Nineteenth Century

Professional development at London University was quite different from that at Oxford and Cambridge because of the different origins and structure of the university. Several attempts had been made to found a university in London before the nineteenth century, none of which were particularly successful.[32] In 1828, a group of prominent Liberals led by Henry Brougham founded a new university for London, the institution which was to become University College. No religious test was required for entry nor was there any teaching of religion. As the new university was to be non-residential, the religious upbringing of students could be left to their own families.[33] Unlike Oxford and Cambridge, London had a limited endowment. Through this new university, the founders hoped to benefit those who were barred from entering Oxford and Cambridge because of

---

[31]See Josephine Kamm, How Different from Us (London, 1958), pp. 195-6, Elizabeth Raikes, Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham (London, 1908), p. 236 and Christine Burrows' MSS history of St. Hilda's College, SHIA.

[32]Negley Harte, The University of London (London, 1986), Chapter 2.

[33]See H. Hale Bellot, University of London (London, 1969), p. 2. and his University College London (London, 1929).

religious affiliation and furthermore to attract those who could not afford the life of a residential university.

The absence of religion at University College led to the foundation of a rival institution, King's College, which opened in 1831. King's had as its avowed intention the teaching of the doctrines of the Church of England.[34] Like UCL, King's was non-residential. Both institutions also aimed at providing professional education for the middle classes, offering a wider curriculum than did Oxford and Cambridge.

In the first years of their existence, the two London colleges petitioned Parliament for the right to grant degrees; they met opposition from Oxford and Cambridge and from the London medical schools. In 1835, a compromise position was reached whereby the government created by charter a university to be known as the University of London with the power to examine students from University and King's Colleges, the medical schools, and other approved institutions for its degrees.[35] In subsequent years, it proved very difficult to regulate the conditions of admission of approved institutions, so under a revised charter of 1858, London examinations were thrown open to everyone, whether enrolled at an institution or studying privately. At this time, `London University' was merely an examining body; University and King's Colleges maintained their own staffs based on the professorial model used by the

---

[34]Harte, pp. 67-68. See also F.J. C. Hearnshaw, The Centenary History of King's College (London, 1929) and Gordon Huelin, King's College London 1928-1978 (London, 1978).

[35]Harte, pp. 64-74.

German universities. Undergraduates could choose either to read for certificates given by the colleges or for the London examinations.[36]

The fact that London University was an examining body rather than a residential university had important consequences for women. To be admitted to London University, women merely had to gain permission to sit the examinations, regardless of considerations of religion, residence, or preparation. Initially, however, they were not successful. In 1856, the request of Jessie Meriton White to become a candidate for the Diploma in Medicine was refused. In the 1860s, several other proposals to admit women to the University initiated by individuals were rejected by the Senate.[37] Finally, in 1869, special examinations were instituted for women, in spite of concern in the Home Office over the effects of examinations on women. In this respect, the status of the university as a solely examining body was a disadvantage for women because of fears about the effects of examinations on women's health.[38] In 1878, after petitions from twenty-nine of the women who had passed the special examination, from the National Union for Improving the Education of Women and several ladies' educational associations, and influenced by the passage of the Enabling Act of 1876 which permitted medical examining boards to admit women, the Senate gave

---

[36]Bellot, University of London, pp. 10-11.
[37]Harte, pp. 114-5.
[38]Burstyn, pp. 151-161.

women the right to take degrees in all faculties of the University.[39]

Meanwhile institutions for the education of women in London had been developing independently of the University. Two institutions which aimed to provide `higher' education for women in London were Queen's College, Harley Street and Bedford College, founded in 1848 and 1849 respectively.[40] `Higher education' at this time was thought of as both including later secondary and post-secondary school education.[41] Queen's College was founded by the Reverend F.D. Maurice and the Governesses' Benevolent Institution, and had as its primary aim the better provision of education for governesses.[42] Like King's, Queen's was an Anglican foundation. Bedford College was founded by Elisabeth Reid, a wealthy Unitarian widow, and followed the non-denominational example of University College, with which it had a close relationship. Both colleges were founded at a time when secondary education for women had not advanced very far, so they were forced to concentrate on improving the educational deficiencies of their students; in fact they were secondary schools.

Originally the lecturers at Queen's and Bedford were male professors from Cambridge, King's College, UCL and other institutions.[43] A few women, most notably Dorothea

---

[39]Harte, pp. 126-7.
[40]See Elaine Kaye, A History of Queen's College, London (London, 1972), R. Glynne-Grylls, Queen's College (London, 1948) and M.J. Tuke, A History of Bedford College for Women (London, 1939).
[41]Emily Davies, The Higher Education of Women (London, 1866), new ed. 1988, Chapter 6.
[42]Martha Vicinus, Independent Women (London, 1985), p. 123.
[43]Tuke, p. 63.

Beale, later headmistress of Cheltenham Ladies College and founder of St. Hilda's lectured to younger girls at Queen's. At Bedford, most of the teachers in the preparatory and training departments were women.[44]

The opening of London degrees to women in 1878 gave women's education at these two early institutions an important boost. Increasing numbers of women from Bedford College began to prepare for London examinations, and women lecturers began to appear.[45] Queen's College also offered courses which prepared students for the London Matriculation Examination and for the B.A. degree, but only three of the students attending these lectures actually took degrees, in 1882. The Queen's Council eventually made the decision to develop the College into a girls' public school rather than into a London women's college similar to Bedford.[46]

At other institutions in London, women's education developed along two distinct lines, that of the coeducational and that of the single-sex college. University College, which had taken the lead in admitting women to mixed classes in 1871, became the first coeducational college in England.[47] Most women students lived at home, although a hostel was founded in 1882.[48] The

---

[44] Ibid., pp. 125-6.
[45] Tuke, p. 126.
[46] Kaye, pp. 114-121.
[47] See Negley Harte, The Admission of Women to University College London (London, 1979). It was followed closely by the foundation of Bristol University College in 1876, which was open to students of either sex. Basil Cottle and J.W. Sherborne, The Life of a University (Bristol, 1959), p. 12 and J.B. Thomas, `University College, Bristol,' History of Education, 17 (1988), 55-70.
[48] See Alice Copping, The Story of College Hall (London, 1974).

London School of Economics also admitted women upon its foundation in 1895.[49] King's College, however, chose to have separate education. In 1878, a ladies' college was founded in Kensington with instructors from King's College. Although a few years later science and fine arts students were admitted to King's main site on the Strand, the women students' academic and social life centred around the Kensington college, which was made a department of King's in 1881.[50]

At this time, several more single-sex institutions were founded in London. The first of these was the London School of Medicine for Women, which was opened in 1874. Women first took medical degrees there in 1882.[51] In that year, Westfield College in Hampstead was founded by a group of Evangelical educationalists, financed by the benefactions of Miss Ann Dudin Brown.[52] The college was designed from the outset to prepare women for London degrees. Its first mistress and one of its founders, Constance Maynard, had been one of the earliest students of Girton. She sought to model the new college after Girton in its residential character and the presence of women tutors, while at the same time supplying the strong religious element which she had missed when a student.

The foundation of Westfield College was closely followed by that of Royal Holloway College near Egham,

---

[49]Janet Beveridge discusses the history of the LSE in An Epic of Clare Market (London, 1962).
[50]Neville Marsh, The History of Queen Elizabeth College (London, 1986), pp. 10-13.
[51]Harte, University of London, p. 128.
[52]On Westfield see Janet Sondheimer, Castle Adamant in Hampstead (London, 1983).

Surrey in 1886. Thomas Holloway, a manufacturer of patent medicines made a large benefaction to create a women's college modelled on Vassar College in the United States, which he hoped would one day award its own degrees as did its American counterpart.[53] Holloway chose to have his college built in a grandiose style fitting to what he hoped would become an independent university.

Like Girton, which the founder visited in 1875, Royal Holloway was a residential college.[54] The deed of foundation read `the domestic life of the College should be that of an orderly Christian household.'[55] Marion Pick, who studied at RHC from 1903 to 1907 referred to the College as `a country house, where the staff were hostesses and the students guests who were to be introduced to a harmonious life of purposeful learning.'[55a] Therefore in the late nineteenth century, the education of women in London took on many forms. On the one hand Westfield and Royal Holloway were residential colleges comparable to the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges. On the other hand there were coeducational non-residential secular colleges like UCL and the LSE. Finally there were Bedford and King's College Women's Department, non-residential women's colleges of which one was independent and secular, and the other was an arm of an Anglican men's college. The flexibility of the examining university enabled this plurality of opportunities for women to develop.

---

[53]Caroline Bingham, `Doing Something for Women,' History Today (June 1987), 54.
[54]Caroline Bingham, The History of Royal Holloway College (London, 1987), p. 44.
[55]Ibid., p. 54.
[55a]Marion Pick MS Autobiography, c. 1947, p. 60, RHCA.

In some ways, however, the thriving London women's colleges were at a disadvantage in providing academic career openings for their students, in comparison to the women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, as would become more apparent in the twentieth century. First, the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges possessed reserved academic posts for women, while at London positions were open to both men and women. Furthermore, as members of a collegiate university, the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges could benefit from the centralised scientific departments of their universities, although they themselves could not afford to support science on their own. In the federated university, however, the women's colleges were ultimately not able to compete with the larger coeducational colleges which had developed their own scientific departments.[56] A parallel existed in the United States, where most of the independent women's colleges could never afford to create graduate programs, leading them to lose the opportunity of providing research jobs for women.

Another way in which the institutional context influenced academic careers for women was through the policy of each institution towards marriage. The marriage issue created important differences between male and female academic careers. Arthur Engel has stated of Oxford:

> From the viewpoint of the dons' struggle for professional status, the crucial expression of this

---

[56]Gillian Sutherland, `The Plainest Principles of Justice,' in Thompson, pp. 46-49.

> dichotomy was that marriage and a professional career were considered incompatible for women while the right to marry was seen as essential for men.[57]

Although a few women academics did marry, there was a general expectation that marriage and a career were alternatives, as was the case for middle-class women in other professions.[58] Some institutions were, however, more favourable towards married women tutors than others. At Newnham, the founder's wife, Eleanor Sidgwick, lived with her husband in North Hall (now Sidgwick Hall) for two years while serving as vice-principal of the College. Not surprisingly, there were a number of married women tutors at Newnham in the early years: Mary Paley Marshall, Ellen Crofts Darwin and Margaret Merrifield Verrall. Eleanor Sidgwick was the only one who was resident in college. In general, however, married women dons were more likely to appear at the coeducational colleges, a pattern also found in the United States.[59] Residential women's colleges had no provision for married women, and were furthermore dependent on the presence of resident women dons to maintain discipline and help foster community life.

Of the London colleges, the only two who had married women dons were the non-residential LSE and King's. At the LSE, the historian Lillian Knowles was the first of a number of married women academics. A few London women lecturers

---

[57]Engel, p. 6n.
[58]For example, women in medicine could marry if they were in private practice, but restrictions upon marriage were increasingly placed upon those working for public health authorities. See Edith Morley, Women Workers in Seven Professions (London, 1914), pp. 162-3.
[59]Solomon, p. 90.

also brought up children while teaching. For instance, at King's, Somerville-educated Margaret Seward McKillop took up an appointment as lecturer in mathematics and natural science in 1896, when her son was four years old. In contrast, residential RHC had no married women lecturers, with the exception of a singing teacher, until the 1940s.

Although it offered a favourable environment for women students, London University in the late nineteenth century did not provide many opportunities for full-time academic careers for either men or women. The professors who taught at University and King's Colleges were handicapped by lack of funds.[60] Their salaries were extremely low and many had another profession or were forced to take on private pupils.[61] Instruction at London University usually took the form of lectures or classes in contrast to the Oxford tutorial system, although tutors at the smaller institutions such as RHC and Westfield gave students individual attention.[62] By necessity the curriculum was determined by the requirements of the London examinations, which frustrated professors who wished to incorporate their own interests and ideas into their teaching.[63]

London University was governed by the fifty-eight member Senate, which was appointed by the government. Most members of the Senate in the nineteenth century were

---

[60]In spite of the lack of funds, several London colleges were able to improve their laboratories and research provision in the late nineteenth century. George Haines, Essays on German Influence upon English Education and Science (Connecticut, 1969), pp. 61-63.

[61]Hearnshaw, pp. 356-69 and Bellot, University College , pp. 375-6.

[62]Pick, pp. 66-67.

[63]Bellot, University of London, pp. 10-11.

distinguished men of science or letters.[64] The Senators devised the university examinations and chose examiners through public advertisement.[65]

Dissatisfaction with the exclusively examining function of the University of London led to the appointment of a Royal Commission in 1892 which called for the creation of a federated teaching university of which the existing London colleges would be constituent parts.[66] It recommended the establishment of an Academic Council which would share power with the Senate, the introduction of Faculties and Boards of Studies made up of teachers from various institutions recognised by the University, and gave the colleges greater flexibility in their curriculum.[67] It also recommended the greater funding and encouragement of scientific research.[68]

It was crucial for the status of women academics for the women's colleges to be included in the new university. Witnesses speaking on behalf of RHC and Bedford were concerned about the possible absorption of their colleges into a professorial university. Sophie Bryant, the headmistress of the North London Collegiate School, speaking as representative of Bedford College, called for a federated scheme with a place for Bedford on the governing body of the university. She was also concerned with maintaining Bedford's status as a single-sex college. She referred to

---

[64]Harte, pp. 81-83.
[65]Harte, p. 135 and F.M.L. Thompson, ed., The University of London and the World of Learning (London, 1990), p. xi.
[66]An earlier Royal Commission had been appointed in 1888, but the university was unable to decide how to implement its recommendations.
[67]Bellot, University of London, pp 21-22.
[68]Harte, University of London, p. 155.

the supervision and care necessary when women attended mixed colleges, as well as the educational advantages of a women's college: `Whenever women are working with men they are a little apt to be too quiet, and not sufficiently to assert themselves, and put forward their difficulties, and so on.'[69] Another cause for concern was the status of the teachers of the women's colleges. Bryant called for women to be eligible for professorships, and for all instructors at Bedford to receive university status.[70] Similarly, W.J. Russell, the chairman of the Bedford Council felt that the teachers at Bedford should have more of a role in setting the curriculum.[71] In turn, the Commissioners were concerned about the amount of preparatory work being done at Bedford College. Bryant concurred that preparation for the London Matriculation or entrance examination was best done in girls' schools.[72] At this stage, it was clear that Bedford would have to shed its preparatory function in order to be fully accepted by the university. Thus, professionalisation, while benefitting the staff and older students at Bedford College, eventually led to the exclusion of girls and women who had been reliant on the college to compensate for deficiences in their secondary education.

In contrast, RHC had to convince the Commissioners that its distance from London need not disqualify it from membership of the University. Lord Thring reassured the

---

[69] Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Consider the Draft Charter for the Proposed Gresham University in London (Gresham Commission) PP 1894, XXXIV, Evidence given by Sophie Bryant (22 June 1922), qq. 3838-3898.
[70] Ibid., qq. 3911-13.
[71] Evidence by W.J. Russell, (22 June 1892), qq. 3335-6.
[72] Evidence given by S. Bryant, q. 3930.

Commissioners that the `remoteness' of the college did not affect the quality of its teaching staff.[73] The original recommendations of the Commission, however, did not include RHC as a School of the University.[74] After representations by Emily Penrose, the newly-elected principal and by the governors, the limits of the university were extended to encompass a thirty-mile radius, which enabled RHC to be included. The women's colleges were not directly represented on the Senate, however, although they could be elected as representatives of Convocation or of the Faculties, as Emily Penrose was in 1900.[75]

In general, the final result of the Commission, the University of London Act of 1898, was of great advantage to London women academics, especially as compared to their status at Oxford and Cambridge, where at this time women were denied degrees and membership of the university. Women academics in London were given a role in the educational and administrative life of the University through their membership of the central Boards of Studies, which advised on curriculum, teaching and research, examinations and the granting of degrees. Furthermore, teachers at the Schools of the University and institutions within the required radius but not part of the University had the possibility of being `recognised' by the University and thus allowed to sit on its Boards. The fact that recognition was not reserved to Schools of the University meant that the women staff of

---

[73]Evidence by Lord Thring (governor of RHC),(15 July 1892), q. 7532.
[74]Gresham Commission (Recommendations), PP 1893-4. XXXI, p. 826.
[75]Bingham, RHC, p. 96.

other institutions which were doing university-level work, such as the training colleges, had the possibility of becoming members of the Boards of Studies. Finally the University maintained its external side, which enabled those outside the institution and outside of London to continue benefiting from it.

In conclusion, it has been seen that the institutional context had an important effect on the development of academic careers for women. In the years when women were gaining access to higher education, it was easier in many ways for women academics to establish themselves in London University where they were able to take degrees as early as 1878. In Oxford and Cambridge, women had to found their own residential colleges in order to fit into the university structure--colleges which suffered from poverty and from lack of recognition by the university. The London colleges, however, were equally poor, and the examining body which constituted the university did not provide full academic careers for either men or women.

The attempts to raise the status of the University of London at the turn of the century did benefit the women's colleges, although some opportunities for educating younger students were lost. In the early twentieth century, women lecturers also gained access to the more flexible coeducational colleges, while Oxford and Cambridge women tutors were still not part of the university.

Initially the women's colleges, especially those at Oxford and Cambridge had a crucial role in reserving

academic posts for women. In the long run, however, the women's colleges never gained the funding to adequately expand or support research, and their residential character made it hard to accommodate careers for married women, effectively encouraging a strong bias in the profession in favour of single women. In the next chapter, the effects of the constraints of gender on academic careers for women will be further explored.

CHAPTER 4:

THE EARLY WOMEN PRINCIPALS:

PRECURSORS OF AN ACADEMIC PROFESSION FOR WOMEN

In the new colleges and hostels which were founded in the second half of the nineteenth century, women were needed to take responsibility for discipline and domestic arrangements. The first generation of women principals were by necessity women who had not been to college; no university women existed after whom they could model themselves. Instead, they were influenced by their own experiences: some had worked in girls' secondary schools, while others were familiar with boys' schools and men's colleges through family connections. Although only one was directly involved in the women's suffrage movement, all were committed to improving women's education. The early principals served as examples for later generations of what academic women should be, and helped set the context for the development of the academic profession for women.

The first generation of women principals will be taken to include all of the founding principals of the women's colleges, with the exception of Constance Maynard (1849-1935), the first principal of Westfield. Unlike the others, Maynard had a college education, so fits in better with the later group discussed in Chapter 5. This first group includes: Anne Jemima Clough (1820-1892) of Newnham, Madeleine Shaw Lefevre (1835-1914) of Somerville, Elizabeth Wordsworth (1840-1932) of LMH, Anne Moberly (1846-1937) of St. Hugh's, Esther Burrows (1847-1935) of St. Hilda's,

Bertha Johnson (1846-1927) of the Society of Oxford Home Students, and M.E. Bishop (1842-1913) of RHC. Girton differed from the other colleges in that it had a succession of short-term mistresses during the first fifteen years of its existence: Charlotte Manning (1803-1871), Emily Shirreff (1814-1897), Annie Austin, (b. 1833), Emily Davies (1830-1921), and A.F. Bernard (1839-1926).[1]

The Social Background and Education of the Early Women Principals

The early principals all came from professional or business families, with incomes ranging from moderate to high. Several came from clerical backgrounds: Emily Davies and Ellen Bishop were the daughters of clergymen, while Elizabeth Wordsworth and Anne Moberly were both the daughters of bishops. Madeleine Shaw Lefevre came from a prosperous political family; her father Sir John George Shaw-Lefevre (1797-1879)[2] had been Under-Secretary to the Colonies and served as Chancellor of London University from 1842 to 1862, while her brother George had served in Gladstone's first administration and became Lord Eversley. Anne Jemima Clough's father was originally a successful cotton merchant, but later business difficulties and his early death forced Clough and her mother to open a school to help support the family. Annie Austin was also the daughter

---

[1]For details about the careers of the early principals, see the Biographical Index. On their counterparts at UCL, Bedford and King's, see below, pp 122-4.
[2]Apparently Madeleine Shaw Lefevre dropped the hyphen which her father used in their surname.

of a businessman, as was Esther Burrows. Bertha Johnson's and Frances Bernard's fathers were both physicians.

In her article `The Movement for the Higher Education of Women,' Gillian Sutherland discusses the connections of the early principals with politics, business, religion and the liberal intelligentsia, and the importance of these links in attracting supporters, and in giving recognition and respectability to the colleges.[3] The connections of the early principals with the Church and the professions ensured that they would be respected by their students' families. The early principals also had an important influence in encouraging an atmosphere of gentility at their colleges. For instance, in the first four or five years at LMH, Elizabeth Wordsworth required the students to wear gloves, and to wear hats in the garden; she also attempted to teach them the art of conversation.[4]

The early principals were born too early to benefit from the improvements in the education of middle-class girls of the 1860s and 1870s. With the exception of Ellen Bishop, who attended Queen's College Harley Street, they were all educated at home or at girls' private schools. Although the quality of education in these schools varied, most emphasised languages and accomplishments, to the detriment of other subjects.[5] The only two who had any training in teaching were Anne Jemima Clough and Frances Bernard, who

---

[3]Published in P.J. Waller, ed., Politics and Social Change in Modern Britain (Sussex, 1987).
[4]Georgina Battiscombe, Reluctant Pioneer (London, 1978), p. 82.
[5]Margaret Bryant discusses the education of middle-class girls in The Unexpected Revolution (London, 1979).

respectively attended the Borough Road School and the Home and Colonial Training College for elementary school teachers in London.

In spite of the informality of their educations, most of the early women principals were well-read and cultured, although they might lack knowledge of scholarly method and discipline. Several benefited from the intellectual contacts of their families; for instance, Emily Shirreff's parents entertained some of the leading intellectuals of the day such as Mary Somerville and Sir Charles Lyell.[6] Living in an age of large families, some of the women principals were able to share in the superior education of their brothers. Elizabeth Wordsworth borrowed her brother John's Latin, Greek, and Hebrew grammars as well as picking up information from her father's conversation.[7] Thus, although the early principals lacked the scholarly standards of their successors, they were able to impart a general intellectual culture to their colleges.

The Early Women Principals and Feminism

Before discussing the ideas of the first generation of women principals, it is necessary to discuss the problematic term `feminism.' This term first appeared in the English language in 1851, meaning `the qualities of females,' or `femininity,' although this usage was rare.[8] The term

---

[6]Edward W. Ellsworth, Liberators of the Female Mind (Connecticut, 1979), p. 13.
[7]Battiscombe, p. 23.
[8]J.A.H. Murray, ed., A New English Dictionary (Oxford, 1901), p. 152.

feminism began to be used in its current sense in 1895, meaning `advocacy of the claims and rights of women.'[9]

Although they did not call themselves feminists, women in the mid-nineteenth century wrote about their position in society and sought to improve it. Nineteenth-century feminism was not, however, monolithic; within the education movement, as in other areas, it is more fruitful to recognise the existence of a `plurality of feminisms' rather than just one.[10] An important dichotomy in nineteenth-century feminism was between those who believed women and men were basically equal and deserved equal opportunities, and those who thought that men and women were not equal, but had an equal duty to society which they should be allowed to fulfill in their separate ways. This latter group believed women should have certain rights within their own sphere, that of the home, family, and in a specified `woman's space' in the public world. In the education movement, this dichotomy was expressed through the idea that women had the right to the same education as men, and the belief that women should be educated to better fulfill the obligations of their own sphere. Between these two polarities, however, many shades of opinion existed. The way that the early women principals viewed the role of women in society influenced the policies that they pursued at their colleges.

Elisabeth Reid (1789-1866), the founder of Bedford College, was an early example of a feminist educationalist. Reid believed that Bedford would help women become better

---

[9] Oxford English Dictionary, (Shorter Version, Oxford, 1933).
[10] See Rosalind Delmar, `What is Feminism?' in Ann Oakley and Juliet Mitchell, eds., What is Feminism? (New York, 1986).

mothers, which would tend to locate her as a `separate spheres' feminist. When Bedford was trying to attract more students, she wrote, `If they could but see and feel, as I do, that we shall never have better Men till men have better Mothers, they would come flocking about us.'[11] Her most important contribution, however, was made through her belief that women should have control over their own education. The Bedford Council was one of the first bodies on which men and women served together. The original Council of 1849 had nine members, four of whom were women, to whom was assigned final executive authority for `all matters in which female propriety or comfort is concerned.'[12] Mrs. Reid also arranged that after her death the finances of the college should be in the hands of the three Reid Trustees, who had to be single women. She wanted the college to be managed by those who had the `Cause' at heart, hoping Bedford would act as an `Underground Railway' for women.[13]

In 1869, a conflict arose between the Reid Trustees and the male professors, who wanted to develop the school attached to the college as being more lucrative than the college itself. The Reid Trustees, committed to Mrs. Reid's vision of Bedford as a college for the higher education of women, managed to thwart the ambitions of the professors. As a result of this conflict, the college was reconstituted as a non-profit company under the Board of Trade. Under the new regulations, the professors, as employees of the college

---

[11]Margaret Tuke, The History of Bedford College for Women (London, 1939), p. 20.
[12]Ibid., p. 30.
[13]Ibid., pp. 99-100 and p. 316.

could no longer have a place on the Council.[14] Mrs. Reid thus made an important departure in giving women a decisive role in the government of Bedford College.

The principle of giving women a share in controlling their own education was later followed by several other women's colleges. In 1879, the Newnham Council decided that half its members should be women.[15] Similarly, at Somerville, when the Council was reorganised to give old students representation, a stipulation was made that not less than one third of its members had to be women.[16] In contrast, at Royal Holloway College, there were no women on the governing body until twenty-one years after its foundation, according to the wishes of the founder.[17]

In her classic study The Cause, Ray Strachey refers to the institutions of secondary and higher education for women as `the foundations upon which the whole breadth and force of the Women's Movement were to depend.'[18] Later historians, however, have been more wary about making connections between the pioneers in women's education and the women's movement. In her article `Some Victorian Headmistresses,' Joyce Pedersen characterises a group of well-known headmistresses as conservative reformers:

---

[14] Ibid., p. 32. Towards the end of the century, when the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges were registered as non-profit companies, it was possible to ask the Board of Trade to relax the rule on the staff's membership of the council. Penny Griffin, ed., St. Hugh's (London, 1986), p. 47 n.43.

[15] Newnham Council Minutes (4 April 1879), NA.

[16] Somerville Council Minutes (10 Feb. 1896), SCA.

[17] The history of the government of RHC is explained in the RHC Letter of July 1912.

[18] R. Strachey, The Cause (London, 1928), p. 124.

Like other conservatives, these teachers found few attractions in a liberal society composed of self-sufficient individuals bent on maximizing their own utility. Instead they sought salvation in a corporate social order composed of diverse ranks differing in status and function but united in the pursuit of a common spiritual ideal. Thus while liberal feminists promoted a serious academic education for women that they might find their individual level and compete with men, these headmistresses aimed to improve women's education so that they might more perfectly perform a subordinate, supportive social role.[19]

Although this description accurately reflects the views of the headmistresses discussed by Pedersen, it is difficult to place, for example, Elisabeth Reid within it. Although her ideas about the purpose of women's education were conservative, her determination to give women control over the government of Bedford College can only be described as radical. Similarly, the ideas of the heads of the Oxford women's colleges only fit into Pedersen's typology with difficulty. As will be seen below, while not liberal feminists, Madeleine Shaw Lefevre and Elizabeth Wordsworth cannot adequately be described as conservatives either.

An alternative method of categorisation has been devised by Sara Delamont. Influenced by the debate in 1970s feminism between those who wanted full equality with men and those who favoured separate institutions for women, Delamont has described Emily Davies, the founder of Girton College and Anne Jemima Clough, the first principal of Newnham College as respectively representing the `uncompromising' and `separatist' views of women's education.[20] The

---

[19] J.S. Pedersen, `Some Victorian Headmistresses,' Victorian Studies, 24 (Summer, 1981), 464.

[20] S. Delamont, `The Contradictions in Ladies' Education,' in S. Delamont and L. Duffin, eds., The Nineteenth Century Woman (London, 1978), p. 154 and S. Delamont, Knowledgeable Women (London, 1989), p. 106.

`uncompromising' believed that women should have an identical education to that of men, while the `separatists' wanted `courses for women which were particularly suited to their future as teachers, nurses and mothers.'[21] Like Pedersen's model, however, this division does not adequately reflect the complexity of Davies' and Clough's ideas, nor those of the first principals of the Oxford women's colleges.

Emily Davies' feminism was influenced both by her Evangelical upbringing and by the equal rights' tradition of Mary Wollstonecraft.[22] In The Higher Education of Women, first published in 1866, Davies pointed out the contradiction between the church's view of the moral duty of each individual to serve God and the different expectations held by society of men and women.[23] By the second half of the nineteenth century, the notion of woman's sphere being confined to the home and family was in conflict with the ideal of the individual's wider duty to society. As Davies wrote, `For the case of the modern girl is peculiarly hard in this, that she has fallen upon an Age in which idleness is accounted disgraceful.'[24]

Furthermore, Davies argued that men and women were basically equal:

> a great part of the difficulties which beset every question concerning women would be at once removed by a

---

[21] S. Delamont, `Contradictions,' p. 154.
[22] Janet Howarth, `Introduction,' to Emily Davies, The Higher Education of Women (London, 1866; reprinted 1988), p. xvi.
[23] Davies, pp. 30-31.
[24] Ibid., p. 44.

> frank recognition of the fact, that there is between the sexes a deep and broad basis of likeness.[25]

Davies also argued from the pragmatic perspective that higher education would prepare women either for marriage or for self-support, depending on what their lot might be. Although she acknowledged that for most women, training for a profession would mainly serve as insurance against failure to marry, she also made the more radical suggestion of women continuing to work after marriage.[26]

Emily Davies' determination to prove the equality between men and women directly influenced the educational policy she pursued at Girton. Apart from Bedford, Girton was the only women's college which had a specifically `feminist' political aim. From the beginning, Davies hoped to work through Girton for the admission of women students to the university:

> The Council shall use such efforts, as from time to time they may think most expedient and effectual, to obtain for the students of the College admission to the Examinations for degrees of the University of Cambridge and, generally, to place the College in connection with the University.[27]

In order to achieve this end, she required Girton students to pass the same examinations as the male undergraduates in the same time period, in spite of the fact that many women students were ill-prepared in the classical languages and mathematics which were required for the first university examination, the Previous. Davies strongly felt that

---

[25] Ibid, pp. 163-4.
[26] Ibid., pp. 98-102.
[27] Barbara Stephen, Emily Davies and Girton College (London, 1927), p. 196.

any deviation from the university requirements would lead women's education to be labelled as inferior. Her intransigence alienated some of the early male supporters of Girton. James Bryce, the Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, thought that some of the examinations were `really very bad and quite unworthy of a university,' while Henry Sidgwick believed that it was `a pity to load a new institution...with those very vices...we deplore in an old one.'[28] Davies did not, however, accept all male institutions uncritically. In her evidence to the Schools Inquiry Commission, she commented on the education of men and women, `I think if we could find out what is the best mental training it would be the best for both; but I suppose nobody has found that out yet.'[29] In her policy at Girton, she simply believed it was important to prove that women were able to fulfil the same conditions as men.

Emily Davies' feminism was characterised by a combination of a strong belief in the equal treatment of men and women and a deeply ingrained conservatism. She took little interest in working-class and lower middle-class education; each Girton student received the education of a lady, analogous to the education of a gentleman provided by the men's colleges. When she voted in the first election in which women were allowed to vote in 1918, she voted Tory.[30] Throughout her life Emily Davies was suspicious of Radical and masculine women, and believed arguments, for instance,

---

[28] Ibid., pp. 155-5.
[29] Schools Inquiry Commission (Taunton Commission) PP 1867-8, XXVIII, Part 4, Emily Davies' Evidence (30 Nov. 1865), q. 11,390..
[30] Stephen, p. 353.

about dress reform were frivolous compared to key issues like education and women's suffrage.[31]

The first principal of Newnham College, Anne Jemima Clough, shared Emily Davies' commitment to the improvement of women's education, although her ideas and methods were different. As a girl, Clough showed an awareness of the limitations of women's place in society, writing in her journal: `I don't much fancy men often understand women, they don't know how restless and weary they get.'[32] On another occasion, she debated with her brother, the poet Arthur Hugh Clough, the possibility of women learning Latin and Greek.[33] As a young woman, Clough became concerned about the education of lower middle-class girls, whom she believed were missed out in the existing educational provisions. When she and her mother moved to Ambleside in 1852, she started a school for the children of tradespeople and farmers.[34]

After her mother's death in 1862, Clough received a legacy from her uncle which enabled her to live part of the year in London. There she met the feminist circle which included Emily Davies, Elisabeth Bostock, Barbara Bodichon, and Frances Buss. Clough was inspired by Davies' London Schoolmistresses Association to start a similar one in Liverpool. In 1867, she helped found the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women, which

---

[31]Margaret Forster, Significant Sisters (London, 1984), pp. 159-163.
[32]B.A. Clough, Anne Jemima Clough (London, 1897), p. 75. On A.J. Clough, see also Joan Stubbs, `Anne Jemima Clough,' (Liverpool University M.Ed. Thesis 1983).
[33]Clough, p. 27.
[34]Ibid., p. 87.

arranged for lectures in provincial towns. In 1871, Henry Sidgwick invited her to take charge of a boarding house in Cambridge for students preparing for the new examination for women over the age of eighteen, which had been introduced in 1868.[35]

Sara Delamont identifies Clough as a separatist because she supported separate examinations and conditions for women. At Newnham, women students were not required to read for the Tripos examinations. If they did choose to do so, they could take longer than the three years and one term time limit, and, instead of taking the Previous examination, they could take certain groups of the women's examination, later known as the Higher Local, in which Latin and Greek were not necessarily included.[36] Emily Davies was opposed to the special examination both as an alternative to the Previous and as an end in itself; Girton students had to follow exactly the same curriculum as the male undergraduates.[37]

As has been seen, Clough was not necessarily opposed to women learning Latin and Greek. She supported the more lenient regulations for women not because she believed women merited a separate education, but for pragmatic reasons. The schooling of many women had not prepared them for the requirements of Cambridge, and many were not able to afford to come to Newnham for three years. Between 1871 and 1880, ninety-five of 258 Newnham students came for only three

---

[35]John Roach, Public Examinations in England 1850-1900 (Cambridge, 1971), p. 120.
[36]Stephen, Emily Davies, p. 278n.
[37]Clough, pp. 127-28.

terms or less.[38] Among these were a number of teachers, who paid a reduced rate.[39] Clough believed that Newnham had a responsibility to help train these women, who by passing the examination for women could obtain a qualification for teaching. It must be noted, however that in the first five years of Newnham's existence, almost a quarter of the entrants eventually took the Tripos examinations.

It is even more difficult to apply the division between the `uncompromising' and the `separatists' to the founders of the Oxford women's colleges. The difference between Somerville and Lady Margaret Hall was one of religion, rather than of policy towards curriculum. Although in the first five years of the existence of the two halls, 45 percent of Somerville entrants and only 22 percent of LMH entrants were classified in the Final Honours Schools, this difference reflects more on the type of students who attended the two halls rather than on college policy.

Another difficulty in classifying the Oxford women principals comes from the fact that in Oxford, unlike Cambridge, the movement for women's higher education was less a feminist initiative coming from outside the university than a demand for reform coming from university men and their wives and daughters. Unlike Emily Davies, Madeleine Shaw Lefevre, the first principal of Somerville did not see her college as a feminist undertaking. Lilian Faithfull, who had been one of her students, recalled:

---

[38] Sutherland, p. 102.
[39] Ibid.

> It was the spirit of unobtrusive receptivity and deference to University traditions and prejudices rather than a demand for rights which the Principal, Miss Shaw Lefevre, took pains to instill into the first students.[40]

Although little is known about Shaw Lefevre's ideas, none of the labels `uncompromising,' `separatist,' `conservative,' nor `liberal feminist' seems to fit her. While not self-consciously a feminist, she was not opposed to women students following the same curriculum as men, although she also allowed students to attend Somerville without taking examinations. Her liberal attitude towards religion, which will be discussed below, precludes her from being considered a conservative reformer.

A similar difficulty arises in efforts to categorise the first principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Elizabeth Wordsworth. It is clear that Wordsworth cannot be classified as a `liberal feminist.' Unlike Davies and Clough, she apparently took no interest in the women's education or women's suffrage movements of the 1860s and 1870s, and it was because of the distinctively Anglican character of LMH that she agreed to become its principal.[41] An old student recalled `at LMH it would have been impossible to grow up a feminist.'[42] Again unlike Davies, Wordsworth was ambivalent about women's suffrage. Another old student recalled her saying of the women's vote, `it is

---

[40]Lilian Faithfull, In the House of my Pilgrimage (London, 1924), p. 53.
[41]Battiscombe, pp. 14-17.
[42]Janet Courtney, Recollected in Tranquillity (London, 1926), p. 243.

bound to come, and a very good thing too...and the longer it takes about it, the better.'[43]

Elizabeth Wordsworth supported higher education as a means to help women better fulfill their given place in society rather than to change it. She wrote `woman is to be a helpmate for man...not merely one woman for one man, surely, but all women for all men in just relation and degree.'[44] Her views echoed those of Dorothea Beale, the founder of St. Hilda's College, who had written that a girl's education should `fit her for the discharge of those responsible duties which devolve upon her as a wife, mother, mistress and friend, the natural companion and helpmeet for man.'[45] Wordsworth was an advocate of marriage, keeping a collection of letters from old students announcing their engagements and wedding invitations. One old student wrote to her `I know you will be glad to hear that I am engaged to be married, for you always did approve of that course of action.'[46] Wordsworth believed, however, that women who did not marry could find fulfillment through service to society. She recognised the particular importance of higher education for single women, as shown by her policy of making engaged women leave the college to make room for those who had to earn their own livings.[47]

---

[43]Enid Routh to Evelyn Jamison (14 Sept 1937), E. Jamison Reminiscences Coll., LMHA.
[44]E. Wordsworth, First Principles in Women's Education (Oxford, 1894), pp. 4-5.
[45]Quoted in Pedersen, p. 467.
[46]M. Carruthers to E. Wordsworth (5 Aug. 1907), E. Wordsworth Papers, LMHA.
[47]LMH Principal's Report (October Term, 1893) in Council Minutes, LMHA and Winifred Peck, A Little Learning (London, 1952), p. 166.

Elizabeth Wordsworth cannot, however, be neatly fitted into the separatist model. She encouraged LMH students to prepare for Honours, a challenge which she believed was good for them.[48] Furthermore, while she was ambivalent about women's suffrage, she was in favour of degrees for women, although she did not support them publicly because of opposition from the majority of the LMH Council and from her friend Bertha Johnson, the principal of the Society of Oxford Home Students.[49]

Bertha Johnson fits most easily into the separatist model. Her ideas about women's education were rooted in two concepts: the importance of maintaining women's role in the family, and the belief in the necessity of reform coming from within the university itself. Johnson believed that higher education was a complement to woman's main role in the family. She thus supported the concept of the Home Student and `the quality of retirement and unobtrusiveness which it seems to suggest.'[50] Home Students originally lived in their own homes or with approved `hostesses.' Mrs. Johnson wrote in praise of the Home Student system:

> The student may come under another kind of influence, educating in a different way, and perhaps especially beneficial to a girl who has spent most of her youth in a boarding school, that which is gained by learning to work seriously in her own home amidst home ties and

---

[48]Principal's Report (2 Feb. 1882), in Committee Minutes, LMHA.
[49]W.A. Spooner to B. Johnson (17 May 1894), 1895 Degree Controversy Coll., LMHA, E. Wordsworth to B. Johnson (14 Dec. 1894), Ibid. and Battiscombe, pp. 138-42.
[50]Ruth Butler and M. Prichard, The Society of Oxford Home Students (Oxford, 1930), pp. 33-34.

> duties, or while fitting herself into the life of another family, not her own.[51]

Unlike Emily Davies, who tried to separate women students from the claims of home and family, Johnson encouraged them to combine education and home duties as a preparation for their future lives.

Bertha Johnson's identification with the university derived from her status as the wife of an academic and her contacts through him with male Oxford. She saw the movement for women's higher education as a joint venture, rather than as a feminist campaign. The Home Students' tutor Ruth Butler wrote:

> Bertha Johnson and her friends were prompted to begin their work by no desire to claim rights, but solely to gain for women the opportunity for education of the highest sort.

She continued `again, one is struck by the absence of all "feminist spirit," by the warm and friendly cooperation of leading men and women.'[52] As will be seen, Johnson favoured sending women students out to be taught by male academics, rather than allowing the women's colleges to develop their own staffs of tutors. Both she and Elizabeth Wordsworth believed that one of the most important advantages of Oxford was that it allowed women students to have contact with `great minds.' In fact the Society of Home Students was the last of the women's colleges to develop its own staff of tutors.

---

[51] Ibid., p. 37.
[52] Ibid., p. 31.

The Duties and Responsibilities of the Early Women Principals

The early principals felt responsible for the well-being of their students. In their relationships with the young women under their care, they had to strike a balance between an authoritative and a sympathetic role. Consequently, their behaviour ranged from the warm and motherly to the cool and distant. Anne Jemima Clough was an example of the warm, motherly type of principal. She fussed over her students' health, taking great pains over Winnie Seebohm, an asthmatic student whose family forced her to return home after only a few months at Newnham.[53] Similarly, Esther Burrows of St. Hilda's was described as looking on her students `as members of her household.'[54] In contrast, Emily Davies believed that college students were young adult women who did not need mothering:

> My `idea' of the college is that of a society, not a family. The students have their family life already, without us. I think we ought to supply something different from a home, not an inferior imitation of it as a family composed of women must be. I should not like the college (mistress) to be a sort of widow with a great many daughters all about the same age.[55]

The behaviour of the other women principals tended to fit somewhere between these two extremes. For instance, Anne

---

[53]Victoria Glendinning, A Suppressed Cry (London, 1969), pp. 64-87. Seebohm died soon after leaving Newnham.
[54]Grace James (1902) Reminiscence, St. Hilda's Chronicle (1934-35).
[55]E. Davies to B. Bodichon (12 June 1874), Bodichon Papers, GA.

Moberly assumed the role of friend rather than parent. As Edith Wardale, one of first St. Hugh's students wrote, `her interest in girls and her sympathy with them made every student look upon her as a personal friend.'[56]

As well as being friends and advisors to the students, the women principals were responsible for discipline. Martha Vicinus has pointed out that because of the novelty and controversial status of women's higher education, the women principals felt the need to maintain strict standards of propriety.

> Hedged in on all sides by social and economic constraints, they bought intellectual freedom at the price of political timidity, a frequent fear of change and a dislike of innovation.[57]

Similarly, Sara Delamont has argued that the potential of early women educationalists was limited by `double conformity,' the need to adhere `to two sets of rigid standards: those of ladylike behaviour at all times and those of the dominant male cultural system.'[58] For example, Emily Davies curtailed her suffrage work during the early years of the college, so as not to jeopardise its reputation by association with anything so controversial.[59] For similar reasons, Frances Bernard, mistress of Girton from 1875 to 1884 refused to let the Girton Prayer Meeting become

---

[56]Quoted in P. Griffin, p. 65.
[57]Martha Vicinus, Independent Women (London, 1985), pp. 134-5.
[58]Delamont, `Contradictions,' p. 140.
[59]Stephen, p. 346.

involved in the agitation for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act.[60]

The caution of the early principals was not surprising considering the financial instability of the women's colleges, which were largely dependent on the fees paid by parents. It is not true, however, that the trap of `double conformity' discouraged all innovation and political involvement. For instance, Emily Davies joined the National Society for Women's Suffrage in 1887, allowing her name to appear in its membership lists while she was still closely connected with Girton.[61]

The most obvious consequence of the insecure position of the women's colleges was the strict discipline of women students. The `pioneers,' as the first Girton and Newnham students were called, were usually strong and exceptional characters in their own right who found it difficult to adjust to the rules which governed their lives in Cambridge. Students at Girton were outraged by Emily Davies' refusal to allow them to stage a play using male costumes.[62] Similarly, the first year of Newnham's existence saw constant friction between the students and Anne Jemima Clough over matters of discipline. Most of the students, however, eventually came to recognise the reasons behind the need for caution, which was after all, not very different

---

[60]C. Maynard, `Autobiography,' Pt. VII, p. 286 and p. 357, WCA.

[61]Daphne Bennett, Emily Davies and the Liberation of Women (London, 1990), p. 220.

[62]Stephen, pp. 241-44. For more on the Girton pioneers, see Perry Williams, `Pioneer Women Students at Cambridge,' in Felicity Hunt, ed., Lessons for Life (London, 1987), Emily Townshend, (Privately Published, 1926), and Emily Lloyd, ed,. Anna Lloyd (London, 1928.)

from what was expected of young middle-class women in their own homes.[63]

Discipline involved the careful supervising of contacts between women students and Oxford and Cambridge men. Women students were not allowed to enter a men's college or attend a mixed event unchaperoned.[64] Women's mobility was also restricted; in Oxford they were at first only allowed to go out in the evening in bath-chairs.[65] Chaperones were expected for women attending lectures at Oxford and Cambridge until the early 1890s, when this practice was given up because of expense and complaints. In Oxford, several male lecturers (not named) had complained that the presence of chaperones made their lectures overcrowded.[66] Bertha Johnson was convinced when she was told that chaperoning at lectures had been recently discontinued at Cambridge resulting in the saving of money.[67] A woman student still required a chaperone, however, if she was the only woman attending a lecture or tutorial.

Discipline was less strict at the London colleges. An old student of Bedford College recalled that as early as the 1850s, the lady resident of the hostel in which she lived was `most anxious that we should learn to be independent and self-reliant.' They were allowed to walk out alone in the

---

[63]Clough, p. 195.
[64]Vicinus, p. 146.
[65]Muriel St. Clare Byrne and Catherine Hope Mansfield, Somerville College (Oxford, 1922), pp. 74-75.
[66]A. Maitland to B. Johnson (29 Oct. 1891), B. Johnson Papers, SAA.
[67]A. Sidgwick to B. Johnson (13 Nov. 1892), Ibid.

city, which was forbidden at Oxford and Cambridge.[68] Many women students in London lived in their own homes, so the college authorities did not feel responsible for disciplining them. At Royal Holloway and Westfield, the location effectively isolated women students from most male undergraduates. At University College, London, however, women were initially only allowed to attend lectures specially arranged for them, which ended on the half-hour rather than on the hour so as to prevent them from encountering male students.[69]

Essentially, the early principals had to conduct their colleges in a way which would appease the critics of women's education. As well as encountering opposition from those who believed women's education was unfeminine, they had to meet the objections of a large body of medical opinion which claimed that women's education was detrimental to their health.[70] Rather than discouraging innovation, however, the opposition to women's higher education led to efforts to improve the provisions for the health of women students, particularly through the encouragement of physical education. In America, Edward Clarke's Sex in Education (1873) asserted that university education was damaging to women's health. In response, the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, the organisation of American women's colleges

---

[68]Frances Armstrong and Anna Jecks, `Recollections of the Earliest Boarding House of the College,' Bedford College Magazine, 2 (June 1900).

[69]Negley Harte, The University of London (London, 1986), p. 132.

[70]On the opposition to women's education, see Joan N. Burstyn, Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood (London, 1980) and Janet Sayers, Biological Politics (London, 1983).

founded in 1881, conducted a survey which showed that college-educated women were just as healthy as other women.[71] Eleanor Sidgwick, vice-principal of Newnham College, was inspired by the American survey to produce a similar one which demonstrated that college-educated women actually enjoyed better health than their sisters or cousins who had not gone to college.[72] At the same time, the staff of the women's colleges continued to improve the provisions for the health of their students. For instance, Helen Gladstone of Newnham arranged for the building of a detached hospital for cases of infectious disease.[73]

The encouragement of physical education was an important means of avoiding mental strain and improving health. The nineteenth-century cult of games began as part of the reform of the boys' public schools after 1850; games were promoted as a way of building character, however, rather than for health reasons.[74] In the 1860s, games became increasingly popular among university men.[75] As girls, Elizabeth Wordsworth and Anne Moberly lived for some time in boys' public schools where their fathers were headmasters, which may have influenced them in their support of games. Sports were first introduced at Girton and

---

[71]Burstyn, p. 150.
[72]Mrs. Henry Sidgwick, Health Statistics of Women Students at Cambridge and Oxford and of their Sisters (Cambridge, 1890).
[73]Helen Gladstone to Harry Gladstone (8 Feb. 1883) and (29 June 1883), 870 Glynne-Gladstone MSS, Hawarden.
[74]J.A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 15-16.
[75]Ibid., pp. 122-124.

Newnham in the 1870s, and later spread to girls' schools through the influence of college-educated teachers.[76]

In the early years at Girton, Emily Davies encouraged students to take walks, swim, play croquet, fives, and cricket.[77] Anne Jemima Clough believed that sport absorbed energy which would otherwise be devoted to less healthy pursuits: `games, I do believe, drive out much silliness.'[78] Similarly, at LMH, Elizabeth Wordsworth encouraged the playing of games for health reasons, and to help avert the `silliness' noted by Anne Clough.[79] She was displeased when the LMH Council, fearing that sport was encouraging unladylike behaviour and drawing women students away from study, banned hockey in 1885.[80] Bertha Johnson also supported games, believing they would promote corporate life.[81]

Although the early principals encouraged physical education, they remained cautious of the proprieties, emphasising the need for proper attire and decorum while games were being played. For instance, Emily Davies disapproved of a gym uniform suggested by the first Girton resident tutor Louisa Lumsden.[82] Some distinction was drawn between women's sports, which were considered appropriate,

---

[76]Kathleen E. McCrone, `Play Up! Play Up! and Play the Game' The Journal of British Studies, 23 (Spring 1984), pp. 117-18 and Paul Atkinson, `Fitness, Feminism and Schooling,' in S. Delamont, ed., The Nineteenth Century Woman, p. 113.
[77]K. McCrone, `The Lady Blue,' British Journal of Sports History, 3 (Sept. 1986), p. 194. Also see her Sport and the Physical Emancipation of Englishwomen (London, 1988).
[78]McCrone, Sport, p. 38 and Clough, p. 220.
[79]Battiscombe, p. 90.
[80]LMH Council Minutes (22 Oct. 1885), LMHA.
[81]McCrone, `The Lady Blue,' p. 206.
[82]F. Metcalfe to B. Bodichon (12 July 1874), Bodichon Papers, GA.

and men's sports, which ran the risk of defeminising women. In 1876, Anne Jemima Clough first gave some students permission to play cricket, and then changed her mind.

> Miss Clough came out and said she was sorry but she could not possibly let us play. She said it would spoil the grass, and after a little hesitation said there were other reasons. We have not, of course, the slightest wish to do what she does not approve of but I wish she had thought of her `other reasons' when we first asked her. We hear now, that they used to play...but that it was stopped, probably `Mr. Marshall's friends' objected.[83]

At Oxford, boating, which was considered a masculine sport, was permitted, but only on a part of the river which the men did not use.[84]

By the 1890s, girls' boarding schools such as Wycombe Abbey, founded by Jane Frances Dove in 1896, were encouraging the playing of `masculine' sports such as hockey in conscious imitation of boys' public schools.[85] Dove believed that sports were important for building character and corporate unity, rather than placing emphasis on their efficacy at improving health.[86] Hockey spread in popularity at the women's colleges. Relaxing her earlier caution, Anne Clough began to encourage it in 1891, noting that it helped keep students warm.[87] In spite of the popularity of sport, a cult of athleticism such as that at Jesus College,

---

[83]Quoted in Ann Phillips, ed., A Newnham Anthology (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1988) p. 6.
[84]McCrone, `The Lady Blue,' p. 205.
[85]Vicinus, p. 183.
[86]Dorothea Beale, Lucy H.M. Soulsby and Jane Frances Dove, Work and Play in Girls' Schools (London, 1898), pp. 400-401.
[87]Clough, p. 220.

Cambridge, did not develop at the women's colleges; academic work remained of primary importance.[88]

As well as enforcing discipline and caring for their students' health, the women principals were responsible for the domestic management of their colleges. The prosaic nature of some of these responsibilities contrasted with the power and prestige enjoyed by male heads of colleges. Among her domestic responsibilities Elizabeth Wordsworth mentioned engaging and dismissing servants and choosing the shops where supplies were to be bought.[89] At St. Hugh's, Anne Moberly had to run the establishment practically single-handedly, with no secretarial assistance and only two maids to help her, earning a paltry sum of £40 a year for her efforts.[90]

In general, the early women principals received only small stipends or none at all. In fact, many of them were women of some means who used their money to benefit their colleges. Anne Jemima Clough refused a salary in 1877, knowing that the college had little resources with which to pay her.[91] As the wife of an academic, Mrs. Johnson never accepted a salary during her over twenty-five years as principal of the Home Students, although in 1913, £500 was raised for the salary of the future principal.[92] This older generation was also influenced by a lingering ambivalence towards the concept of women working for money. In the

---

[88]McCrone, `The Lady Blue,' pp. 199-200.
[89]LMH Council Minutes (4 June 1879), LMHA.
[90]Griffin, p. 17.
[91]Newnham Council Minutes (24 Feb. 1877), NA.
[92]Butler, p. 77.

early nineteenth century a `lady' was by definition a leisured woman who did not do paid work.[93] Although by the late nineteenth century middle-class women professionals were demanding and receiving adequate salaries, the old attitude was still powerful.

The poverty of the women's colleges and the lack of experience of the early principals could lead to exploitation. In 1904 Esther Burrows received £100 per year as principal of St. Hilda's plus a percentage of the profit. However, Dorothea Beale took students from Cheltenham at a reduced rate, so no profit was made. Burrows' daughter Christine, who assisted her as vice-principal was at first paid no stipend. Esther Burrows' brother was angered at what he perceived as `sweating':

> You Know you are in no sense a `money-grubber'--on the contrary, you and Christine have sacrificed yourselves most ungrudgingly to a rapacious old being who has cared for nothing and nobody but her own self-importance....In plain terms you and Christine have, in the past, been `sweated' in the most atrocious manner. I know that, in many respects, the life is pleasant to you and brings you into touch with many who help to make your life pleasant and profitable but if you continue it you must not burden yourself with responsibilities as you have done. After all the `business' side is a very important one and you have both taken on yourselves many wearing anxieties for which your employers have not paid.[94]

Following her brother's advice, Burrows was able to secure improved conditions of service.[95]

---

[93]Joyce Pedersen, `Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses,' Journal of British Studies, 15 (1975), p. 139.
[94]M. Bliss to E. Burrows (12 April 1904), Tutors Coll., SHIA.
[95]J.F. Tarrant to E.E. Burrows (27 July 1904), Ibid.

The women principals also had some teaching responsibilities, although usually only at an elementary level. For instance, Elizabeth Wordsworth coached students in English literature, Latin and Greek:

> I am not supposed to do any teaching, but I take Miss Anstruther, Ward and Bradby for English literature--and Edith Argles for her Greek and we are going to have a `Paradise Lost' reading tonight. Also did Bible class.[96]

At the Anglican colleges, much of the teaching done by the early women principals dealt with religion. They were responsible for the religious education of the students residing under their care, which gave them ample scope to exercise their influence. Elizabeth Wordsworth and Anne Moberly were extremely knowledgeable about theology, which gave them status and authority in the eyes of their contemporaries.[97] As Joyce Pedersen has shown, the identification of teaching with moral education also gave status to nineteenth-century headmistresses.[98]

Elizabeth Wordsworth believed that education and religion were closely bound together. After attending the opening of a new building at Somerville, she commented `it made one feel what a prosing thing the H.E. of Women is without religion.'[99] Wordsworth was herself the author of a number of religious tracts and sermons. Under a list of rules drawn up in 1881, her students were expected to be

---

[96]E. Wordsworth to S. Wordsworth (19 October 1879), E. Wordsworth Papers, LMHA.
[97]Battiscombe, pp. 160-5.
[98]Pedersen, `Some Victorian Headmistresses,' pp. 465-6.
[99]E. Wordsworth to (illegible), (21 February 1894), E. Wordsworth Papers, LMHA.

present every day at morning and evening prayers read by the principal and had to attend church at least once on Sundays.[100] Anne Moberly played a similar role at the Anglican St. Hugh's. She gave lectures on Sunday evenings which students were practically obliged to attend, as well as publishing sermons.[101]

At the non-denominational colleges, the principals conducted what resembled family prayers. At Somerville, prayers were read on Sunday evenings although attendance was voluntary.[102] An old student recalled that although Madeleine Shaw Lefevre read the prayers, she otherwise never spoke of religion or of matters connected with it.[103] At Newnham, although attendance was voluntary, it was preferred that students should be present at prayers.[104] In 1877, Anne Clough, supported by Henry Sidgwick, proposed that students inform the principal what place of worship they chose for regular attendance.[105]

At Royal Holloway College, religion proved to be the source of one of the early conflicts in the college's history. The Deed of Foundation specified that the principal should conduct simple religious services, which, however, should be free from sectarian influence.[106] In spite of the founder's wishes, the Board of Governors was almost completely Anglican, and they chose a high Anglican,

---

[100]Battiscombe, p. 86.
[101]Griffin, p. 65.
[102]Enid Huws Jones, Margery Fry (London, 1966), p. 143.
[103]Vera Farnell, A Somervillian Looks Back (Oxford, 1948), p. 12.
[104]Phillips, p. 31.
[105]Newnham Council Minutes (12 June 1877), NA.
[106]Caroline Bingham, The History of Royal Holloway College (Egham, 1987), p. 54.

Ellen Bishop, as principal. Bishop gave a weekly class in divinity and required students to attend chapel each morning and prayers each evening; she drew up a form of service based on the Anglican prayer book. Lilian Faithfull, who taught at RHC under Bishop believed she saw her role as a religious one: `I think she would have been happiest as a Mother Superior of some convent or would have proved a second Saint Teresa or Saint Hilda.'[107]

Although Nonconformist students at RHC were allowed to attend their own chapels, the Anglican domination of the college was eventually challenged by the appointment of two Nonconformists as honorary governors. When these two asked to have Nonconformist services in the chapel, Bishop objected and threatened to resign, not expecting the governors to accept her offer. She explained her reasons in a letter to the students:

> You know, for I have often said it to you, how strongly I feel that the corporate unity of the college, and therefore its true prosperity, depends on its united worship, and that the Chapel should be, as I thank God it has been, the centre of our corporate life and our strongest bond of union.[108]

After Bishop's departure, Nonconformist services were held on alternate Sundays in the chapel.[109]

As has been suggested in the discussion of physical education, the early women principals looked towards girls'

---

[107]Faithfull, p. 93.
[108]Letter to students from M.E. Bishop (19 July 1897), E. Blackwell Papers, RHCA.
[109]Bingham, p. 85.

and boys' schools for strategies by which to manage their colleges. This connection was particularly apparent in the area of college government. Girls' public schools like the North London Collegiate and Cheltenham Ladies College were controlled by governing bodies whose members, many of whom were men, came from outside the school. The governors chose the headmistress, who in turn had a free hand over the internal management of the school.[110] The headmistress was therefore answerable to the governing body, and the teachers were in turn answerable to the headmistress. The hierarchical structure of schools, however, proved to fit uneasily with the desire of academics for autonomy, which in the men's colleges was recognised by self-government.

Emily Davies was influenced by the example of girls' public schools in the way she approached the government of Girton College. Davies was opposed to having the mistress on the College's Executive Committee; she felt that there was no need for the mistress to be on the Committee as long as she had the power of appointing the resident tutors.[111] She had been advised on this course by Frances Buss, headmistress of the North London Collegiate School, who, as a member of the School's Committee, had been forced to listen to the governors' constant criticism of her ideas and methods.[112]

---

[110]Mary Price and Nonita Glenday, Reluctant Revolutionaries (London, 1974), p. 37.
[111]E. Davies to B. Bodichon (22 April 1875), Bodichon Papers, GA.
[112]Josephine Kamm, How Different from Us (London, 1958), pp. 131-155.

Although Davies sat on the Girton Committee in her capacity as honorary secretary during her own tenure as mistress from 1872 to 1875, her successor Frances Bernard was not a member. Davies was opposed in principle to the co-optation of Elizabeth Welsh, who succeded Bernard, as a member of the Executive Committee upon her appointment as mistress in 1885. Upon Welsh's retirement in 1903, Davies tried once again to ensure that the new principal would not be on the Committee. She met opposition, however from the Association of Certificated Students, who believed that the staff should play a larger role in the government of the College. The new mistress, Constance Jones was duly elected to the Executive Committee, and in May 1904 Davies resigned her post of honorary secretary.[113] In later years, the women's colleges would move gradually towards the adoption of the self-governing model of the men's colleges.

Bedford College and the coeducational King's and University Colleges also employed women to look after the needs of their women students. Soon after Bedford's foundation, a house was bought for students who wished to reside, and a matron was appointed to manage it. Bedford also possessed a peculiar officer known as the `lady visitor.' These volunteers, many of whom were friends of the founder, acted as chaperones, maintained discipline, looked after the students' health and tried to offer advice when needed.

---

[113]Stephen, pp. 341-42.

The only salaried woman administrative officer aside from the matron was the lady resident, who was responsible for the discipline and welfare of the day students.[114] This office was at first held on a yearly basis until the highly successful appointment of Miss Barclay, who served from 1854 to 1871. Miss Barclay's successor, Harriet Martin (1830-1899) possessed similar characteristics to those of the first generation of women principals. The daughter of a surgeon, Martin worked as a governess until she was introduced to Bedford College by Eleanor Smith, who was active in the women's education movement in Oxford and was one the original Reid Trustees. Martin stayed at Bedford until her retirement in 1893, when the appointment of the Somerville classicist Emily Penrose as principal heralded important changes in the structure of the college.

At the King's College Ladies Department, the officer responsible for administration, discipline, and student welfare was known as the lady superintendent, or after 1891 as the vice principal.[115] As the department was completely non-residential, she had no domestic responsibilities. Miss Cornelia Gertrude Schmitz served as lady superintendent from 1878 to 1894, earning a salary of £150 per year.[116] In 1894, she resigned her post upon her marriage to Henry Wace, the principal of King's, and was replaced by a more academic vice-principal, Lilian Faithfull.

---

[114]Tuke, pp. 29-50.
[115]Neville Marsh, Queen Elizabeth College (London, 1986), p. 6.
[116]Ibid., p. 21. The figure £150 is given as Schmitz's salary for 1885.

University College London at first possessed no one with particular responsibility for its women students. A women's residence was founded in 1882, however, which was presided over by Rosa Morison, who had taught at Queen's College, Harley Street.[117] In 1885 she was given the additional responsibility of being `lady superintendent' of the day students, in an attempt to counteract the college's `godless' image and encourage parents to send their daughters there.[118] Morison encouraged the development of clubs and societies and herself founded a Women's Union to correspond to the Men's Union in 1897.[119] The UCL professor Margaret Murray recalled that Morison was invaluable in protecting the women's societies from the ridicule of the men.[120] This pattern of employing a lady to look after the domestic needs of women students was copied by the civic universities which began to admit women students in the 1880s and 1890s.[121]

Conclusion:

Although the early women principals were not academics themselves, they set the context for the later development of the academic profession in the Oxford, Cambridge, and London women's colleges. The women principals came from genteel, in some cases religious backgrounds and did not

---

[117]Alice Copping, The Story of College Hall (London, 1963), p. 157.
[118]Margaret Murray, My First Hundred Years (London, 1963), p. 157.
[119]David Taylor, The Godless Students of Gower Street (London, 1968), p. 64.
[120]Murray, p. 157.
[121]See for example Mabel Tylecote, The Education of Women at Manchester University (Manchester, 1941).

have much formal education or training. Because of the small size and poverty of the women's colleges, however, they had numerous responsibilities. While practices varied from one college to another, most women principals bore some responsibility for domestic management, the maintenance of discipline, and the religious education of their students. At the coeducational King's and University Colleges, the women in charge of female students had a similar range of duties.

As the women's colleges were new institutions, the early principals were able to experiment with various strategies in running them, although they were to some extent constrained by the need to attract supporters and to placate critics. The early principals were by necessity cautious; they attempted to counter opposition to women's higher education through exercising vigilance over their students' health, behaviour, and amusements. This combination of strict discipline and an atmosphere of gentility would remain characteristic of the women's colleges into the 1920s.

The early women principals thus helped create the structure and ethos of their colleges and set an example for later academic women to follow. They helped set the stage for a new generation of women to begin to fashion an academic profession for themselves.

CHAPTER FIVE:

THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION AND THE WOMEN'S COLLEGES

1897-1914

In the late nineteenth century, a new type of principal was appointed at the women's colleges. This generation was born during the years 1850-1875.[1] Many of them had undergone a disciplined intellectual training in the new girls' public schools and women's colleges, or had experience of professional work. Rather than viewing themselves as educated gentlewomen, they began to see themselves as professionals. They thought in terms of their education as qualifying them for careers in teaching. At this point, opportunities for work in the women's colleges were too scarce and ill-paid to be really considered as a separate profession. Instead, college teaching was seen as a higher branch of secondary school teaching. Within this context, however, the women who did hold college posts fashioned careers for themselves, developing their own professional ethos.

The First Women Academics

The first appointment from the new generation of women was that of Constance Maynard (1849-1935) as principal of Westfield College in 1882. She had been one of the early students at Girton, receiving a second class in the Moral Science Tripos in 1875. In 1885, Elizabeth Welsh (1843-

---

[1]These dates are approximate; for example Constance Maynard was born in 1849.

1921), who had been a classical scholar at Girton, resident tutor in classics, and vice-mistress, was appointed as mistress of Girton. Emily Davies wrote that her appointment showed `our respect for real excellence and power for good work as compared with the figurehead qualities.'[2] The career path from successful student to tutor to principal would prove to be a familiar one in the women's colleges. At Somerville, Agnes Maitland (1849-1906) was appointed as principal in 1889. Although she was not college-educated, Maitland had experience working in the field of women's education. She had been an examiner to the National Union of Schools of Domestic Economy for fifteen years and was an inspector of classes in this subject in Liverpool elementary schools. She had also been secretary to the Egypt Exploration Fund and to the Liverpool Women's Liberal Association.[3]

Like Maitland, Eleanor Sidgwick (1845-1936), who became principal of Newnham in 1892 had not taken the Tripos or Final Honours Schools. However, she possessed ample academic, as well as administrative and social qualifications. She had studied mathematics enough independently to be able to coach students and to contribute to research on electrical standards of measurement at the Cavendish Laboratory. Sidgwick's social and university connections also benefited Newnham. She was the niece of Lord Salisbury and sister of A.J. Balfour, the future prime minister, and the wife of Henry Sidgwick, the college's

---

[2]E. Davies to B. Bodichon (26 July 1884), Bodichon Papers, GA.
[3]Vera Brittain, The Women at Oxford (London, 1960), p. 87.

founder. By the time of her appointment at Newnham she was experienced in the running of a college; she had been vice-principal from 1880 to 1882, and from 1878 served as treasurer.

As the women's colleges grew larger, old students were appointed to coach students and to help the early principals with their domestic responsibilities. These women had usually become well-known by the principals during their years as students; several had family or social connections with the college authorities, and were at first chosen for personal qualities rather than high academic attainments. Appointments were made informally by the principal and Council and were often made for unspecified periods of time.

The earliest appointment of a resident tutor was that of Louisa Lumsden (1840-1935), who coached students in Classics at Girton from 1873 to 1875. One of the original `College Five,' Lumsden came up to Hitchin in 1869 at the age of twenty-eight. She earned a third class in the Classical Tripos in 1872. As students, Lumsden and her contemporaries had keenly felt the disadvantage of having to depend for tuition on lecturers travelling in from Cambridge.[4] In response to their complaints, Emily Davies' appointed Lumsden herself as resident classical tutor the year after she finished her examinations. Lumsden was joined in 1875 by Mary Kingsland (1854-1937), who had received second class honours in the Natural Science Tripos. Kingsland left after a year to teach in secondary schools.

---

[4]L. Lumsden to E. Davies (18 Feb. 1870), E. Davies Papers, GA.

She was replaced by Constance Herschel, the niece of the astronomer Caroline Herschel, who served as resident tutor in natural science and mathematics until her marriage in 1881.

Similar informal appointments of old students were made at the other women's colleges during the 1870s and 1880s. The first lecturer[5] at Newnham was Mary Paley (1850-1944), who had scored on the borderline of a first class in the Moral Science Tripos. She lectured in political economy from 1875 to 1876 when she married the economist Alfred Marshall. Her appointment was followed by those of Ellen Crofts (later Darwin) as history lecturer in 1878 and Penelope Lawrence as lecturer in natural sciences in 1879. Both women had received second classes in the Tripos. None of these three stayed in full-time academic work, although Paley lectured part-time at Newnham between 1885 and 1908. Crofts resigned her lectureship after her marriage in 1883, while Lawrence became the founder and first headmistress of Roedean School in 1897. Many of these early women academics came from or married into distinguished intellectual families. For instance, Emily Penrose, later the principal of Somerville, was related to the Arnolds, to the novelist Mrs. Humphry Ward, and to the Huxleys. Several women academics were related to the Stephen family. Katherine Stephen, vice-principal of Newnham (1889-1911) and principal (1911-20) was the great-granddaughter of James Stephen, MP, and member of the Clapham Sect. Her brother Harry

---

[5]The term `tutor' and `vice principal' denotes residence, while `lecturer' denotes non-residence.

Lushington Stephen married Barbara Nightingale and was related through her to Anne Jemima Clough. She was also distantly related to the historian and Liberal Cabinet minister H.A.L. Fisher, whose wife Lettice was a tutor at St. Hugh's.[6]

Somerville College was the first of the Oxford women's colleges to develop its own set of tutors. Under Madeleine Shaw Lefevre, Lilla Haigh (1860-1926), who had read history at Somerville was appointed as resident tutor in 1882. Her appointment was followed by those of Isabella Don as English tutor in 1884, Margaret Seward, later McKillop, as natural science tutor in 1885, and Clara Pater, the sister of the philosopher, as Latin tutor in 1886. Seward and Don were old students of Somerville, while Clara Pater was entirely self-educated.[7]

The first resident tutors at LMH, known as vice-principals, were appointed as much to help Elizabeth Wordsworth run the Hall as to teach. Edith Argles, one of the first LMH students, was appointed as vice-principal in 1883. Argles had been a personal favourite of Wordsworth, and came from a similar High Anglican background. Argles was joined by another old student, Edith Pearson in 1888. A third old student, Annie Sellar, was appointed in 1889 when Argles left LMH to run the Women's University Settlement. None of these three was particularly academically distinguished. Argles received second class honours in the

---

[6]Noel Annan, `The Intellectual Aristocracy,' in J.H. Plumb, ed., Studies in Social History (London, 1955), pp. 258-9 and 274-7.

[7]Janet Courtney, Recollected in Tranquillity (London, 1926), p. 227.

Women's Examination in ancient history, which was taken by women before they were admitted to the Final Honour School of Literae Humaniores in 1888. Pearson earned second class honours in Philosophy and passed the Physics Preliminary. Annie Sellar received First class honours in Classical Moderations, the first public examination in Classics. Argles and Sellar coached students in Classics, while Pearson coached them in Mathematics. None of these three, however, continued in academic work; Argles and Pearson both became heads of women's settlements, while Sellar returned home to Scotland to care for her parents.

Women known as vice-principals were also employed at Newnham to look after its constituent halls. The first of these was Helen Gladstone, the daughter of the Prime Minister. Gladstone (1849-1925) first came to Newnham in 1877 as a student. Although she passed the Higher Local Examination, she took no Tripos and did not teach. In 1880, she became secretary to Miss Clough and in 1882 became vice-principal of North Hall.[8] Gladstone herself recognised the importance of her family connections in enhancing the reputation of the college. When she was offered the headship of RHC in 1886, she feared the seeming shift in allegiance would harm Newnham:

> I know that my leaving for Holloway would do N. some harm...(some parents choose N. for love of my Father politically, or for love of him on Church or [short of that] on Christianity grounds.)[9]

---

[8]For more on Helen Gladstone's career, see Pat Jalland, Women, Marriage, and Politics (Oxford, 1986), pp. 282-4.

[9]H. Gladstone to E. Sidgwick (2 July 1886), 1888 Glynne Gladstone Papers, Hawarden.

Two years before, Gladstone had persuaded her brother Herbert to vote for the opening of some of the Honours examinations to women at Oxford, and in 1887 she succeeded in soliciting a contribution from her brother Harry to the Newnham building fund.[10]

Commenting on the importance of having a student like Helen Gladstone in the college, Eleanor Sidgwick stressed the necessity of including students from a mixture of social backgrounds to prevent the College becoming too much a place for the training of teachers.[11] Most women training as teachers, of course, came from middle-class or even lower middle-class backgrounds. Another aristocratic student, the Honourable Eva Knatchbull-Hugesson, who was at Newnham from 1883 to 1886, denied that social class had any influence on college life. She contrasted Newnham with the men's colleges, with their high public school intake and elaborate catering arrangements.[12] At Westfield College, however, an upper middle-class atmosphere was cultivated. The college byelaws of 1884 specified:

> The Council shall not admit to the Entrance examination any candidate who is in their judgment likely to be an undesirable inmate of the college by reason of her character, previous education, social position or personal surroundings.[13]

---

[10]Helen Gladstone to Herbert Gladstone (24 April 1884), and Helen Gladstone to Harry Gladstone (11 May 1887), 957 and 970 Glynne Gladstone MS, Hawarden.
[11]Newnham Roll (January 1926).
[12]E. Knatchbull-Hugesson, `Newnham College from Within,' 1887, in Newnham Press Cuttings Collection, NA.
[13]Quoted in Janet Sondheimer, Castle Adamant in Hampstead (London, 1982), p. 40.

This attitude can be seen as part of a strategy to reassure parents and to deflect criticism. Higher education for women could be made more acceptable through its association with upper middle-class culture.

The first tutors at Westfield were appointed soon after the college's foundation. At this stage, suitable religious convictions and social background were more important than academic qualifications. Mary Petrie, who was tutor in English literature from 1882-1887, was the daughter of one of the founders of the college, the Evangelical Colonel Martin Petrie.[14] Similarly, Katharine Tristram, whom Constance Maynard had had for a pupil at Cheltenham, was the daughter of an Evangelical canon of Durham Cathedral. Tristram did her London B.A. while teaching mathematics at Westfield. In 1883, Constance Maynard persuaded a young Quaker student, Anne Richardson (1859-1942), to transfer from Newnham. Richardson became vice-principal and tutor in classics. She brought with her another Newnham student, Frances Ralph Gray, (1865-1935) who had received a second class in the Classical Tripos.[15] Gray also became a tutor in classics, where she mostly taught Latin and Greek at an elementary level.[16] Of the Westfield tutors only Anne Richardson remained as an academic throughout her career. Petrie gave up her post upon her marriage, Tristram became

---

[14]Mary Petrie had studied at University College London.
[15]Martha Vicinus, Independent Women, (London, 1985), p. 158.
[16]F.R. Gray And Gladly Wolde He Lerne and Gladly Teche (London, 1931), p. 37.

principal of a girls' school in Japan, and Gray eventually became High Mistress of St. Paul's Girls' School.

Royal Holloway College was opened in 1887 with its own staff of tutors. They had similar qualifications and career patterns to those of the tutors at Westfield. For example, the mathematics tutor Catherine Frost had received a third class in the second part of the Mathematics Tripos. Later she became librarian for the Cambridge Society for the Blind. Among those who eventually left RHC to become headmistresses of private schools were the German tutor Augusta Corry and the French tutor Marie Pechinet.

In the 1880s, a new departure was made at Bedford College in the appointment of four women lecturers: Edith Hervey in mathematics in 1881, Alice Gardner in history in 1883, Mary Forster in geology in 1885, and Catherine Raisin in geology and botany in 1886. Gardner left Bedford in 1884 to become history tutor at Newnham, where she had a distinguished career. Mary Forster had received a second class in the Natural Science Tripos in 1879. After a year she left Bedford to become a lecturer at Bryn Mawr College in the United States. Catherine Raisin replaced Forster as head of the geology department in 1886, where she remained until 1920. She also served as head of the botany department until 1908, when it was separated from geology.

As has been seen, the first women tutors often did not have strong academic qualifications; many were appointed informally at colleges where they had been as students, and they often did not remain in academic work. This career pattern was not, however, exclusively characteristic of

women academics. Appointments of male tutors at Oxford were made informally through connections as well in the late nineteenth century.[17]

Intergenerational Conflict

The professional expectations of the first generation of women tutors occasionally led to conflict with the early women principals. Although such controversy inevitably had personal aspects, it was also caused by confusion over what constituted the proper role, status, and behaviour of the resident woman tutor, and what her relationship to her students and to the principal should be.

The earliest conflict occurred between Emily Davies while mistress of Girton and her first resident tutor, Louisa Lumsden. As a student, Lumsden had strongly felt the isolation of Hitchin from Cambridge and the absence of older women as advisers.[18] Therefore, as tutor, she tried to simultaneously act as friend, counsellor and nurse to the students. Lumsden was particularly concerned with their health, for which there was no special provision at Girton. Davies, however, believed that Lumsden fussed excessively over the students. Her view was that with the right sort of encouragement and education, women students were capable of taking care of themselves.[19] Lumsden's concern with the health of her students led her to encourage physical education. She tried to introduce a gym uniform similar to

---

[17]Mark Curthoys, `The Collegiate Pattern in the New Era,' Draft Chapter in The History of the University of Oxford, v. 7, 1988, p. 102.
[18]Louisa Lumsden, Yellow Leaves (Edinburgh, 1933), p. 58.
[19]Stephen, pp. 293-4.

one she had used as a girl at a school in Belgium, but the more conservative Davies feared that the uniform might be improper and could lead to criticism of the college. Fanny Metcalfe, the headmistress of Highfield School, Hendon, who was a member of the Girton Committee believed that Davies treated Lumsden as if she were a student instead of a member of staff:

> The gymnasium will give us trouble but I think the time for sumptuary laws has past....Is it worthwhile to irritate the students at every point with the Committee's authority? The heads of colleges do not, I imagine worry themselves about the cricketing and boating dress.[20]

To some extent, Davies saw her staff as subordinates, as teachers were to a headmistress, rather than as colleagues. Lumsden herself, however, was no more able than Davies to think of other staff members as equals, as shown by her reaction to Davies' appointment of Mary Kingsland. In Davies' version:

> Miss Lumsden...thereupon came to me to ask if Miss K's position would be the same as hers, and if so, she must resign. I told her that Miss K being so much younger, her position would of course be different, but I was not prepared with exact definitions. Accordingly she suggested that she should not sit at our table and should otherwise remain in the position of a Student.[21]

Lumsden felt threatened by the appointment of the much younger woman to a position similar to her own. There were no rules governing how tutors were appointed and what was

---

[20]F. Metcalfe to B. Bodichon (12 July 1874), Bodichon Papers, GA.
[21]E. Davies to B. Bodichon, (4 November 1874), Bodichon Papers, GA.

expected of them. With little conception of professional behaviour, business and personal relationships became inextricably fused.

The danger inherent in the failure to make appointments definite was revealed when, in the winter of 1875, Lumsden announced that she was unable to work during the May term, but then was outraged when she realised that Davies had interpreted her decision to mean that she was resigning, and had hired Elizabeth Welsh in her place.[22] It seems probable that Emily Davies used this opportunity to terminate Lumsden's employment. The two women had already quarrelled over Lumsden's attitude towards her students, while Davies complained to Barbara Bodichon about Lumsden's `self-asserting temper.' Davies was not, however ready to accept that resident tutors were a necessity. In the same letter to Barbara Bodichon, she suggested that teaching could be provided by older students.[23]

After Lumsden's resignation as tutor, however, her conflict with Emily Davies resurfaced in a different guise. In the spring of 1875, believing that it would be advisable to have an old Student on the Committee in anticipation of the day when the college would become self-governing, Fanny Metcalfe and Barbara Bodichon proposed the election of Louisa Lumsden.[24] Davies, supported by some of the other Committee members objected to this plan on the grounds that having an old student or officer of the college on the

---

[22]C. Maynard to B. Bodichon (20 Feb. 1875) and E. Davies to B. Bodichon (22 Feb. 1875), Bodichon Papers, GA.
[23]Davies to Bodichon, Ibid.
[24]F. Metcalfe to B. Bodichon (28 March 1875), Bodichon Papers, GA.

Committee would undermine the authority of the mistress.[25] Davies believed that the election of an old student should wait until the students as a body could choose someone, although, as has been seen, Davies never found the time ripe to elect the mistress or teaching officers to the governing body. When she failed to be elected, Lumsden left Cambridge, becoming the first headmistress of St. Leonard's School, St. Andrew's in 1877.

At Westfield, Constance Maynard's Evangelical commitment led to conflict with some of the younger tutors over religion. Anne Richardson, who was a Quaker, and Frances Ralph Gray objected to Maynard's attempts to control the students' pastimes; for example she forbade dancing, novel-reading and the poetry of Robert Browning, which she believed had a `heathen influence' on the girls.[26] They felt that such a religious standard was impossible to maintain; Maynard wanted Westfield called a Christian college, but Gray insisted that no such effort should be made to distinguish it from other women's colleges.[27]

As at Girton, there was also confusion at Westfield over how women staff should behave towards each other. As has been pointed out by Martha Vicinus and several other historians, women academics had to adapt the traditional feminine virtues of emotionalism, religiosity, and domesticity to the masculine values of rationality,

---

[25] E. Davies to B. Bodichon (27 April 1875), Bodichon Papers, GA.
[26] C. Maynard Autobiography, Section 7, pp. 286 and 357, and CLM Green Book (23 Dec. 1883), WCA.
[27] C. Maynard Autobiography, p. 296 and p. 334.

scientific knowledge and corporate loyalties.[28] Constance Maynard, in particular, found it difficult to reconcile her religious, emotional nature with the values of professionalism. Anne Richardson and Frances Ralph Gray both felt that Maynard went too far in her emotional demands upon her staff. Trying to escape from the pressures of her work and friendship with Maynard, in 1886 Gray moved out of college to live with her family. Maynard recorded one of their encounters:

> `I have wanted you so badly this term. I don't get over missing you, and now you refuse all my invitations, and you are making me afraid of you.' I stretched up my arms to her, but she put them down instantly saying wildly, ` I'm glad you are a little afraid of me...perhaps it will make you treat me with more respect.'[29]

Anne Richardson tried to describe Gray's feelings:

`Ralph...has come to feel that in personal absorption there is a danger and a wrong that she can scarcely express, but feels intensely.'[30] Maynard oscillated between expecting Gray and Richardson to `behave like dutiful daughters under her leadership, or to be equals upon whom she could lean in troubled times.'[31] Despairing of her effort to work with Maynard, Gray left Westfield for good in 1893 to become

---

[28]Martha Vicinus, `One Life to Stand Beside Me,' Feminist Studies, 3 (Fall 1982), p. 607, Elizabeth Edwards, `Educational Institutions or Extended Families?' Gender and Education, 2 (1990), pp. 17-18 and Carol Dyhouse, `Miss Buss and Miss Beale: Gender and Authority in the History of Education,' in F. Hunt, ed., Lessons for Life (Oxford, 1987)..

[29]CLM Green Book (11 April 1886), WCA.

[30]CLM Green Book (17 April 1886), WCA.

[31]Vicinus, `One Life to Stand Beside Me,' p. 615.

headmistress of St. Katherine's, the preparatory school for St. Leonard's.

Conflict also arose at LMH, where the vice-principal Edith Pearson and some of the students objected to Elizabeth Wordsworth's unprofessional methods and behaviour. Pearson believed that in spite of Wordsworth's intelligence and accomplishments, she did not possess the rational, objective outlook or consistency of behaviour which should be expected from a woman principal:

> Miss Elizabeth never seemed able to grasp the meaning of words, though very much interested in them....equally incapable of grasping a general principle or thinking a question out to its logical conclusion. Had not the least conception what an intellectual difficulty meant. When she was consulted, she dealt with it by a reference to some passage in the Bible, which she regarded as final.[32]

Lacking a systematic education, Wordsworth was not intellectually disciplined and tended to rely more on religion than on scientific reasoning. More seriously, Pearson believed that although Wordsworth was interested in her students as individuals, she did not take her responsibilities for them as seriously as a woman principal should. She cited the example of Wordsworth's flippant attitude towards a student who had accidentally knocked over and killed an old man in a cycling accident.[33]

---

[32]Interview with E. Pearson (5 Oct. 1936), E. Jamison Reminiscences Coll., LMHA.
[33]Ibid.

Furthermore, Wordsworth did not recognise the need to be consistent in her maintenance of discipline at LMH. An old student recalled:

> I was going away for this Sunday. Miss Words. had told me what a good thing it was that I should go away a second time,--most excellent plan she thought it. Enter Miss Pearson the following day, to say that Miss. Words. of course did not know the rules, and if I wanted to go away very much I might, but....[34]

Pearson admitted, however, that Wordsworth gradually became more academic and conventional in her running of LMH.[35]

The most important intergenerational conflict occurred between Agnes Maitland, the second principal of Somerville and Bertha Johnson, secretary of the AEW and later principal of the Home Students. Although Maitland was only three years younger than Johnson, and neither had been to college, her outlook was much more professional. Maitland was committed to the women's colleges developing their own tutorial staffs along the same lines as the men's colleges. This policy led to conflict with Bertha Johnson over who had primary responsibility for women's education in Oxford, the AEW or the women's halls. Maitland and her supporters resented the way the AEW relegated the halls to the role of boarding houses. In 1890, the Somerville history tutor Eleanor Powell wrote to Bertha Johnson:

> Perhaps you would like to know that many of the students, when I distributed the Calendars expressed a strong feeling against the statement that the Halls are

---

[34]E. Jebb to D. Kempe (Nov. 1906), E. Jamison Reminiscences Coll., LMHA.
[35]E. Pearson to E. Jamison (5 Oct. 1936), Ibid.

> `approved by the association.' They do not seem to consider that the Halls need such a testimonial at this period of their lives--and I agree with them.[36]

Maitland also complained to Johnson about one student who was expected to attend an AEW class to make up the numbers, and another who expressed a preference for the Somerville tutor Clara Pater rather than the tutor assigned by the AEW.[37]

This dissatisfaction eventually resulted in the recommendation of a sub-committee of the AEW Council in 1893 to give more control of students' education to the principals of the halls.[38] In response, Bertha Johnson argued that the AEW provided the best method of arranging the education of women students, because it allowed for freedom of choice, economy of cost and labour, and facilitated the dispensing of information and the maintenance of discipline. Through her husband, she had seen the problems of the college system as regarded the duplication of teaching in the men's colleges and did not wish this pattern to be repeated.[39] Underneath these objections was a fear that the increased strength of the halls would push out the Home Students, as well as a desire to retain the personal contact with all the women students which she enjoyed as secretary of the AEW.[40]

---

[36]E. Powell to B. Johnson (7 Dec. 1890), B. Johnson Papers, SAA.
[37]A. Maitland to B. Johnson (29 Oct. 1891), Ibid.
[38]AEW Committee Minutes (1 Feb. 1893), MS. Top. Oxon. d. 1047, Modern Manuscripts Reading Room, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
[39]`General Principles,' MS (January 1893), B. Johnson Papers, SAA.
[40]Notes about relation of Halls to AEW, undated, Ibid.

Mrs. Johnson's devotion to the AEW showed her adherence to the original system whereby lectures for women were centrally organised, and were primarily given by university men. It was becoming increasingly apparent, however, that the future of the women's colleges lay in developing their own tutorial staffs if women were ever to achieve an equal place in the university.

In 1894 Johnson, discouraged by hard work and opposition, resigned her post as secretary of the AEW, while retaining that of principal of the Home Students, to which she had been elected in 1893. Under her replacement, Annie Rogers, the powers of the AEW were significantly reduced, and the principals and tutors gained more control over the education of their students.[41] Somerville assumed the title `college' as opposed to `hall' in 1894.[42] In the AEW Calendar of 1895, for the first time the students were listed according to their hall or college.

The outcome of the AEW controversy committed the women's colleges to developing their own tutorial staffs. In future women tutors would have to be well-qualified to fulfill their position as academics. By the end of the nineteenth century, the concept of qualifications for professional work had spread from male professionals to middle-class working women. At the 1899 conference of the

---

[41]Regulations concerning tutors (1894), AEW Miscellaneous Papers, in Bodleian Library, Oxford.
[42]Vera Farnell, A Somervillian Looks Back (Oxford, 1948), p. 21.

International Council of Women, Ethel Hurlbatt, principal of Bedford College, gave a talk on professions open to women in Great Britain. In her definition of `profession,' she included all occupations which required a definite preparation, such as medicine and nursing.[43] The necessity of an adequate preparation was also advocated by secondary school teachers in their attempts to be considered as professionals. Only university-educated teachers had any hope of professional advancement.[44] Those with first class honours usually were appointed at a higher salary, and Oxford or Cambridge honours were often seen as preferable for a headship.[45]

A similar upgrading of the qualifications of the Oxford and Cambridge women tutors began to be seen in the late 1880s and 1890s. In 1886, the Somerville history tutor Lilla Haigh was let go to be replaced by old Somerville student Eleanor Powell, whose first class in the Honours School of Modern History compared favourably to Haigh's third. This was in keeping with the policy of the men's colleges, where in 1892, over 80 percent of the teaching fellows had First Class degrees.[46] Haigh, who had been a secondary school teacher before coming to Oxford, eventually became headmistress of Reading High School.

---

[43]Countess of Aberdeen, ed. `Women in Professions,' in International Congress of Women of 1899 (London, 1900), p. 31.
[44]Joyce Pedersen, `Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses,' Journal of British Studies 15 (1975), p. 152.
[45]Ibid.
[46]Curthoys, p. 84.

The Somerville tutorial staff was greatly strengthened under the principalship of Agnes Maitland. It soon became clear that Clara Pater was an anachronism among the increasingly well-qualified staff. Edith Pearson recalled:

> Miss P[ater] used to try to see how little could be done in the hour....Once Pater and two students sat over the fire talking for the whole hour--then Pater said she must go.[47]

Clara Pater had taken Madeleine Shaw Lefevre's place during her absence in 1885-6, but upon her return was manoeuvred out of a bid to be elected as vice principal when the Somerville Council decided the post was unnecessary.[48] Several years after Pater left Somerville, however, Alice Bruce was appointed as vice principal.[49]

Clara Pater was replaced by the Girton classics scholar Hilda Lorimer (1873-1954), who became an authority on Homeric Greece. Under Maitland's leadership, several other women tutors were appointed who become distinguished academics, such as the modern languages scholar Mildred Pope (1872-1956), who became reader in French philology in 1928, and the English scholar Phoebe Sheavyn (1865-1968). The other women's colleges in Oxford gradually followed Somerville's example in appointing their own staffs of tutors of whom a high standard of academic attainment was expected. For instance, the appointment of Winifred

---

[47]E. Pearson to E. Jamison (5 Oct. 1936), Jamison Reminiscences Coll., LMHA.
[48]Somerville Council Minutes (12 Feb. 1887) and (8 March 1887), SCA.
[49]Ibid., (24 Oct. 1898).

Mammatt as vice principal of St. Hugh's in 1900 was understood to be only temporary because she did not possess the requisite academic qualifications for the post.[50] At LMH, Eleanor Lodge (1869-1936), later a distinguished historian and principal of Westfield College was appointed as the first resident tutor in 1899. Lodge had originally been invited to help Miss Wordsworth in 1895; she received room and board, and the proceeds of coaching students, but had no salary from LMH.[51] The regularisation of her appointment was a step towards professionalisation at LMH.

Distinguished appointments were also made at the Cambridge women's colleges in the 1880s and 1890s. For instance, Charlotte Scott (1858-1931), who had been classed as equal to the eighth wrangler in the Mathematics Tripos in 1880, was appointed in that year as resident lecturer at Girton. She later received a D.Sc. from London University. Her appointment was followed by that of E.E.C. Jones, who had received a first class in the Moral Science Tripos in 1880, as lecturer in 1884. She published several philosophical works and was elected as mistress of Girton in 1903. At Newnham, Mary Bateson (1865-1906), who had received a first class degree in the History Tripos in 1887 was appointed as lecturer in 1888 and Philippa Fawcett (1868-1948), the daughter of the suffragist Millicent Fawcett, was appointed as lecturer in 1892. Philippa Fawcett had been classed above the senior wrangler in the

---

[50]Obituary of Winifred Mammatt, The St. Hugh's Chronicle (1939-41).
[51]Eleanor Lodge, Terms and Vacations (Oxford, 1938), pp. 82-83.

Mathematics Tripos of 1891. Finally at Girton, Ellen McArthur (1862-1927), who gained a first in the History Tripos, was appointed in 1886; she would have a long and distinguished career at Girton.[52]

The conditions of appointment became more regularised in the 1890s, at least at the larger, more professionally-developed colleges. In 1892, the Newnham Council voted that all `appointments should be terminable after reasonable notice by a vote of two-thirds of the whole council.'[53] In 1894, the Somerville Council decided to appoint a committee to consider and report on the conditions of tutorships.[54] By 1904, the Council introduced a policy of appointing new tutors for one or two years initially, and, if they proved satisfactory, for five-year periods. At Westfield, however, appointments remained fairly informal into the twentieth century. When E. M. Delf was appointed as botany tutor in 1906, she received verbal confirmation of her appointment from a former Westfield student, and nothing was mentioned about residence or salary.[55]

The Women's College as Community

Women's colleges were not solely concerned with producing first classes in the Tripos or the Final Honours Schools. In Martha Vicinus's view, the residential women's

---

[52]Many of the new women tutors who possessed high academic qualifications were born in the latter half of the 1850-1875 generation. The were able to take advantage of the improvements in girls' schooling of the 1870s, giving them some advantage over their predecessors.
[53]Newnham Council Minutes (30 April 1892), NA.
[54]Somerville Council Minutes (5 March 1894), SCA.
[55]E. M. Delf Smith TS Memoir, pp. 4-7. WCA

colleges were examples of communities which created an alternative to the family for single women, providing opportunites for meaningful work, friendship and public recognition.[56] This ideal was expressed by Eleanor Lodge, who came to LMH as a student in 1890 and stayed until 1921.

> I always reckon my real life to have begun in 1890, the year in which I went to Lady Margaret Hall, and the contrast with my happiness there, has perhaps made the previous time seem blacker to me than it really was. The very fact of having a room of one's own, a place where one not only could work, but was expected to work, the possibility of independence, or arranging one's time for oneself, of getting up and going to bed according to one's own ideas and not those of others, made each day an adventure and a joy.[57]

Vicinus suggests that women's colleges enabled academics to follow their profession in the context of a common life that was peculiarly liberating for women. Professional development was constrained, however, to some degree by the continuing need for caution and by the poverty and limited size of the women's colleges. While the concept of community provides a useful framework for describing life within the women's colleges, it must be stressed that these communities were neither closed nor static. Many women lecturers remained in the colleges for only short periods of time; others like Annie Rogers disliked the idea of life in a residential community.[58] Furthermore, it must be

---

[56]A similar analysis of life in a women's college is Patricia Palmieri's study of Wellesley College in Massachusetts, `Here was Fellowship,' History of Education Quarterly, 23 (1983).

[57]Lodge, p. 41.

[58]A. Rogers to R. Butler (8 July 1934), R. Butler Papers, SAA.

remembered that as well as being examples of institutions created by and for women, the women's colleges were reflections of the male communities which existed alongside them.

The idea of community was particularly applicable in the early years, when the women's colleges were still small and relatively isolated from the rest of the university. Within the college community, the first generation of college-educated women had close relationships with each other and with their students. Margaret Tuke (1862-1947), who was appointed in 1889 to help Helen Gladstone at Newnham, wrote:

> Life as a don did not greatly differ from that I had led as a student. I set papers instead of answering them, gave lectures, instead of sleeping through them, took part in student activities--tennis, political, debating, acting.[59]

At Cambridge, women staff joined students in sport, social clubs, and academic societies. For instance, in 1882, Charlotte Scott was a member of the debating society and played gravel-court tennis, while Elizabeth Welsh was the president of the lawn tennis club and of the poetry society.

Friendship between students and staff was encouraged by the fact that they were close in age. Frances Ralph Gray, who was twenty-two at the time of her appointment at Westfield, recalled that most of the students, who often came to the college after several years spent teaching or as a daughter at home, were older than herself.[60] The average

---

[59]M.J. Tuke MS Autobiography, p. 73, Copy in Newnham College Library.
[60]Gray, p. 37.

age of the women tutors at Cambridge was twenty-eight in 1884; by 1894, however, it had increased to thirty-three.

As the women tutors at Cambridge grew older, and the students increasingly came up straight from school, the staff gradually withdrew from many activities, although they continued to participate in academic societies and the Women's University Settlement.[61] In the 1870s and 1880s, the small size of the colleges meant that everyone had to take part in order to sustain clubs and activities. As the Cambridge women's colleges grew larger, however, it was no longer necessary for the staff to participate. At the smaller Oxford and London women's colleges, staff continued to join in student activities in the 1890s and 1900s. Recalling her first year of teaching at LMH, Eleanor Lodge wrote, `I was very little removed from the students, with whom I did everything much as in my college days.'[62] Similarly, Lilian Faithfull (1865-1952), who taught at RHC from 1889 to 1894 recalled that relations between the staff and students were `unusually intimate.'[63]

Warm relationships between students and staff members are, however, recalled by many women who were students at the turn of the century. As a student at Somerville, Grace Hadow (1900-1903) was befriended by Alice Bruce, who `drew her into college problems, as was natural in these earlier days when seniors and juniors often lived together more

---

[61]See Girton Review (1895).
[62]Eleanor Lodge, Terms and Vacations (Oxford, 1938), p. 85. Also see Faithfull, p. 115 and M.J. Powell, Royal Holloway College (Privately Printed, 1937), p. 22.
[63]Lilian Faithfull, In the House of my Pilgrimage (London, 1924), pp. 93-94.

closely.'[64] The relationships between students and staff depended, of course, to some degree on the individual. While some, like Lilian Faithfull and Eleanor Lodge regarded their students as friends, others assumed an affectionate, motherly role. The novelist Flora Mayor, who was at Newnham from 1892 to 1895, wrote of Katharine Stephen (1856-1924), the vice principal: `Miss Stephen came to see me last night. She gives the sweetest hugs of anyone I know.'[65] Eleanor Sidgwick, however, was described by a Newnham student as `remote.'[66] Women academics thus varied in the way they adapted their understanding of feminine behaviour to the exigencies of their professional position. In general, however, early women tutors seemed to be admired by their students. This positive image can be seen in an article in an illustrated paper of the 1890s featured flattering portraits of Eleanor Sidgwick, Helen Gladstone, and lecturers Jane Harrison and Mary Ellen Rickett.[67]

Was the closeness of students and staff recalled by some women particularly characteristic of the women's colleges? At the Oxford and Cambridge men's colleges, nineteenth-century fellows also tended to be young, although once they were given permission to marry, the age gap between tutors and their students increased. Forty-two percent of Oxford tutors were under thirty in 1874, while

---

[64]Helena Deneke, Grace Hadow (Oxford, 1946), p. 30.
[65]Quoted in Sybil Oldfield, Spinsters of this Parish (London, 1984), p. 34.
[66]Ann Phillips, ed., A Newnham Anthology (Cambridge, 2nd ed., 1988), p. 14.
[67]Christabel Osborn, `Newnham--and After,' The Windsor Magazine, 4 (July-November 1896). A similar illustrated article appeared in the Pall Mall Budget (12 June 1890).

only 12 percent were under thirty in 1900.[68] Male dons at Oxford encouraged college clubs and societies and participated in sports in the late nineteenth century.[69] Elizabeth Wordsworth's brother John, who was a tutor at Brasenose `took a step towards less formal relations by addressing his pupils by their surname only.'[70] Yet while many male tutors are remembered as advisers and friends, the intimate, personal relationships of tutors and students seemed to be more typical of the women's colleges.

Another important component of the professional ethos of the women's colleges was belief in the ideal of social service. Women academics shared this commitment with their male counterparts. The `ideal of service' derived in part from the ideas of the Oxford philosopher T.H. Green (1836-1882). Like many male and female academics, Green came from an Evangelical home where self-examination and a sense of the duty of each individual to serve God were encouraged. Green sought to `turn those disciplined in Evangelical families away from religion as a means of personal salvation in the next world to improving the condition of this one.' His doctrines of the responsibilities of citizenship towards social and political reform can be partly understood as a `surrogate faith.'[71]

Academics attempted to fulfil their perceived obligations to society through the promotion of social causes outside or in conjunction with their teaching and

---

[68]Arthur Engel, From Clergyman to Don (Oxford, 1983), p. 294.
[69]Curthoys, p. 130.
[70]Ibid.
[71]Melvin Richter, The Politics of Conscience (London, 1964), p. 19.

research responsibilities. For women, the ideal of service fit in well with their traditional caring role. Early women educationists such as Dorothea Beale and Ellen Bishop compared their teaching work to the religious vocation of a nun.[72] Even in the twentieth century, Hilda Oakeley could write: `This was the beginning of the sense of vocation of which I was conscious--we had "Vocations" in those days--and which made it a happiness to labour for students.'[73] Women academics also promoted the establishment of charitable societies at their colleges. At RHC, the students formed a Waif and Stray society, which adopted a little girl, and had her trained as a domestic servant.[74] Constance Maynard believed that part of the purpose of a residential college was to encourage students' interest in social questions.[75]

This sense of social responsibility led both male and female academics into using their skills to promote working class education through the University Extension Movement and the Workers' Education Association. In the 1900s, Marie Stopes gave extramural lectures on paleobotany in the slums.[76] Similarly, both male and female academics spent some time doing work for schools. Eleanor Lodge and a group of male academics founded the Oxford National Education Association which provided classes and lectures for

---

[72]Josephine Kamm, How Different from Us (London, 1958), p. 32 and Lilian Faithfull, In the House of my Pilgrimage (London, 1924). p. 92.
[73]Hilda Oakeley, My Adventures in Education (London, 1939), p. 93.
[74]RHC Letter (April 1893).
[75]Haldane Comm., Appendix to Third Report, PP 1911, XX, p. 635.
[76]Hall, p. 56.

elementary school teachers.[77] Margaret Seward McKillop of King's, Margaret Taylor of RHC, and Jane Kirkaldy of Somerville all published textbooks or introductory works on their subject.

In spite of their commitment to social reform, some women academics still found it necessary to guard the upper middle-class identity of their colleges. Discussing the possibility of establishing university extension courses at King's College Women's Department, the staff expressed concern over `the danger of the introduction of a new class of student.'[78] Similarly, a statement from Westfield to the Haldane Commission explained its decision not to receive a large number of scholars from elementary schools, which would have qualified it for public funding, by emphasising that Westfield served the needs of the daughters of professional men, and the common life it had established for them would be threatened by the influx of a large number of girls trained in the elementary system.[79] At King's and Westfield, it appeared that charity did not necessarily begin at home. In spite of their limited resources, the King's and Westfield authorities believed in the value of maintaining the status of their colleges as institutions of higher education for ladies.

Martha Vicinus makes the point that some women academics `devoted their entire lives to a single college,

---

[77]Eleanor Lodge, Terms and Vacations (Oxford, 1938), pp. 113-114.
[78]King's College Women's Department Staff Meeting (9 June 1902), KCWA.
[79]Haldane Comm., Appendix to Third Report, PP 1911, XX, p. 636.

willingly forgoing the privileges and salaries of headmistresses.'[80] This point must not, however, be overstated. Some women viewed employment at a women's college as one stage in a career in college or secondary school teaching. Others left to marry.[81] Furthermore, those who had life careers in academia were willing to leave the college communities in which they lived for better paid or more prestigious positions. For instance, Emily Penrose was appointed as principal of three women's colleges in an increasing order of prestige; she was principal of Bedford College from 1893 to 1898, principal of RHC from 1898 to 1907 and principal of Somerville from 1907 to 1926. Eleanor Lodge was devoted to LMH where she lived as a student and then as a tutor from 1890 to 1921. She left, however, when she failed to be appointed principal:

> I may as well confess that the dream of my life had always been to end my days as Principal of Lady Margaret, and although I was almost positive that I should not be chosen, failure in my application was bound to be a blow, and I did not feel equal to going on under a new principal, whoever she might be.[82]

She accepted the post of principal of Westfield College, where she remained until her retirement ten years later. As has been seen, after forty years, Mildred Pope left Somerville for Manchester University. In spite of their loyalty to the women's colleges, women academics were ready

---

[80]Vicinus, Independent Women, p. 149.
[81]In 1894, 8 percent left to marry and 17 percent became teachers or headmistresses.
[82]Lodge, p. 191.

to take up the advantages of a headship or a high-ranking post at a coeducational university.

Vicinus also hypothesises that academic women, like other single women, found in close friendships with other women a substitute for family life. `Celibacy, within the context of loving friendships, became a vital and empowering ideal.'[83] Vicinus uses Constance Maynard's relationships with Louisa Lumsden and fellow Westfield tutors Frances Ralph Gray and Anne Richardson as a case study.[84] She believes that these relationships, while they lasted, were emotionally and possibly sexually fulfilling.[85] Perhaps, however, Vicinus exaggerates the extent to which women academics found fulfilment through single-sex relationships. It is difficult to know if the friendships between Constance Maynard and her fellow teachers were representative of the experience of other academic women; Maynard's diaries are the only detailed accounts of the emotional life of women at a residential college available.

Furthermore, while the main figures in Maynard's personal life were women, she had had a painful early relationship with a man. The summer before she attended Girton, Maynard fell in love with her cousin's husband, the St. Andrew's professor Lewis Campbell. Any relationship between the two was, of course, impossible. As well as being married, he was a free-thinker. Describing her feelings for Campbell in her autobiography, Maynard wrote:

---

[83]Vicinus, Independent Women, p. 5.
[84]Vicinus, `One Life to Stand Beside Me,' p. 603.
[85]Vicinus, Independent Women, pp. 158-160.

> I felt that intangibly exquisite feeling that I had never passed that way....Two or three men have loved me but the side I turned to them seemed involuntarily to freeze up, to be wholly unable to respond; the harder the pressure the more firmly the door was shut. But to Lewis I opened.[86]

After this experience Maynard seemed to reject the possibility of relationships with men. She refused a proposal of marriage from a distinguished minister with some misgivings; upon the opening of Westfield College in 1882, she wrote that she heard `the clang of the iron Convent gates, [knowing] my fate was irrevocable.'[87] For the rest of her life, Maynard devoted herself to her female friends.

In some respects, the claustrophobic world revealed by Constance Maynard's diaries gives an unrepresentative picture of the life of women academics. In addition to the resident tutors, many women academics were non-resident, or coached students on an occasional or part-time basis. These women were much cheaper to employ, as they only received fees for teaching. In Oxford, between 1887 and 1902, the AEW calendars include the names of thirty-one women lecturers. Among this number were the tutors of the women's colleges as well as a few women who were employed full-time by the AEW over many years, such as Annie Rogers and Edith Wardale. There were twelve women, however, who had no connection with the women's colleges and only worked on an occasional basis.

---

[86] Quoted in Catherine Firth, Constance Louisa Maynard (London, 1947), p. 99.

[87] Section 43, p. 122, C. Maynard MSS Autobiography.

Several of these women were the wives and daughters of academics or other Oxford residents. Elizabeth Wright, the wife of the Taylorian lecturer Joseph Wright taught for the AEW, as did Rachael Lane Poole, the wife of Dr. Reginald Lane Poole, Fellow of Magdalen. Although much of the teaching these women did was at an elementary level, a few women also did advanced teaching and research. Elizabeth Wright worked with her husband on The English Dialect Dictionary, while Mrs. Lane Poole did research in history on her own and in collaboration with her husband.[88] Olwen Rhys, the daughter of the professor of Celtic, taught part-time for the AEW for twenty-five years before she accepted a lectureship in Old French at the Society of Home Students. She also examined for Pass Moderations and for the Welsh Board of Examiners. Similarly, Edith Mary Miller, who worked with Elizabeth Wright on the English Dialect Dictionary taught for the AEW for almost twenty years.

Opportunities also existed for the informal tutoring of Girton and Newnham students. Newnham students benefited particularly in this respect because of the college's close connection with the university and Cambridge residents. The advantage of part-time coaching was that it could be combined with women's role as wife and mother. Old Newnham students Mary Paley, Mary Martin and Margaret Merrifield all went on coaching after their marriage to Cambridge dons.[89] As part-time workers, however, married women lost many of

---

[88]See Elizabeth Wright, The Life of Joseph Wright, i (London, 1932) and Bodleian Quarterly, (Spring 1937).
[89]Mary Hamilton, Newnham (London, 1936), p. 113.

the advantages of professionalisation, and reduced the number of full-time positions available for women academics.

Women were also employed in Oxford independently by the University Museum to assist in research. This was at a time when the presence of women was not officially recognised by the University. Florence Buchanan, part-time lecturer in zoology at RHC from 1899 to 1921, worked as a curator in the Oxford zoological department from 1905 to 1907, and did independent research from 1906 onwards. Other women worked informally, often gaining their jobs through relatives. Igerna Sollas, the daughter of the professor of geology, worked as an assistant in his department--she later became lecturer in zoology at Newnham. E.F. Bellamy, a relative of F.A. Bellamy, the assistant at the Observatory, undertook paid work computing observations for the Astrographic Catalogue. She was formally appointed assistant in 1913-14.[90]

An Emerging Profession

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, women academics began increasingly to think in terms of life careers in the university. Of the women academics in the 1884 cohort, a lower percentage remained in the academic profession--21 percent as opposed to 36 percent in 1894, and 54 percent in 1904. In this, they followed the example of Oxford and Cambridge men, who, as has been seen, became able

---

[90]This information is extracted from the Annual Report of the Delegates to the University Museum, Oxford University Gazette. I was not able to find similar examples from the Cambridge Museum or other university departments.

to think realistically about life careers in the university after the relaxation of the celibacy requirement.

Adequate salaries were imperative if women were to have careers as academics. The second generation of women principals, although still low-paid, expected more in the way of salaries than their predecessors had. For instance, in 1896, after two years as the head of King's College Women's Department, Lilian Faithfull requested a higher salary; it was raised from £120 to £150 per year.[91] Faithfull was dependent on her earnings to support herself. Even those women who could afford to work voluntarily realised the importance of being paid for their work. Constance Maynard said that although she would have happily given her services at Westfield without remuneration, she `was persuaded that this would not be fair towards other women who might need all of whatever remuneration might be available.'[92] Maynard recognised that working voluntarily would damage the professional position of women academics as a whole.

Resident women tutors at Newnham in 1884 were guaranteed a minimum salary of £100 per year, as well as board and residence.[93] Their salaries were partly made up of fees for teaching students and partly a retaining fee paid by the college. In years when there were many students, salaries would rise above £100. Similarly, tutors

---

[91]King's College Women's Department Committee Minutes (8 May 1896), KCWA.
[92]E.M. Delf Smith TS Memoir, p. 22, WCA.
[93]Newnham Council Minutes (17 May 1884), NA. Salaries at Girton could not be determined as the Council minutes were unavailable for consultation.

at the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges in the 1890s were paid a retaining fee of from £20 per year to £60 per year, plus board and residence, with a guarantee of up to £150.[94]

In fact, the salaries of women tutors would change little before the First World War.[95] Although no figures could be found for salaries at RHC, Bedford and Westfield in the 1890s, there is some indication that they remained at similar levels to those at the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges up to the First World War. Among the London colleges, RHC and Westfield had an advantage in that they provided accomodation for their tutors. Receiving £100 per year as non-resident lecturer at Bedford College in 1910, Marion Pick described her financial situation as `desperate.' She took a residential post at RHC where she received £120 a year plus room and board, which compared favourably to Bedford where she had been forced to spend her salary on a rented room.[96]

The salaries of women academics were modest by comparison to the prospects of women graduates in other professions. Graduate teachers in secondary schools in the late 1880s earned comparable incomes to women academics:

---

[94]E. Burrows to Dr. Magrath (13 Sept. 1900), Tutors Coll., SHIA, Somerville Council Minutes (11 May 1896), SCA, St. Hugh's Committee Minutes (29 Oct., 1895), SHUA.

[95]For example, Lynda Grier and Jessie Slater were appointed as lecturers at Newnham College in 1913 at £120 per year. Newnham Council Minutes (13 Nov. 1913), NA. This in part reflected the fact that real wages only increased slightly during the period 1890 to 1914. See B.R. Mitchell, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 344-45.

[96]Marion Pick MS Autobiography, p. 77, RHCA.

from £105 to £120 a year rising to £140 to £150.[97] As early as 1876, secondary headmistresses earned much more, on average £400 per year, rising as high as £2000 or £3000.[98] Women journalists in the 1890s might earn from £200 to £400 a year, while women doctors earned a starting salary of £100 to £150, which would increase as they gained more experience.[99] By 1914, women doctors working in the public health sector earned from £250 to £400 or £500.[100]

Many women tutors found it difficult to make ends meet on their small salaries. Margaret Tuke wrote that she was only able to take the post of French tutor at Newnham in 1892 because she possessed a sufficient income of her own.[101] Some women had to take on extra teaching or lecturing to augment their incomes.[102] Women academics continued, however, to be reluctant to ask for better pay. Marion Pick wrote of the period before the First World War:

> So the question of salaries was like a skeleton in the cupboard; on the whole it was hardly ever to the fore in conversation, but sometimes it did rattle and demand attention, although conversation about financial difficulties was not <u>comme il faut</u>. I remember one such being closured by Miss Block saying, `Single ladies do not really require so much money.'[103]

---

[97]Clara Collet, <u>Educated Working Women</u> (London, 1902), p. 7.
[98]Pedersen, p. 150.
[99]David Rubenstein, <u>Before the Suffragettes</u> (Sussex, 1986), pp. 80-85.
[100]Morley, p. 158.
[101]M.J. Tuke MS Autobiography, p. 71, copy in Newnham College Library.
[102]C. Spurgeon to E. Harvey (23 June 1911), C. Spurgeon Papers, BCA and Pick, p. 177.
[103]Pick, p. 176.

The English tutor Katherine Block, born in 1866, was of an older generation than Pick, who was born about twenty years later.[104] Pick's generation of tutors would later demand higher salaries when the inflation of the First World War period made their financial position intolerable.[105]

The dedication of many women academics to their colleges meant that they were reluctant to demand more than they felt their colleges could afford. Edith Pearson went as far as returning a cheque for £25 given to her by the LMH Council as remuneration for her cataloguing the library. She wrote that the catalogue was her cherished scheme and gift to the Hall.[106] Margery Fry believed that the women's colleges thought that offering low salaries would attract the right sort of loyal, self-sacrificing individual. She wrote that `to trust to getting good people from un-mercenary motives was a very unsound principle.'[107]

There was also an idea that the intellectual rewards of an academic career compensated for the lack of financial rewards. As late as 1919, Eleanor Sidgwick wrote that she did not think salaries should be too high as it might attract young people who were not really suited to an academic career.[108] Younger women like Margery Fry, however, were beginning to recognise that the willingness to accept low salaries, rather than benefiting the women's

---

[104]Pick took the Oxford Final Honours Schools in 1907.
[105]Pick, p. 176.
[106]E. Pearson to W. Spooner (8 March 1902) in LMH Council Minutes, LMHA.
[107]Quoted in E. Huws Jones, Margery Fry (London, 1966), p. 66.
[108]E.M. Sidgwick to B.A. Clough (30 March 1919), E. Sidgwick Papers, NA.

colleges, degraded the professional position of all academic women. Edith Morley, lecturer at King's College Women's Department and Caroline Spurgeon of Bedford College both refused some work at an unnamed women's college because of its low salary. Morley wrote:

> The woman who was ultimately appointed was offered nearly double the sum we had rejected. We used to instance this as a proof that it was useful for women not absolutely dependent on their earnings to enter the labour market since only they could stand out against sweating. For it was in these days constantly necessary to justify a girl's desire for economic independence which was supposed to militate against the unfortunates who were obliged to work--an argument never raised in reference to her brothers.[109]

Morley recognised that only women with some independent means could afford to demand higher salaries.

In the nineteenth century, the academic profession was too small and fragmented among different institutions to possess its own association. This was equally true of the male and female sides of the profession. In contrast, American women academics were represented by the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, founded in 1881.[110] In the 1890s, however, there were several women's professional organisations which women academics in Great Britain were able to join. The University Club for Ladies, of which a number of Oxford and Cambridge women tutors were members,

---

[109]E. Morley TS Autobiography, Morley Papers, Reading University Archives.

[110]Barbara Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women (New Haven, Connecticut, 1985), pp. 135-36 and Roberta Wein, `Women's Colleges and Domesticity,' History of Education Quarterly (Spring 1974), p. 33.

was founded in London in 1887. The Club was open to graduates of any university, registered medical practitioners, students or lecturers who had been in residence for at least three terms at one of the Oxford or Cambridge women's colleges, and undergraduates of any university who had passed the examination next after matriculation.[111] Other women, not fulfilling those qualifications, such as the early principals, were elected by special ballots.[112] The conditions of membership were thus designed to include Oxford and Cambridge women as well as those who had received the BA. In fact, the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges as well as the University of London each had representatives on the Club's Committee. In 1900, B.A. Clough, the Newnham vice-principal, and Elizabeth Guinness, a RHC tutor, sat on the Committee.[113]

Some women academics were also members of the University Association of Women Teachers. The UAWT was formed in 1883 with the intention of helping place university graduates in teaching posts. It thus involved close cooperation between women tutors and headmistresses. In 1883-4, Frances Ralph Gray was Chairman, Anne Jemima Clough was president, and Alice Gardner was Honorary Secretary.[114] Another organisation which involved both women academics and secondary school teachers as well as many other professional women was the National Union of

---

[111] University Club for Ladies, Rules 1900-1903.
[112] Ibid.
[113] University Club for Ladies, List of Members, 1900.
[114] University Association of Women Teachers, Report of the First Annual Meeting and of the First Year's Work of the Association (October 1884).

Women Workers, established in Nottingham in 1895. Its founders were `moved by an earnest wish to do what they could for the cause of mankind, by helping the cause of women.'[115] At its first conference an education committee was proposed, and one of the chief topics of discussion was the higher education of women.[116] Agnes Maitland delivered a paper entitled `The Student Life of Women in Halls of Residence.' The NUWW was affiliated to the International Council of Women in 1898, and in 1918 assumed its present title of the National Council of Women.

Women academics in the 1890s were thus beginning to think in terms of careers for themselves in the universities, demanding higher salaries and joining organisations of professional women. This decade, however, also saw a setback for women's university education in the failure of the move for degrees first at Oxford and then Cambridge.[117] Two earlier moves at Cambridge in the 1880s had proved unsuccessful. The 1881 effort had resulted, however, in the Senate putting women's informal admission to examinations on a permanent basis, an important victory.[118]

The two Cambridge campaigns of the 1880s brought out the divisions between the Girton and Newnham supporters. Henry Sidgwick hoped that the 1881 proposal would regularise the arrangements under which students had been taking

---

[115] Women in a Changing World (London, 1966), p. 219.
[116] Ibid., p. 221.
[117] These controversies have been discussed in detail by Annie Rogers in Degrees by Degrees (Oxford, 1938) and in Rita McWilliams-Tullberg, Women at Cambridge (London, 1975) and her `Women and Degrees at Cambridge,' in Martha Vicinus, ed., A Widening Sphere (Indiana, 1977).
[118] Stephen, pp. 323-4.

examinations, but Davies feared that any arrangement which would formalise the system under which Newnham students were not required to fulfil the same conditions as the male undergraduates would encourage separate education for women. Although this disagreement was resolved by simply accepting the different conditions under which Girton and Newnham students took the examinations, the conflict reappeared in 1887 when Emily Davies led a movement for degrees of which the success of a Girton student, Agnata Ramsay on the Classical Tripos of that year was the catalyst. Henry Sidgwick felt that it was too early to ask for degrees, as well as continuing to object to the Previous Examination and the Poll Degree. Although the two sides eventually agreed to differ yet again, the agitation was unsuccessful.[119]

In Oxford, too, the degree controversy was noteworthy in the divisions it revealed among the supporters of women's education. The issue was first raised at a AEW meeting in 1894.[120] As had occurred during the 1893 crisis, Bertha Johnson stood out against many of her friends in her opposition to the degree proposal. Johnson believed that the B.A. degree, which she described as `a boot made to suit men rather than women' limited women's freedom of choice regarding examinations, curriculum, and time.[121] Among her arguments were the following:

> [The B.A.] would destroy the variety and elasticity of the present Education both of women and girls by

---

[119] Ibid, pp. 323-330.
[120] Rogers, p. 27.
[121] Ruth Butler and M.F. Prichard, eds., The Society of Oxford Home Students (Oxford, 1930), p. 46.

> practically imposing a curriculum based on classics, that the time of students would be wasted by having to read for pass examinations in Latin and Greek, instead of reading the Honour studies which they preferred, and which would be more educationally beneficial.[122]

Mrs. Johnson also feared that time spend on intermediate work would take away from the `invaluable experience of contact with great minds;' she feared an increase in the number of women reading for pass degree courses and was worried about the toll examinations would take on women's health.[123] Instead, Johnson proposed that the university should meet the demand for a recognised qualification for women by offering them an alternative diploma which did not insist on residence.[124]

The issue of residence was the cause of a disagreement between Bertha Johnson and Elizabeth Wordsworth. Wordsworth thought that residence, particularly in a hall was important for women students.[125] She objected to the diploma because it did not insist on residence, fearing that without compulsory residence, the women's halls, into two of which she had invested much of her own money, might go bankrupt.[126] Johnson, however, feared that compulsory residence would threaten the position of the Home Students.[127]

Subsequently two petitions were submitted to the Hebdomadal Council, one asking for the granting of a B.A. to

---

[122]AEW Council Minutes (15 Dec. 1894).
[123]Evidence given by B. Johnson to Hebdomadal Council on Degree Question, B. Johnson Papers, SAA.
[124]Butler, p. 48.
[125]E. Wordsworth to B. Johnson (14 Dec. 1894), Wordsworth Papers, LMHA.
[126]E. Wordsworth to B. Johnson (7 March 1896), Ibid.
[127]W.A. Spooner to B. Johnson (17 May 1895), Ibid.

women who had fulfilled the statutory requirements and an alternative diploma for those who had resided three years and passed a preliminary, intermediate and honours examination, and one from Bertha Johnson and her supporters asking for a diploma without residence. Several women academics were asked to give evidence to the Hebdomadal Council, the first time women had been asked to appear before representatives of the university.[128] Evidence was given by, among others, Elizabeth Wordsworth, Agnes Maitland, Bertha Johnson and Annie Rogers.

The case for the degree was based on evidence collected from women teachers citing cases where their lack of a degree had been a disadvantage in their professional life. For instance, after leaving Somerville, Lilian Faithfull was refused a post at a high school in the Midlands because she had no degree.[129] These considerations did not affect academic women, however; at the university level the value of a class in the Tripos or Oxford Final Honours Schools was well-known. Edith Wardale suggested that a possible advantage of the degree for academic women was that it would facilitate entry to foreign graduate schools.[130] She herself had received a Ph.D. from Zurich University. A few Oxford and Cambridge women academics, however, were able to find jobs at North American colleges and universities, without their lack of a degree being a handicap. For instance, Grace Hadow (1875-1940), who later became a tutor

---

[128]Butler, pp. 48-51.
[129]Faithfull, p. 73.
[130]E. Wardale to A. Rogers (7 Sept. 1895), A. Rogers Papers, SAA.

at LMH and principal of the Home Students, spent a year teaching at Bryn Mawr in 1903-4.[131] Hilda Oakeley was lecturer in philosophy and warden of Royal Victoria College at McGill University, Montreal from 1899 to 1905; she was succeeded as warden by Ethel Hurlbatt, formerly of Bedford College, who stayed from 1907 to 1929.

Mrs. Johnson and her supporters presented evidence showing that there were in reality few cases of hardship resulting from the absence of the B.A. degree, because the Oxford Final Schools were accepted as equivalent to a B.A. by most headmistresses. In the event, the proposals to grant degrees and a substitute diploma to women were defeated in Congregation in March 1896.[132]

In 1895, the Cambridge Senate agreed to appoint two committees, one of resident members of the Senate, and one of representatives of the two women's colleges to consider the admission of women to degrees. The Secretaries to the Syndicate collected evidence from teachers who claimed hardship, as had been done at Oxford.[133] The terms of the debate in Cambridge, however, were somewhat different than they been in Oxford. Unlike Oxford, where the arguments over the question of the greater freedom of the regulations for women had divided Bertha Johnson from the rest of the Oxford women principals and tutors, by this time the Girton and Newnham dons had resolved their differences. While

---

[131] Deneke, p. 38.
[132] Ibid., pp. 49-50.
[133] S. Bryant to the Secretaries, Degrees for Women Syndicate (4 Nov. 1896), Synd. II .17, CUA.

Eleanor Sidgwick still believed the Higher Local was a more worthwhile examination than the Previous, she now felt that the question of curricular reform was distinct from that of degrees.[134]

Although they had originally hoped to ask for both degrees and membership of the university, the Cambridge women and their supporters changed their demand to one for titles of degrees, as had been requested in Oxford, because of perceived hostility in the university.[135] Their opponents believed, however, that the women's supporters would not be contented until they were granted membership, the move for degrees being only `the thin end of the wedge.'[136] Bertha Johnson and Alice Stopford Green, the widow of the Oxford historian J.R. Green both wrote to the Times criticising the Cambridge degree party. Green accused them of political dishonesty in claiming they did not want membership, because in reality it was impossible to separate the question of degrees from membership. Bertha Johnson wrote in a similar vein that degree titles would give the erroneous impression that women were members of the university, possessing the right to vote for the university M.P. and cognisant of Latin and Greek.[137] Eleanor Sidgwick responded, denying the charge.[138] The question was indeed complicated by the fact that if women were admitted to the M.A., they would technically be eligible to elect the

---

[134]E. Sidgwick to the Secretaries of the Admission of Women to Degrees Syndicate (7 Dec. 1896), Synd. II 18, CUA.
[135]E. Sidgwick to the Times (21 May 1897).
[136]G.F. Stepney to the Times (10 April 1897).
[137]Times (19 May 1897).
[138]E. Sidgwick to the Times (21 May 1897).

university M.P., at a time when women were not allowed to vote in national elections.[139]

In the event, the proposal for the titular degree was defeated 1707 to 661 in the Senate.[140] Following the defeat, undergraduates suspended an effigy of a woman in bloomers riding a bicycle from the roof of the Senate house. The effigy clearly satirised the women's emancipation movement, which had been identified with Girton since its foundation. A woman student at Newnham during the controversy recalled that `after the failure of 1897, feeling was running high and some dons closed their lectures to women.'[141] Indeed, as would be seen again in 1920, women seemed to arouse greater hostility in Cambridge than they did in Oxford.

The failure of the degree movement at Oxford and Cambridge actually had more significance for the professionalisation of teachers than for academic women. The B.A. would have been beneficial as a qualification for teachers; however neither Oxford nor Cambridge were asking for membership of the university at this time, which would have had very real benefits for academic women in giving them a vote in the university legislative bodies, a role in decisions about university curriculum, and automatic access to university libraries and laboratories.

During the Oxford and Cambridge debate over degrees, the idea of a separate women's university which granted its

---

[139]McWilliams-Tullberg, `Women and Degrees at Cambridge,' p. 118.
[140]Stephen, p. 326.
[141]H.J. Hartle reminiscence, Material Not Used for Anthology, NA.

own degrees was raised several times.[142] The scheme arose again at the end of 1897, when the governors of Royal Holloway College called a conference to ascertain if there was any demand for a women's university. Alternative proposals were that RHC should be made a separate, degree-granting institution, or that it should attempt to affiliate itself with the new teaching university of London.[143] The founder Thomas Holloway had modelled the college after the degree-granting women's colleges of the United States. Most of the women teachers and educationists who attended the meeting, however, were opposed to the creation of a separate women's university. The representatives of the women's colleges who attended included Eleanor Sidgwick, Elizabeth Welsh, Annie Moberly, Constance Maynard, Lilian Faithfull, Ellen Bishop and Emily Penrose.[144] Bertha Johnson also spoke, calling herself a `speckled bird' because she could see the case both for and against the idea of a women's university.[145] The majority at the conference, however, concluded that the foundation of a women's university would mean accepting the idea that women's education was separate and inferior to men's. The students and lecturers at such an institution would be isolated from the latest developments in scholarship, and from the sources of

---

[142]Rogers, pp. 46-47 and Stephen, pp. 333-4.
[143]Caroline Bingham, The History of Royal Holloway College, (London, 1987), pp. 87-92.
[144]University Degrees for Women. Report of a Conference Convened by the Governors of Royal Holloway College and Held at the House of the Society of Arts on Saturday 4 December 1897 (London, 1898) and Gillian Sutherland, `The Plainest Principles of Justice,' in F.M.L. Thompson, ed., The University of London and the World of Learning (London, 1990).
[145]Butler, p. 67.

endowments. A similar agitation in Germany came to a similar conclusion in the late 1890s.[146] While separate degree-granting colleges for women were acceptable in the United States with its plurality of separate colleges and universities, in Great Britain, the way to legitimise education for previously excluded groups had hitherto been and would continue to be in associating with existing institutions of higher education.

At the same time that women academics were campaigning for recognition at the ancient universities, more women began to appear in responsible positions at the London colleges. The educational standards of Bedford College were greatly improved under the principalship of Emily Penrose. Penrose had been a student at Somerville where she was the first woman to achieve a First in the Final Honour School of Literae Humaniores. Under her leadership, the number of women academics at Bedford was increased and their position was improved; Penrose herself acted as professor of ancient history at Bedford while principal. Under her, besides the women heads of department, were three competent assistant staff members: Kathleen Fitzgerald in Latin, Rosetta Hellings in French, and Alice Lee in mathematics. Both Fitzgerald and Lee did research and published. Lee was the first recipient of the Reid Fellowship for post-graduate work, founded in 1897, and was eventually awarded a D.Sc. by London University. Emily Penrose was also able to solve

---

[146]James C. Albisetti, Schooling German Girls and Women (Princeton, 1988), pp. 200-202.

many of Bedford's administrative problems, and did much to encourage corporate life there.[147]

A similar pattern occurred at King's College Women's Department after the appointment of Lilian Faithfull as vice-principal in 1894. Like Penrose, she was a product of Somerville and attempted to introduce the academic standards and corporate traditions of Oxford into the new college. She wrote in her autobiography:

> From the moment I took up my work at King's College my mind was full of the idea of creating a true University College in Kensington, and I soon began to select from my classes the most promising students and encouraged them to study English Literature seriously, and to begin to prepare for examinations.[148]

Indeed under Faithfull many more students read for London degrees as well as for the Oxford Finals.[149] Caroline Spurgeon, one of the first professors at London University gained a first in the Oxford Final Honour School of English in 1899. As part of her effort to make the women's department into a college, Faithfull began to appoint women staff.[150] The first such appointment was that of Emma Buchheim, the daughter of the professor of German who started out by helping her father with his teaching; in 1895, however, she was appointed assistant lecturer in German and eventually herself became head of the German

---

[147]Tuke, pp. 165-7.
[148]Faithfull, p. 104.
[149]Neville Marsh, Queen Elizabeth College (London, 1986), p. 27.
[150]Before this time, a few women had lectured at KCW such as Helen Beloe, who gave talks on Egyptian antiquities from 1889 to 1895. These were for general interest, however rather than part of an academic program.

department. Faithfull also appointed two Oxford contemporaries, Margaret McKillop to teach intermediate mathematics and natural science in 1896, and Margaret Lucy Lee to teach English in 1898. Like Faithfull, McKillop had also been a lecturer at RHC, showing the development of networks among academic women and their importance in the making of appointments. Together with McKillop and Lee, who were also influenced by the corporate traditions of the Oxford women's colleges, Faithfull encouraged the growth of clubs and societies at Kings, which she participated in herself as she had at RHC.[151]

Conclusion

In the 1890s, an embryonic academic profession for women became institutionalised at the Oxford, Cambridge, and London women's colleges. During this period, the terms of appointment for tutors were regularised and a high level of academic attainment became an informal condition for appointment, excluding a few women who had not been to college or had received poor results. These new women academics increasingly had paid--if ill-paid--careers in college teaching. At their colleges, they promoted academic societies, sport, and a general sense of community. The professional ethos of the women's colleges emphasised the values of hard work, thrift, gentility and friendship, as well as incorporating the nineteenth-century impulse towards social reform.

---

[151]Faithfull, p. 115.

The extent of professional development at this stage must not, however, be exaggerated. Unlike the men's colleges, the women's colleges were not self-governing, and the women tutors had little say in policy decisions which were made by the principal and council. Because of their dispersal over a number of institutions, women academics identified more with their college than with the profession as a whole. Unlike in the United States, they had no representative professional association. Moreover, at Oxford and Cambridge, women were not part of the university, so women academics had neither official status nor a voice in the discussion of curriculum or other university matters. The failure of the movement for degrees of 1894-7 ensured that the status quo would remain for some time to come, and in Cambridge at least, created fresh hostility towards university women. Finally, the outlines of the academic profession for women were blurred by the presence of women doing occasional and part-time work and by the interchange of personnel with the secondary teaching profession.

As has been seen, before 1900, professional development occurred almost entirely within the enclaves of the women's colleges, as the number of women academics at coeducational universities was negligible. Only in the twentieth century did women begin to gain a modest share in the male side of the profession.

CHAPTER SIX:

EXPANSION OF WOMEN'S ROLE IN THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION 1897-1914

As has been seen, before 1900 a very limited academic profession for women existed chiefly in the Cambridge, Oxford and London women's colleges. In the early twentieth century, however, women staff began to be appointed in significant numbers at the coeducational London colleges and civic universities. At the same time, increases in student numbers at the women's colleges enabled more tutors to be appointed. With these developments, academic teaching began to be perceived as a viable profession for women to follow. Women's Work, a careers handbook published in 1894, referred to the presence of a few residential posts at Oxford and Cambridge in the following way: `These are not well paid, and are chiefly attractive for the pleasant university life they afford.'[1] By 1911, however, university work was described as `a fascinating career for the keenly intellectual woman with a love of teaching.'[2] Similarly, in Women Workers in Seven Professions (1914), the King's College lecturer Edith Morley devoted a substantial part of a chapter to the academic profession for women.

The growing assimilation of women into the male academic profession can be seen by their increasing commitment to

---

[1]Agnes Amy Bulley and Margaret Whitely, Women's Work (London, 1894), p. 20.
[2]Mostyn Bird, Women at Work (London, 1911), p. 168.

research, their growing participation in college and university government and their admission to learned societies. The extent of these changes did, of course, depend on the institution in question. For instance, at the University of London, women academics were given a place on the Faculty Boards in 1900, while at Oxford and Cambridge, they were not granted this privilege until the 1920s. At all three universities, however, poverty, prejudice, and the tension between careers and marriage created differences between the way the academic profession developed for men and women.

Women Academics and Coeducational Universities

Women were initially appointed at coeducational universities at the lowest level. For instance, the distinguished UCL egyptologist Margaret Murray began her academic career as an assistant to the professor, Flinders Petrie. Women also found employment at UCL in Karl Pearson's eugenics laboratory.[3] Pearson, who held the chair of Applied Mathematics and Mechanics at UCL from 1884 to 1933, founded the Biometric Laboratory in 1900 to collect statistics; in 1906, it was merged with the Eugenics Record Office and renamed the Galton Eugenics Laboratory. In 1908 five of fourteen workers were female. Pearson admitted that he hired women partly for economic reasons as they could take part-time work while living at home with their families.

---

[3]Rosaleen Love, `Alice in Eugenics Land,' in Annals of Science, 36 (1979), pp. 145-50.

The few women who did attain senior positions at coeducational institutions faced problems not found at the women's colleges. The university authorities found it difficult to reconcile the traditional image of women with their new status. On her first day as lecturer at Reading University College, Edith Morley was reprimanded for smoking in the Senior Common Room, although her male colleagues had always done so with impunity.[4] Four years later, Morley and the other women staff members successfully resisted an attempt to start a small common room for women, which they feared would exclude them from university business.[5]

More serious was the controversy over the appointment of the professor of English at Reading in 1907. Upon the reorganisation of what had been Reading College along university lines, the heads of departments were renamed professors. Morley, who was head of the English department, believed that English was not slotted for reorganisation because the new university did not want to be the first in Britain to give a woman the title of professor. After she threatened to resign, a compromise was made whereby a man was appointed as professor of English literature and Morley was termed professor of English language, although her speciality was literature.[6] W.M. Childs, the principal, maintained that Morley was not appointed because she did not possess the requisite qualifications.[7] Whatever the truth

---

[4]Edith Morley, `Looking Before and After,' TS p. 94, Morley Papers, Reading University Archives. Morley held a joint appointment at King's and Reading until 1914.
[5]Ibid., p. 100n.
[6]Ibid., pp. 115-117.
[7]W.M. Childs personal notes, 1912, Morley Papers, RUA. Although Morley had studied at King's College for Women and

was, it was clear that the university had difficulty accepting a woman in a position of authority, because when Morley requested an assistant, they told her she must hire a woman; a man could only be appointed if he were nominally attached to the Dean of the Faculty.[8]

Manchester University expressed similar reservations upon the appointment of Marie Stopes as lecturer in paleobotany in 1904:

> A good many people will be watching with interest what is a new experiment up here and the future chances of women for similar posts will depend a good deal on the success or non-success of the present appointment.[9]

As can be seen, women appointed to senior positions sometimes found themselves forced to act as representatives of their sex. Thus, while the majority of women academics were clustered in low-status positions, the few who did attain senior rank found themselves in an isolated, uncomfortable situation. Entry into the coeducational colleges and universities changed the context but not the substance of women's subordinate place in the academic profession.

An exception to this pattern was the experience of women at the London School of Economics. Women had been admitted to the LSE from its foundation in 1895. Before the First World War, women were well-represented in the student

---

was an Associate of King's College, she had not met the conditions of the London B.A.

[8]Morley, `Looking Before and After,' p. 119.

[9]F.E. Weiss, Professor of Botany at Manchester University to Marie Stopes (July 1904), quoted in Ruth Hall, Dr. Marie Stopes (London, 1977), p. 51.

body: for instance, in 1911, there were three women to every five men.[10] The first three women research students were appointed in 1896.[11] Between 1897 and 1932, ten of the twenty-seven research studentships went to women.[12]

Women at the LSE were less well-represented, however, at the lecturer level. In 1914, for instance, there were only three women on the regular staff, although many were employed as visiting lecturers. Nevertheless, in many respects the LSE was an attractive place for women scholars. Relations between students and staff were friendly regardless of race, nationality or gender.[13] The conservative writer Esme Wingfield-Stratford, who held a research studentship at the LSE in 1904, believed that it was dominated by women:

> The ladies there, and particularly those of them who formed its constant nucleus and gave it its distinctive tone, were only too desperately convinced of their mission as women, with a big W, to reform society.[14]

The connections between women, social reform and the study of social science will be explored below.

---

[10] Reports and Minutes of Evidence of the Royal Commission on University Education in London (Haldane Commission) PP 1911, xx, p. 568.

[11] Janet Beveridge, An Epic of Clare Market (London, 1960), p. 16.

[12] Maxine Berg, `The First Women Economic Historians,' unpublished paper given to the Economic History Society, 1988, p. 12.

[13] See Berg, pp. 13-14 and Mary Stocks, My Commonplace Book (London, 1970).

[14] Esme Wingfield-Stratford Before the Lamps Went Out (London, 1945), p. 195.

Women Academics and the Expanding Curriculum

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the curriculum of British universities expanded as new disciplines were created.[15] Therefore, as well as increasing in numbers, women academics were found in a wider range of subjects by 1914. The expansion had both positive and negative implications for women university teachers. In Oxford, two new Honours Schools, English and modern languages became a source of conflict between male and female academics. Another new area, social science had more positive implications for women academics. Both men and women were eager to enter the new field, which had a special significance for women because of its connection with their traditional sphere. During this period, more women taught in scientific subjects, although they were still in a minority. Domestic science, a new field of study which had particular relevance for women, was ironically a source of controversy among women academics.

As has been seen, initially the greatest demand for women tutors was in classics and mathematics at Cambridge, and in history, English and modern languages in Oxford and London. At the women's colleges, the number of women tutors in each subject corresponded roughly to the percentage of women students. Students tended to choose disciplines which had been well taught at their schools or which they believed would be useful for teaching. English and modern languages fulfilled both these criteria, while history was perceived

---

[15]On these developments, see Michael Sanderson, The Universities and British Industry (London, 1972).

as a good intellectual training for whatever a woman chose to do.[16]

In Cambridge, the Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos were first examined in 1886, while in London, these subjects were part of the syllabus well before the arrival of women, but in Oxford, English and modern languages were initially studied only by women students. Several of the women tutors who taught in these areas were distinguished scholars, notably the English lecturer Edith Wardale and the French scholar Mildred Pope. The creation of the Honours Schools of English and Modern Languages in 1894 and 1903 respectively placed these tutors in a peculiar position, as the teaching structures which they had built came into competition with the new provisions made by the university. Moreover, not being members of the university, women dons found themselves excluded from the new faculties in which decisions over curriculum were made.

This type of controversy arose over the English Fund, which was founded in 1907. Its purpose was to finance lectures, classes and private tuition in a new School which had no endowment and in which there were not at first enough male candidates to make it worthwhile for the colleges to appoint tutors. Each college was required to pay £5 per student per term into the fund.[17] For male undergraduates,

---

[16]J. Howarth and M. Curthoys, `Gender, Curriculum and Career,' History of Education Society Occasional Publication, 8, (1987), pp. 8-11.
[17]David J. Palmer, The Rise of English Studies (Oxford, 1965), pp. 130-2.

the fee was simply a redistribution of the money normally paid to the university.[18]

Although the scheme was reasonable and even progressive in its encouragement of a new discipline, for the women's colleges it was expensive and in some respects unnecessary. Before the imposition of these fees, the women tutors had offered their own lectures which were paid for by the students. After the foundation of the English Fund, however, the women were forced to curtail their own lectures because the students' fees were now going to the Fund, and it was therefore more economical for them to attend the lectures provided by the university.[19] The situation was partly rectified by the recognition of certain AEW tutors by the English Board in 1909 and the invitation to the members of the AEW to consult with the Board on the lecture lists in 1910.[20]

Similar problems arose upon the creation of the Honour School of Modern Languages. Previously, men had studied modern languages only for the B.A. Pass examination or as an additional subject in Responsions. Lectures and a library were provided by the Taylorian Institute, founded in 1848.[21] Although the women tutors had been preparing students for

---

[18]Elizabeth Wright, The Life of Joseph Wright, ii (1932), p. 490.
[19]Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities, PP 1922, X, Appendix 11, p. 284.
[20]See AEW Education Committee Minutes (12 March 1909), MS. Top. Oxon. d.1051, Department of Western MS, Bodleian Library and Minute Book, Board of English Language and Literature (23 Nov. 1910), UBS/M/2/4, Oxford University Archives.
[21]See Charles Firth, Modern Languages at Oxford (Oxford, 1929).

honours examinations in modern languages for twenty-five years, they found themselves excluded by the new faculty:

> Mildred Pope [the Somerville French tutor] is the only person in Oxford who knows about considerable parts of the subjects (she has been coaching the Reader in French, himself a Frenchman, on some of them)--but she can only be consulted in a back-stairs way.[22]

The women tutors resented the way their students were subjected to the financial demands of the Taylorian, while they had no voice in policy decisions. In 1910, the women tutors decided to boycott the Taylorian, upon the imposition of a new flat fee for its use.[23] They also felt that the Taylorian staff ignored their suggestions for lectures, and that the lectures were better suited to the more elementary knowledge of the male undergraduates, than to women students, many of whom were planning to teach languages in schools. By not sending their students to the Taylorian, the women's colleges would save money, and would still be able to make use of AEW and university lectures.[24]

The experience of women academics was more positive in the emerging social sciences. The connection between women and social science had its origins in women's traditional involvement in philanthropy, which was perceived as a logical extension of the domestic sphere.[25] The professionalisation and bureaucratisation of philanthropy in

---

[22]Enid Huws-Jones, Margery Fry (London, 1966), p. 62.
[23]AEW Education Committee Minutes (10 Feb. 1910), MS Top. Oxon. d.1051.
[24]Ibid., (3 Dec. 1909).
[25]See Frank Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy and Anne Summers, `A Home from Home--Women's Philanthropic Work in the Nineteenth Century,'in Sandra Burman, ed., Fit Work for Women (New York, 1979).

the early twentieth century led women into the study of economics, sociology, and social administration at the universities, a pattern which was also seen in the United States.[26]

In the 1880s and 1890s, the settlement movement had provided an outlet for both men and women academics anxious to become involved in social reform. The first settlement, Toynbee Hall, which was founded in 1884, was supported by Oxford and Cambridge male academics. In 1887, women from Oxford, Cambridge, Westfield and Royal Holloway colleges set up their own Women's University Settlement in Southwark. Ten years later LMH founded an Anglican settlement in Lambeth.[27] Several women academics chose to be full-time settlement workers; for instance, Eleanor Powell moved from the history tutorship of Somerville to be honorary treasurer of the WUS in 1893, while Edith Pearson moved from vice-principal of LMH to head of its settlement in 1902. Martha Vicinus suggests that settlements particularly appealed to university women because they replicated the community life of their colleges.[28]

The women's settlements differed from the men's in both structure and approach. While male university graduates tended to spend a short time in a settlement before embarking on another career, women spent more time there, and increasingly used their experience in the settlement as

---

[26]Barbara Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women (New Haven, 1985), p. 82.
[27]See William Reason, ed., University and Social Settlements (London, 1898) and Martha Vicinus, Independent Women (London, 1985), Chapter 6.
[28]Vicinus, p. 213.

a training ground for social work.[29] In the early twentieth century, there was a movement toward professionalisation in the women's settlements. Eleanor Powell called for `the need for systematised professional training.'[30] This need was made evident during Helen Gladstone's tenure as head of the WUS (1901-1906), which brought forth complaints about her lack of leadership, administrative skills and old-fashioned attitudes.[31] These demands led to the establishment of one-year courses of training at both the WUS and LMH settlements linked with the Charity Organisation Society's School of Sociology.[32]

The School of Sociology was absorbed into the LSE in 1912, becoming the department of Social Studies and Administration. This new discipline attracted the largest number of women students at the LSE; many used it as training for the government's factory inspectorate, one of the earliest opportunities for paid social work to be opened to women.[33] Mary Stocks recalled that these aspiring social workers were somewhat looked down upon by the other students:

> (The) diploma in social studies was created which produced a mainly female group working under Professor Urwick, to which we gave the name `Urwick's harem.' Some of us who were working for the BSc (Econ) adopted an attitude towards these potential social workers

---

[29]Ronald Walton, Women and Social Work (London, 1975), pp. 53-54.
[30]Reason, p. 100.
[31]Vicinus, p. 225.
[32]Katherine Thicknesse, MS Account of the LMH Settlement, LMHA.
[33]Philippa Levine, Victorian Feminism (London, 1987), pp. 93-96.

> which can only be described as tainted with intellectual snobbery.[34]

There were two women tutors in the social studies department in 1913-14, Nora Milnes, who later served as director of the Edinburgh University School of Social Studies, and the LSE graduate Mildred Bulkeley. By 1923-4 there were four women tutors in social studies at the LSE and four at Bedford College's department of Social Administration.

Mary Stocks was one of a smaller group of women who read economics. Women economists were also concerned with the implications of their discipline for social policy. An early example was the Newnham lecturer Mary Paley.[35] One of her students of the 1880s recalled `She looks at Political Economy from a philanthropic woman's point of view.'[36] Paley and her husband Alfred Marshall combined teaching and research with practical involvement in trying to improve the condition of the poor. Alfred Marshall described this commitment:

> I have had a good deal of indirect experience of the working of the Charity Organisation Societies. I have been a member of them for a great many years, and at Oxford and Cambridge my wife has been an active member of the committee. We make it an invariable rule to discuss the questions in detail if they have any difficulty at the next meal after she comes back.[37]

---

[34]Stocks, p. 82.
[35]Newnham economists Geraldine Jebb and Lynda Grier also made a connection with their discipline and social reform. See Francesca Wilson,`Gem Jebb,' undated, p. 13, BCA and LMH Brown Book (May 1968), p. 30.
[36]Victoria Glendinning, A Suppressed Cry (London, 1969), p. 71.
[37]A. Marshall to the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor (5 June 1893), PP 1895, XV, q. 10,237.

Mary Paley Marshall also promoted research into social conditions among her students. Eglantyne Jebb, who later founded the Save the Children Fund attended Paley Marshall's lectures in economics in the early 1900s; when she complained of lack of occupation, Mrs. Marshall suggested that she work for the COS. With help from other university women, Jebb compiled the influential Cambridge: a Social Survey, published in 1906, a register of charities which was actually a survey of poverty in Cambridge.[38]

Women's work in philanthropy also encouraged the development of social administration as a university discipline in Oxford. As at Cambridge, philanthropy at Oxford was dominated by networks of women, many of whom were academics themselves or were the wives and daughters of academics. An example was Lettice Fisher, the wife of H.A.L. Fisher. She received a first from Somerville in 1897 and was one of the first research students at the LSE in 1897-8. While history tutor at St. Hugh's from 1902 to 1913 she was active in the COS and the Sanitary Aid Commission, and was the Founder of the Oxford Health and Housing Association in 1905. She was best known, however, for her infant welfare work--she was chairman of the National Council for the Care of the Unmarried Mother and her Child from 1918 to 1949. She objected to the policy of taking illegitimate children away from their mothers.[39] Like Marshall, she encouraged one of her students, Violet Butler

---

[38]Francesca Wilson, Rebel Daughter of a Country House (London, 1967), p. 103.
[39]Conversation with Fisher's daughter Mary Bennett (29 June 1989).

to become involved in social work; Butler went on to write an influential social survey of Oxford as Jebb had for Cambridge.[40]

The real impetus to social studies in Oxford came with the foundation of Barnett House in 1914. The idea for Barnett House, which was to be a centre of information on social and economic questions, originated with Reverend G.K.A. Bell, Dr. W.M.G. Adam, later Warden of All Souls, and Sidney Ball, Fellow of St. John's College.[41] When Barnett House opened there were four women on its council of eighteen. Violet Butler's survey helped her to secure a position as tutor to women students.[42] In 1919, she was made Secretary for Social Training, a position she retained until 1948, as well as being tutor to the Society of Home Students in economics from 1914 to 1945. The former LMH tutor Grace Hadow became head of Barnett House in 1920. By 1921, Barnett House had evolved into Oxford University's equivalent of a department of social work.[43]

Another field of study which women dominated academically, in fact almost completely dominated, was domestic science. At the turn of the century, there was discussion of the case for introducing domestic science, which had previously been only taught in schools and polytechnics, into universities.[44] From the beginning,

---

[40]See Brian Harrison, `Miss Butler's Oxford Survey,' in Halsey, Traditions of Social Policy (Oxford, 1976).
[41]Helena Deneke, Grace Hadow, (London, 1946), pp. 88-89.
[42]Harrison, p. 68.
[43]Norman Chester, Economics, Politics and Social Studies at Oxford (Oxford, 1984), p. 131.
[44]Domestic studies was an important part of the curriculum for girls in elementary schools, while there was debate over its introduction into secondary schools. See June Purvis,

however, domestic science proved to be a source of controversy. In 1894, a proposal to set up a `modern course' at Royal Holloway College including domestic economy and gardening met opposition from the women tutors, who believed the college should concentrate on preparing students for existing examinations.[45] Demand from students, however, led to the introduction of lectures on Household Management and Thrift at King's College Women's Department in 1897; a three-year certificate programme and post-graduate diploma were set up in 1908.[46] The rationale behind the new course was both to prepare women for governing their own homes and to train them for careers as inspectors or teachers of domestic science and hygiene.[47] King's remained the only university to offer a degree programme in domestic science until the University of Bristol introduced one in 1926.[48]

Women academics were divided in their opinion of the King's course. Lilian Faithfull, vice principal of the women's department from 1894 to 1907 described home science as a `branch of science specially appropriate to...a

---

`Domestic Subjects Since 1870,' in I.F. Goodson, ed., Social Histories of the Curriculum Subjects for Study (Lewes, 1985), and Nancy L. Blakestad, `The Place of Domestic Subjects in the Curriculum of Girls' Secondary Schools,' Unpublished M.Phil Thesis, University of Oxford, 1988.

[45] Haldane Commission, P.P. 1911 xx, p. 646.

[46] The King's College women's branch was known as King's Colllege Women's Department until incorporation in 1908, from which time it was known as King's College for Women.

[47] Faithfull, p. 121.

[48] On domestic studies at King's College for Women, see F.J.C. Hearnshaw, The Centenary History of King's college (London, 1929). For a more modern assessment, see Neville Marsh, Queen Elizabeth College (London, 1987). A year-long course in domestic science was offered at University College Reading from 1905.

woman.'[49] Her successor, Hilda Oakeley, believed that domestic science had a purely educational value independent of its relevance for women:

> [When] the true significance of the Home Life activities is realised, when the lamp of knowledge is turned upon them, they will be found to be inherently capable of inspiring to the highest intellectual development, and culture, and that they abundantly call for the most devoted application of Science.[50]

Oakeley believed that the potential of domestic science as a new discipline should not be ignored simply because it would only be studied by women.[51] In contrast, the KCW economics lecturer Mabel Atkinson offered a feminist justification for the study of domestic science. She argued that because of the dominance of the curriculum by men, the study of the household had been neglected by economists. While she supported the concept of equal education for men and women, she believed domestic science could add a further dimension to the traditional liberal education.[52]

The King's programme was criticised, however, by the Newnham chemistry lecturer Ida Freund, who objected to the idea that science could be taught through its application to housework:

> It is an unfortunate fact that pseudo-science can so easily masquerade as true science, and that every

---

[49]Sara Burstall and Mary Douglas, eds., Public School for Girls (London, 1911), p. 260.
[50]H. Oakeley, `Home Science and Higher Culture,' Typescript of a speech given to the women's conference, Japan-British Exhibition, (June, 1910), p. 14. KCWA.
[51]Oakeley, My Adventures, p. 146.
[52]M. Atkinson, `The Economic Relations of the Household,' in A. Ravenhill and C. Schiff, Household Administration (New York, 1911), p. 174-5.

> appearance of mental effort having been made, and made to some purpose, the achievement may consist merely in doing vigorously, with much show of interest and satisfaction, something scientifically and practically worthless.[53]

Freund argued that the domestic science course was not sufficiently specialised; women students were only given a superficial acquaintance with scientific subjects. In 1912-13, for example, first year students studied chemistry, physics, economics, and biology, as well as business and household work. The second year was similar, while in the third year, scientific knowledge was related to household work, for instance in applied chemistry and biology. Freund believed that, although there were opportunities for research in domestic science, they would be better pursued within the context of university science departments.[54]

The King's household science course aroused great interest. Lady Rucker, the wife of the principal of London University organised a Ladies' Committee to raise money. The most successful fund-raising, however, was done by John Atkins, a physician who was concerned about the high rate of infant and maternal mortality in the poor area of North Kensington where he practised. He hoped that women trained in domestic science would in turn teach working-class girls to be better mothers. A total of £100,000 was raised. At the same time, the accommodation housing King's College for Women in Kensington Square was proving to be increasingly inadequate. In 1911, an excellent site was found in Campden

---

[53] I. Freund, `Degree Standard in Home Science,' Common Cause, iii, N. 151 (29 Feb. 1912), p. 796.
[54] Ibid.

Hill, Kensington, where it was hoped the college with its expanded domestic science department could relocate.[55] This was not to be. In 1913, the Final Report of the University of London Commission, in opposition to the views of all the witnesses from King's College, called for the transformation of KCW into a university department of domestic science, which would occupy the whole of the new site, and the amalgamation of the arts and science faculties with the male side of King's College.

According to the Commissioners, KCW was financially unviable and impractical because of its distance from the men's college in the Strand. They criticised the number of part-time students (242 out of a total of 341 in 1910-11), stating:

> We are doubtful whether the University should continue to bear the burden of supplying lectures in literary and scientific subjects or instruction in music and the fine arts for the ladies of Kensington who can devote only their spare time to them, or as finishing courses of study for girls after leaving school.[56]

The Commissioners were influenced by the 1912 decision of the London County Council to give a grant for domestic science alone, and by the success of Atkins' fund-raising efforts.[57]

The King's women tutors and their supporters attempted to organise resistance to the Commissioners' plans. Hilda

---

[55]Hearnshaw, p. 506.
[56]Haldane Commission, Final Report, PP 1913, XI, pp. 399-401.
[57]Marsh, p. 48.

Oakeley tried to approach the Commissioners individually, and a private appeal was made for funds.[58] A group of former students, which included three women lecturers, sent a memorandum to the Commission pointing out that their Report was inaccurate, (it had claimed KCW had no university professors or readers when in fact two readerships had been granted in 1912), and had totally misunderstood the position of the part-time students, many of whom attended a planned course and some of whom later became regular students.[59] In spite of their protest, the recommendations of the Commission went through in 1915.

Upon the break-up of King's College for Women, the staff was scattered. Seven women teaching in arts subjects including Hilda Oakeley and one woman scientist, the botanist Ethel Spratt, transferred to the Strand site. Although Spratt had a doctorate, she was demoted to the rank of demonstrator. This was not necessarily an example of discrimination; while Spratt had been the only botanist at KCW, at King's she was merely one of a large scientific staff. Of the remaining women, five resigned to take up other, in some cases less prestigious academic appointments, while two taught in the department of household science.

Although the field of domestic science created some new opportunities for women academics, it had a disadvantage in that it marginalised them from the mainstream of academic work. This was particularly true in the United States where

---

[58] Ibid, p. 51.
[59] Memorandum to the KCW Delegacy on the Report of the Royal Commission on the University of London from the Past Students of King's College for Women (1913), General Policy File, KCWA.

household science was a major employer of women academics. By 1900, departments of home economics had been established in thirty colleges.[60] Women at coeducational universities tended to be channelled into domestic science departments; in fact in 1911, 60 percent of the women professors at coeducational universities were in home economics, often with Ph.D.s in mainstream academic subjects.[61] In Britain the failure of domestic science to expand significantly in the universities meant that there was no real threat of women academics being marginalised in this way.

A possible role for domestic science lay in making science more accessible to women. With the exception of botany, women academics were consistently underrepresented in the sciences throughout this period. Women at single-sex colleges obviously had the best chance of attaining senior rank; at coeducational colleges and women's colleges with mixed staff, men were likely to hold senior scientific appointments.[62] At Bedford College in the session 1913-1914, only two of the heads of the ten scientific departments were women. Women fared slightly better at RHC, where in this year two-fifths of the scientific departments were headed by women. This proportion was low, however, compared to the Faculty of Arts, in which five of the six heads were women. At University College London, women

---

[60]Emma Seifrit Weigley, `It Might Have Been Euthenics,' American Quarterly, 26 (1974), 83.
[61]Solomon, p. 87 and Margaret Rossiter, Women Scientists in America, p. 63.
[62]Rossiter has shown a similar pattern in the United States, pp. 63-64.

academics accounted for only a fraction of the total staff: fourteen out of 148 in the session 1913-1914. Of these, a surprising six were scientists: three botany lecturers and three women at the demonstrator level. UCL provided opportunity for the study of science not available in the women's colleges. According to her biographer, Marie Stopes chose to study at UCL because of the opportunities in science and the chance to compete with men.[63] If women's strength in botany is ignored, however, their role in UCL science appears miniscule.

At Cambridge, the position of women in science actually worsened during this period as women scientists increasingly came under the jurisdiction of the university. Women students were gradually accepted into university science departments, making the college provisions for science teaching redundant.[64] The process was similar to what has been observed in the English and Modern Languages Schools in Oxford, where educational arrangements originally controlled by women tutors were taken over by the university and the interests of women tutors and students were submerged in the process. In 1912, Ida Freund raised the question of closing the small chemistry laboratory in the Newnham garden at a Council meeting. In her reply the principal, Katherine Stephen, suggested that it was undesirable to diminish the number of scientific teaching posts open to women by closing

---

[63]Hall, p. 31.

[64]For a comparison of the development of science at Oxford and Cambridge, see Janet Howarth, `Science Education in Later Victorian Oxford,' English Historical Review, 102 (1987), pp. 334-370. Some college laboratories remained in use until the 1950s.

the lab.[65] The laboratory was closed, however, upon Freund's retirement in 1913.

After the departure of both Freund and the zoologist Igerna Sollas in 1913, it was decided to maintain only one director of studies in natural science, while at the same time trying to encourage the science professors to hire women demonstrators.[66] The Newnham Council had little choice, as students working in the university laboratories would pay their fees to the university rather than towards the maintenance of a college lecturer. Thus the college could no longer afford to support an additional scientist although they were aware of the downgrading of their scientific staff implicit in the change. Women academics thus had to choose between a responsible position in a small underfunded institution, and a subordinate place in a large one.

Women's low representation in science partly stemmed from the fact that relatively few women studied the physical sciences. As the principal of RHC, Ellen Higgins explained to the Haldane Commission, it was almost impossible to fill the post of physics professor with a woman candidate.[67] Women were discouraged from going into the physical sciences for a variety of reasons: lack of preparation in school and the scarcity of opportunities for teaching or for employment in research and industry were important ones.[68] Women were

---

[65]Council Minutes (11 May 1912), NA
[66]Ibid., (15 February 1913).
[67]Haldane Commission, PP 1911, XX (23 March 1911), q. 8707.
[68]On factors discouraging women from studying science, see Roy McLeod and Russell Moseley, `Fathers and Daughters,'

not even accepted into the Faculty of Engineering at London University before 1914.[69]

The question of whether positive discrimination should be employed to increase the number of women science lecturers was raised in the conflict over the chemistry professorship at RHC in 1913. Upon the resignation of Elisabeth Field, who had been resident chemistry lecturer since 1893, a chair of chemistry was established by the university, tenable at RHC. (The selection committee consisted of five members from RHC and four from the university--there was one woman, Ellen Higgins.) A group of old students led by Sibyl Widdows, lecturer in chemistry at the London School of Medicine for Women, and including several other women academics attempted to persuade the selection committee to choose a woman to replace Field. They circulated a letter to Old Students which concluded:

> Of course we do not want <u>any</u> woman to be given the post, but we think that if a woman of sufficient standing and ability applies it should be offered to her. It is becoming a very serious thing for science the way in which the science posts in women's colleges are gradually being placed in the hands of men when there are quite good and efficient women to fill them. It means that a woman can never obtain those opportunities for research and association with other scientists which are so necessary for their work.[70]

<u>History of Education</u>, 8, No. 4 (1979) and Robert Fox and Anna Guagnini, `Classical Values and Useful Knowledge' in <u>Daedalus</u> (Fall, 1987). In `Science Teaching in Girls' Schools,' <u>Journal of Education</u>, 32 (January 1910), four Girton and Newnham tutors discuss the difficulty of finding qualified science teachers for girls' schools.

[69] UCL Committee Minutes (3 November 1914), UCL Record Office.

[70] <u>RHC Letter</u> (10 March 1913).

At the same time another group, led by Louisa Story, the headmistress of the Royal School, Bath sent out a circular urging old students to sign a letter congratulating the governors on opening the post to men and women equally. Story objected to the principle of selecting a woman because of her gender, although she conceded that if the qualifications of the candidates were equal, the preference should go to a woman. Judging from the responses of the old students, the majority agreed with her. The existence of the two circulars caused embarrassment and confusion as evidenced by the dedication of much of the July 1913 issue of the RHC Letter to clearing up the matter; in the end a man, George Barger was appointed. The case made by the RHC women for positive discrimination was probably damaged by their inability to resolve the issue among themselves.

Alone of the sciences, botany attracted a sizeable proportion of women. In 1914, 12.5 percent of the London women academics were botanists, the highest percentage in any science and equal to the percentage of modern linguists. There were two women botanists at Cambridge. Furthermore, several women held senior posts in botany: Margaret Benson was appointed university professor at RHC in 1912, while Catherine Raisin was head of the botany department at Bedford. As has been seen, women also established a strong position in botany at UCL.[71]

---

[71]On American women botanists, see Nancy G. Slack, `Nineteenth-Century Women Botanists,' in P.G. Abir-Am and D. Outram, eds., Uneasy Careers and Inti mate Lives (London, 1987).

Women's preference for botany can be traced back to the late eighteenth century when the study of plants and flowers was part of the social construct of femininity learned by girls.[72] Women were also active in serious botanical study, often through the influence of male family members. Because much of their botanical work took the form of contributing to compilations of county flora and making plates for books, women botanists were usually perceived as ancillaries to male researchers. For instance, women were not admitted to the Linnean Society until 1904.[73] The link between botany and traditional feminine pursuits was apparent in the lives of university women botanists. Emily Berridge of the Imperial College of Science and Technology, Theodora Prankerd of Bedford and Margaret Benson were all described as being interested in painting and horticulture.[74] Westfield College lecturer Marian Delf Smith was also fond of drawing--in fact she married an artist--and she acted as garden steward at Westfield after her retirement.[75]

Women Academics and Research

Women's gradual assimilation into the male academic profession can be seen in the increasing number of women doing research. By 1914, an impressive proportion were doing research at all three universities; women academics realised that the encouragement of research was a way to improve their status. The earliest college to subsidise research was Newnham, where Margaret Benson began her

---

[72]Ann B. Shteir, `Botany in the Breakfast Room,' Ibid.
[73]Ibid., pp. 33-42.
[74]See obituaries in Elizabeth Blackwell Papers, RHCA.
[75]E.M. Delf Smith personal papers misc. WCA.

botanical career as Marian Kennedy Research Student in 1893. Her work at Newnham contributed to her being awarded a D.Sc. from University College in 1894. Other women's colleges began to make such awards at the turn of the century. The first post-graduate award at Bedford, the Reid Fellowship was awarded in 1897, to Catherine Raisin. The first post-graduate studentship at RHC was founded in 1900, while the first to be offered at one of the Oxford women's colleges was the Mary Somerville Fellowship (1903).

The number of awards which the women's colleges were able to offer was constrained by their poverty. With little money available, choices had to made between encouraging research and supporting undergraduate education. The first call for the endowment of research was made in the Girton Review as early as December 1883.[76] It was followed by several more pleas which culminated in the publication of `The Inheritance of a University' by Ethel Sargant in 1901. Looking ahead to their eventual admission to the university, Sargant wrote that women must prepare themselves to contribute to its intellectual life. Women academics had a special obligation to do research because other women were prevented from doing so by home duties. Emily Davies believed, however, that the resources of the college could be better used to expand undergraduate education, which would enable more women to have professional careers. Still influenced by her battle to open the universities to women, she failed to see the value of following the trend towards

---

[76]The following account is taken from Barbara Stephen Girton College, pp. 86-89.

research. In spite of Davies' objections, two research studentships were offered at Girton, in 1892 and 1896. Several more were founded in the 1900s, although the real encouragement for research did not come until after the First World War.

As well as limiting the number of research scholarships and fellowships which could be offered, the poverty of the women's colleges affected the provisions they were able to make for publication and for laboratories which increasingly required more expensive equipment.[77] The commitment of women academics to teaching and to the pastoral care of students shrank the amount of time available for research. In fact, several obituaries of women academics refer to the existence of works which never saw publication because of their devotion to their students.[78] Some of those who did not do research themselves, however had an important influence in encouraging the work of their students. For instance, as undergraduates at RHC, Margaret Bazeley, Helen Cam, and Fanny Street all did research under the guidance of the historian Margaret Hayes-Robinson.[79]

As the resources of the women's colleges grew, it increasingly became possible for the staff to take sabbatical leave. In 1900 the Somerville Council allowed Mildred Pope and classics tutor Hilda Lorimer paid leave of

---

[77]M.J. Powell, Royal Holloway College (London, 1937), pp. 31-37.

[78]Lucy Kempson on Mildred Pope, Somerville Students Association, SCA and obituary of Hilda Murray in The Ship (1952), SAA.

[79]Caroline Bingham, Royal Holloway College (London, 1987), p. 100. Penina Glazer and Miriam Slater note a similar pattern among American women historians in Unequal Colleagues (New Jersey, 1987).

absence for one year.[80] Mildred Pope used this time to complete research for her doctorate. In the years before the First World War, the sabbatical programme became more regularised. At LMH a fixed payment of £50 was decided on to be paid not more than once every ten years for staff wishing to take sabbatical leaves.[81]

Another constraint on women undertaking research was their subordinate position in the university, particularly in the scientific departments where men held most of the senior positions. When the biochemist Dorothy Needham arrived in Cambridge in 1920, the only scientific department which accepted women as researchers was that of F. G. Hopkins, the chair of Biochemistry.[82] The RHC mathematician Marion Pick believed that the professor under whom she worked deliberately put her off research:

> My own fancy was for analysis--Differential Geometry; at the back of my mind I disliked Pure Geometry, and, according to Mr. Loney, Applied Mathematics was not a suitable subject for a lady. For him it meant considerable applications to practical problems and their actual working use, and was thus best done by men, for this was the great age of Civil Engineering.[83]

At Westfield College, lack of funds combined with a strong Evangelical religious tradition put a damper on

---

[80]Somerville Council Minutes (12 March 1900) and (18 June 1900), SCA.
[81]LMH Council Minutes (1 May, 1909), LMHA.
[82]Quoted in D. Richter, Women Scientists (London, 1982), p. 159.
[83]Marian Pick, `Social Life at RHC,' TS Memoir, pp. 114-115, RHCA. Albert Geoffrey Howson discusses the effect on women of changes in the mathematics curriculum in A History of Mathematics Education in England (1982), pp. 172-179.

scientific research until the appointment of Marian Delf Smith as botany lecturer in 1906. Although she received a first in both parts of the Natural Science Tripos, Delf Smith appealed to Constance Maynard because she was `gentle and good.'[84] She described the climate of opinion at Westfield upon her appointment:

> Most of the students (and probably some of the staff) were quite unaware of the build-up of scientific fact and theory which would need to be faced increasingly if religious faith and values were to be fully maintained and represented.[85]

From the outset, Delf Smith challenged the Mistress on the religious question, by for example refusing to attend Maynard's divinity lectures.[86]

In spite of the growing importance of research, a postgraduate degree was not considered necessary for academic appointments at British universities and colleges.[87] In contrast, among American academics, a higher degree became almost a prerequisite for a university career during this period. Soon after her appointment as president of Mt. Holyoke College in 1901, Mary Woolley demanded that her staff do Ph.D.s if they wished to stay on in order to conform with the corresponding upgrading of standards at

---

[84]Marian Delf Smith TS Memoir, p. 6, WCA.
[85]Ibid.
[86]Ibid.
[87]Renate Simpson, How the Ph.D. Came to Britain (Guildford, 1983).

American men's colleges.[88] There is some evidence, however, that in Britain, by 1914 research was becoming increasingly important in judging an applicant's fitness for an academic post. For example, the application of Marie Lardelli for a history tutorship at St. Hilda's was compared unfavourably to those of Cecilia Ady and Elizabeth Levett, both of whom had done research:

> The others have Firsts and have done what one may call high-class work since--by writing a book or taking university work. Miss Lardelli has had 8 years at High school work and we think that this may have a little damaged her standard of history teaching from a university point of view.....I don't think, either, she would command the instant respect of the history world up here.[89]

These comments show a new emphasis on research and publications in the making of appointments, as well as the continuing importance of a good class in the Schools and teaching experience. Similarly, when the appointment of Lorna Mary Swain as mathematics lecturer at Newnham was under discussion, the Council decided that allowing her to finish her research work abroad `would be greatly to her advantage and would add to her value as a lecturer.'[90]

Although they were not officially part of Oxford and Cambridge at this time, women had social and intellectual contacts with male scholars and sometimes collaborated with them. As has been seen, one common pattern was for women to do research in conjunction with their husbands. A few women

---

[88]Glazer, pp. 30-32 and Solomon, pp. 134-137.
[89]Frances Wells to Christine Burrows (2 May 1910), Tutors Collection, SHIA.
[90]Council Minutes (14 Feb. 1914), NA.

academics also published joint works with male colleagues, such as the collaboration between the Newnham historian Mary Bateson and F. W. Maitland (1850-1906) on The Charters of the Borough of Cambridge, 1901. Another combination was the Girton historian Ellen McArthur and W.A. Cunningham, the distinguished Cambridge economic historian; their Outlines of English Industrial History was published in 1895. Women also produced joint works such as Eleanor Lodge and Mildred Pope's edition of John Chandos' `Life of the Black Prince,' published in 1910, and the publications of the Newnham botanists Marian Greenwood and Rebecca Saunders. The collaboration of male and female scholars suggests that women were beginning to be accepted into the male academic profession, while collaboration between women shows an alternative pattern of research networks within the women's colleges.

The early twentieth-century academic profession was characterised by increasing identification of academics with others in their disciplines as well as within institutions.[91] This changed emphasis was accompanied by the development of new means to recognise contributions to scholarship such as awards and admission to learned societies. Women scholars gained their share of recognition. For instance, Caroline Skeel of Westfield was awarded the Henry Hutchinson Research Medal from the LSE in 1904, while Rebecca Saunders was awarded the Banksian Medal from the Royal Horticultural Society in 1906.

---

[91]On this trend in the historical profession, see Doris Goldstein, `The Professionalization of History,' Hist. historiographie, 3 (1983), p. 22.

Yet learned societies varied in their policy towards the admission of women.[92] In 1900, Caroline Spurgeon of Bedford was told that it was impossible to propose her for the Johnson Club even after she had written an important essay on Dr. Johnson:

> Our pious founders did not contemplate the admission of women, and I know not whether this omission is to be attributed to honest bigotry or to a notion that the air of punch and good fellowship which surrounds the Club would be breathed by Ladies with difficulty.[93]

In other societies, women were only admitted to the lowest categories of membership. In 1908 the Chemical Society voted to exclude women from fellowships but admit them as subscribers. Although women had been admitted to the British Association for the Advancement of Science from 1843, the first woman president of a section, Ethel Sargant, did not appear until 1913. At the turn of the century, an attempt was made by a group of fellows of the Royal Society to admit Hertha Ayrton, an authority on the electric arc, as a fellow. Ayrton had an unusual history; born Hertha Marks, she was the daughter of a Polish refugee. Barbara Bodichon raised a scholarship to send her to Girton, where she helped support herself by doing needlework. After leaving Girton she studied with Professor William Ayrton of the Central Technical College in London, and they later married. In 1899, Ayrton was elected as a full member of the Institution of Electrical Engineers. In 1901, a paper of hers was read

---

[92]McLeod and Moseley, pp. 331-2.
[93]G.H. Radford to C. Spurgeon, undated, Caroline Spurgeon Papers, BCA.

at the Royal Society. In spite of the efforts of her friends, however, the Council of the Royal Society decided that their Charter did not permit the admission of married women.[94] The first two women Fellows of the Royal Society, Marjory Stephenson and Kathleen Lonsdale were not elected until 1945.

As well as seeking entry to existing learned societies, several women academics started societies themselves which were open to both men and women, such as the English Association which Edith Morley helped found in 1906. The Association was designed to promote `intercourse and cooperation among all those interested in English Language and Literature.' Through her membership of the Executive Committee, Morley came into contact with prominent male and female scholars.[95] The open policy of the Association was also used by the Economic History Society, in which women played an important role in the 1920s and 1930s.[96]

By contrast, in the United States, there seemed to be more deliberate efforts to restrict women from learned societies. As well as introducing new categories of membership, another tactic was to create a more exclusive society. The Geological Society of America, established in 1888 expected a doctorate only of its women members. Men seemed alarmed by the growing numbers of women in science. For instance, in the 1880s, over 40 percent of the members

---

[94]Evelyn Sharp, Hertha Ayrton (London, 1926), p. 161. Marilyn Bailey Ogilvie discusses Hertha Ayrton in `Marital Collaboration,' in P. Abir-Am, ed., Uneasy Careers, pp. 115-125.
[95]Morley, `Looking Before and After,' pp. 91-92.
[96]Berg, pp. 19-21.

of the Torrey Botanical Club in New York were women. The Botanical Society of America, founded in 1893, included many of the leaders of the Club, but only one woman was elected among its twenty-five charter members.[97] Although as has been seen, there were some attempts to restrict women's membership of learned societies in Britain, the much smaller number of women in the scholarly profession probably ensured that they would not be perceived as much of a threat.

In discussing women academics and research, it must be remembered that until the late nineteenth century, more research was probably done outside than within the university. Scholars had to have independent means, or were dependent upon the sponsorship of patrons. The fact that research was done in the home meant that women were able to participate at a time when universities and other institutions were closed to them. Married women supported by their husbands could afford to work independently, as in the case of the mathematician Mary Somerville (1782-1872), and also of Hertha Ayrton, who never held an academic post. As research became gradually institutionalised, however, women were faced with the difficulty of combining work outside the home with their domestic responsibilities.[98] Particularly in the physical sciences, where research increasingly required expensive and complex equipment, women who worked independently became marginalised from the mainstream of the discipline.[99] Although the enlarged

---

[97]Rossiter, pp. 82-99.
[98]P.G. Abir-Am and D. Outram, pp. 2-4.
[99]Ibid, pp. 10-15.

research bureaucracy provided new opportunites for women, these were usually at the junior level.

Feminism and the Suffrage Movement

In recent scholarship on American women academics, there has been debate over the influence of feminism on women's research priorities. For instance, in her study of American women social scientists, Rosalind Rosenberg argues that in the late nineteenth century, these women used their research to challenge theories of biologically-rooted sex difference.[100] In contrast, Penina Glazer and Miriam Slater find that the women historians in their study tended to be cautious in their research interests, closely following the male establishment in their concentration on political and constitutional history.[101] It is important to see, therefore, if British women academics used their research to fulfil any kind of feminist agenda.

Like their American counterparts, a number of British women historians published in the traditional area of political and constitutional history. Alice Gardner of Newnham, Hilda Johnstone of RHC, Eleanor Lodge of LMH and Cecilia Ady of St. Hugh's all published chapters in the Cambridge Medieval History. Lodge also contributed to Paul Vinogradoff's series Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History. There were other women, however, who chose to work in the relatively new areas of economic history and social studies. Some did research directly relevant to improving

---

[100]Rosalind Rosenberg, Beyond Separate Spheres (New Haven, 1982).
[101]Glazer and Slater, pp 53-65.

women's position in society, or tried to include aspects of women's history and experiences in their work. (See Appendix 3). One of these was Mabel Atkinson, who, as has been seen, lectured in the domestic Science department at King's College for Women. Atkinson was on the executive of the Fabian Women's Group which had the avowed object of studying women's economic independence in relation to socialism.[102] Under its auspices she wrote The Economic Foundations of the Woman's Movement in which she developed the argument that industrialisation had had a negative effect on women's status.[103]

Like Atkinson, Edith Morley was a member of the Fabian Women's Group, and produced her study of women and the professions for them in 1914. Her main purpose was to enlist support for professional women in their attempt to achieve equality.[104] To this end, she solicited contributions from a wide spectrum of women professionals. Morley found that all the contributors shared a commitment to the need for women's economic independence and political emancipation, and to the importance of equal pay for equal work, and were opposed to the policy of enforced resignation on marriage subscribed to by many professions.[105] In her own chapter on women academics, Morley attributed the low number of women in senior posts to their being `swallowed up in the vortex of teaching and routine work,' partly because

---

[102]Morley, `Looking Before and After,' p. 134.
[103]Berg, pp. 18-19.
[104]Morley, Women Workers in Seven Professions (London, 1914), p. xiv.
[105]Ibid., p. xv.

of their own conscientiousness and partly because of the expectations of their colleagues.[106]

Several of the women social scientists discussed earlier also did research relevant to women's position in society. For instance, Mildred Bulkeley, tutor in the LSE's department of social science and administration published a book on the feeding of schoolchildren in 1914, in which she pointed out the need to consider the fact that many mothers worked during the day in decisions about school meals.[107] Another LSE tutor, Mabel Buer, contributed Health, Welfare and Population in the Early Days of the Industrial Revolution (1926) to the debate about industrialisation and women's status. Both she and Bulkeley also published articles on family and women's employment in The Economic Journal and Economica.[108]

A different approach which nevertheless had feminist implications was that used by the women at University College's Eugenics Laboratory. Alice Lee, mathematics lecturer at Bedford College was associated with the Biometric Lab from 1892 to 1916. As part of her D.Sc. thesis, she challenged the view supported by Francis Galton that women's inferior skull capacity was a sign of mental inferiority. Although her originality and conclusions were queried by her examiners, she was awarded the degree in 1901. According to Karl Pearson, she had `want of power of expression....on the whole ...it is characteristic of most

---

[106] Ibid., pp. 16-17.
[107] M. Bulkeley, The Feeding of Schoolchildren (London, 1914), pp. 76-77.
[108] Berg, p. 17.

women's work.'[109] Another researcher, Ethel Elderton, who rose from being Karl Pearson's assistant to research fellow at the laboratory did a pioneering study of working women's fertility in which she was the first to describe abortion practice. Her research showed the need to consider women's attitudes and practices in eugenicist programs aimed at controlling fertility.[110]

The approach of the Newnham classicist Jane Ellen Harrison to her research was a unique application of the separate spheres philosophy. In her essay `Scientiae Sacra Fames,' Harrison explained how the intellectual difference between the sexes enabled women to make a special contribution to learning.[111] While admitting that she did not know the causes of this difference, she suggested that women were characterised by the quality of `resonance' and men by that of `insularity.' Men were better able to conduct reasoned arguments while women were better able to establish connections between these arguments and other ideas and emotions:

> I never looked to a man to supply me with new ideas; he might accidentally, or as oftener happened, we might flash them out together....The moment, so far as I can formulate the need, is when you want to disentangle them from yourself and your emotions, when they are sending out such a welter of feelers in all directions, setting up connections so profusely and recklessly that you hold your sanity with both your hands, and yet it seems going. Then you want the mind of a man with its greater power of insulation....To talk a thing over with a competent man friend is to me like coming out of

---

[109] Love, pp. 149-50.
[110] Ibid., p. 155.
[111] Jane Ellen Harrison, Alpha and Omega (London, 1915).

> a seething cauldron of suggestion into a spacious well-ordered room.[112]

In fact Harrison herself applied this principle to her work in which she collaborated closely with male scholars who appreciated her new, if sometimes unorthodox insights.[113] Harrison combined a belief in the importance of women's contribution to scholarship with the traditional idea of women as more intuitive and emotional than men.

Two of Harrison's Cambridge colleagues also expressed an interest in women through their research. Rachel White of Newnham and Alice Hentsch of Girton each published studies aimed at rescuing portions of the history of women from obscurity. In her `Women in Ptolemaic Egypt,' White explained the seemingly barbaric custom of brother-sister marriages as an attempt to preserve women's property rights which was carried over from an earlier time.[114] Her views on the primitive roots of myth possibly showed the influence of Jane Ellen Harrison's ideas.[115] Alice Hentsch edited a large collection of texts aimed at the education and moral improvement of medieval women. She discussed the authors, the women to whom the essays were directed, and compared the portrayal of medieval women with their actual position in society. Hentsch felt that her work was relevant to the contemporary interest in women's education.[116]

---

[112] Ibid., pp. 130-1.
[113] See Vicinus, Independent Women and Jessie Stewart, Jane Ellen Harrison (London, 1959) for discussion of Harrison's life and ideas.
[114] Rachel White, `Women in Ptolemaic Egypt,' Journal of Hellenistic Studies, 1898, p. 263.
[115] Ibid., p. 241n.
[116] Alice Hentsch, De la litterature didactique du Moyen Age s'addressant specialement aux femmes (Cahors, 1903), p. 1.

The commitment of some women academics to feminism was also shown by their involvement in the accelerating suffrage movement. While the women's vote enjoyed wide support among academic women, they were divided over the methods which should be used to attain it.[117] Some women academics supported women's suffrage theoretically but feared active involvement would damage the reputation of their colleges; the Westfield Educational Board took this position when, in 1914, they agreed to ask Alice Sergeant, lecturer in history, to attend a committee meeting of the Joint Suffrage Society in her private capacity rather than as a representative of the college.[118]

Most of the colleges, however, began to take a more active role after 1906, when the Association of Headmistresses came out in favour of women's suffrage, giving the campaign the seal of respectability.[119] A Women's Suffrage Club was formed at Girton in 1907, of which Dorothy Tarrant, at that time a research fellow in classics, was president. Similar societies were formed at LMH in 1907, and RHC and Bedford in 1908.[120] Although these were old students' associations, academic women took an active

---

[117]The suffrage question caused more serious divisions, however, in the United States where the (largely male) women's college presidents made a determined effort to keep the issue off the campuses in the early 1900s. At Vassar, the suffragist Lucy Salmon fought for her right to live outside the college because of her differences with the president. Helen L. Horowitz, Alma Mater (New York, 1984), pp. 193-4.

[118]Educational Board Minutes (5 May 1914), WCA.

[119]Mary Price and Nonita Glenday, Reluctant Revolutionaries (London, 1974), p. 68.

[120]Deneke, pp. 44-45, RHC Letter (July 1908) and Bedford College Magazine (March 1909).

part. Eleanor Lodge and Grace Hadow carried the banner for LMH in the 1908 suffrage procession.[121]

St. Hugh's started its own suffrage society in 1910, and in the following year the members debated whether to affiliate their society to the NUWSS or the WSPU. They chose the NUWSS in the end when they discovered that only individuals not groups could join the WSPU.[122] Among women academics who did join the WSPU were Edith Morley, Marie Stopes and Margaret Murray, although both Morley and Stopes feared that taking an active part would damage their professional reputations.[123] Perhaps significantly, these three women all held appointments at coeducational institutions, so perhaps had less to fear in the way of alienating supporters than did the tutors at the financially insecure women's colleges.

A pamphlet written in 1913 by the RHC classicist Margaret Taylor illustrated some of the particular concerns of women academics in relation to women's suffrage. Taylor wrote that in the past, women had always been expected to serve men:

> The world has been regarded as a world of men, rather than that of men and women in complementary relations. Humanity has been and is often spoken of as though it meant men, with women as a mere appendage, and it has followed from this that the place assigned to women in the order of humanity is a place of subjection--a place

---

[121]Deneke, pp. 44-45.
[122]Penny Griffin, ed., St. Hugh's (Oxford, 1986) p. 32.
[123]Hall, p. 70, Morley, `Looking Before and After,' p. 147 and Elizabeth Benn, `From Witches to Sputniks,' Daily Telegraph and Morning Post (12 July 1963). (Article on Margaret Murray's 100th Birthday.

> of dependence on the will and pleasure of a man or of men.[124]

Taylor next suggested that the idea of service to humanity be substituted for women's subjection to men. Women could fulfil this ideal through motherhood, or in the case of single women through employment as `doctors, nurses, teachers, writers, civil servants, and social workers.' In order to realise this potential, women should be given full political rights.[125] Taylor's argument combined several issues of concern to academic women--the right to vote, the importance of social service, and the need to provide professional opportunities for single women. Her emphasis on women's special abilities as a justification for political rights was in the tradition of the separate but equal argument for women's education of the nineteenth century.

Women Academics in College and University Government

As well as participating in the suffrage movement, women academics tried to gain representation in the governments of their own colleges and universities. The gradual assimilation of women academics into the profession can be seen by the growing role they played in these bodies. The governing structures of the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges developed differently from those of the men's colleges. After being founded as private trusts, the women's colleges were incorporated as companies under the

---

[124]M.E.J. Taylor, `Service vs. Subjection,' (NUWSS), 1913, pp. 1-2, uncatalogued, RHCA.
[125]Ibid., pp. 6-7.

Board of Trade regulations, which enabled the college councils to borrow money without threatening the financial resources of their members. The first college to be restructured in this way was Newnham in 1879. Upon incorporation, the old students of the college could be elected to its Council. When Somerville College was reincorporated in 1896[126], all of its old students who had fulfilled certain conditions became members of the college with the right to elect members of Council; they proceeded to elect Eleanor Powell, an old student who had also been a member of staff, to represent them.[127] A similar process occurred upon the incorporation of St. Hugh's in 1911 and LMH in 1913-1914.[128] St. Hilda's was slightly different; initially controlled by Dorothea Beale, in 1900 the college was incorporated with the teacher training hostel, St. Hilda's College Cheltenham, for financial reasons.[129] In 1913-14 St. Hilda's was reincorporated in the same way as its sister colleges.[130] The LSE was also incorporated as a non-profit company under the 1901 Companies Act.[131]

Although some women staff members sat on college councils in their capacity as old students, the achievement of representation of women tutors in their own right usually occurred slightly later. At Somerville, the staff initiated the demand for the election of a representative governor,

---

[126]Somerville had originally been incorporated in 1880.
[127]Somerville Council Minutes (10 February, 1896), SCA.
[128]See St. Hugh's Council minutes (17 May 1910) and (1 February 1911), SHUA.
[129]Christine Burrows MS History of St. Hilda's College. SHIA
[130]St. Hilda's Council Minutes (1913-1914), SHIA.
[131]Sidney Caine, The History of the Foundation of the London School of Economics and Political Science (London, 1963), p. 80.

which resulted in the election of Mildred Pope in 1904.[132] At Girton, the women tutors were asked to nominate a representative governor in 1910.[133]

Before the First World War, several women's colleges formed internal staff organisations; one was inaugurated at King's College for Women in 1902, and another at Newnham in 1907. The LMH tutors met informally in the small senior common room, while their views were communicated to the council by Eleanor Lodge, the vice-principal. The LMH tutors had no real power, however; Helena Deneke compared their position to that of a school staff.[134] But the growing professional consciousness of the women tutors at Oxford was shown by the formation of the Society of Women Tutors, in 1909. Its membership included tutors from all the women's societies and the AEW. In the years before 1914, the Society's energies were devoted to the administration of the scholarship examinations, questions relating to tuition and most importantly to preparation for women's future admission to membership of the university. With this end in view, they voted unanimously to give up the option whereby students could come to Oxford without being registered for an Honour School, a special privilege which they felt must be foregone if they were to demand degrees on equal terms with men.[135]

Like the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges, Bedford had been incorporated as a company under the Board of Trade

---

[132]Somerville Council Minutes (October 1902), SCA.
[133]Stephen, Girton College, p. 93.
[134]Deneke, p. 43.
[135]SOWT Minutes (6 December 1913), SCA.

in 1869, when provisions were made that there should be a certain number of women as members of the Council and Governing Body. When the college received a Royal Charter in 1909, this principle was reaffirmed; provisions were made as well for representation of the teaching staff on the Council, and of former students on the Governing Body. At the same time, a more orderly method of appointing assistant staff was adopted, and it was resolved to make all appointments irrespective of sex.[136]

The government of RHC also evolved in a manner which bore some resemblance to that of the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges. In 1907, at the end of the twenty-one year period during which the Deed of Foundation had specified that no woman could be made governor of the college, the RHC Old Students Association founded a pressure group, the Vigilance Committee, of which the object was to work for the appointment of women to the governing body. They achieved this goal in 1912, when they were finally able to secure the three-quarters majority on the Council required to pass any constitutional change.[137] The RHC Old Students Association were allowed to elect one of their own number to the Board of Governors in 1915.[138]

The RHC staff faced an even more difficult struggle to gain representation on the Board although they were able to serve on the college's Education Committee from its foundation. Daniel Oliver, professor of botany at UCL, had

---

[136]Margaret Tuke, A History of Bedford College for Women (London, 1939), p. 219.
[137]RHC Letter (July 1912) and (July 1913).
[138]Ibid (December 1915).

been angered by the high-handed treatment of the staff in the late 19th century.

> Actually I was once a Governor but couldn't go on with the job especially as the body of Governors were reactionary and trampled on the staff in their endeavours to establish any sort of faculty committees, and even reprimanded them for insubordination.[139]

Two members of staff were finally invited to be present at the Governors' meetings in 1912. Marion Pick recalled that these two `watchers' had to sit in the wings and were expected to leave at crucial moments.[140] It was not until 1921 that an alteration of the Trust Deed permitted two senior members of staff to sit on the Board.[141]

The relations between the staff and the governing body at Westfield were complicated by the proviso that only members of the Anglican church could sit on the Council. Several of the members of staff, most notably Anne Richardson, the vice-principal, were non-Anglicans. The absence of the staff from the governing body was noted by the Haldane Commissioners, who felt it would be a disadvantage to the college being made a constituent of the university.[142] Similar criticisms had been made by the university's inspectors, prompting efforts to modify the Trust Deed of 1883, under which the college still

---

[139]D. Oliver to E. Blackwell (12 November 1937), Elizabeth Blackwell Papers, RHCA.
[140]Pick, p. 194.
[141]RHC Letter, (November 1921).
[142]Haldane Commission, PP 1911, XX (16 March 1911) qq. 8497-8.

operated.[143] These changes occurred gradually; in 1913 the new principal Agnes de Selincourt was made a full member of Council and a Board of Principal Teachers was set up, which regularised the staff meeting which had existed informally since 1909. More importantly in 1919 the Trust Deed which required members of Council to be members of the Church of England was altered, enabling the staff to appoint representatives.[144]

At the LSE, King's College, and University College, the underrepresentation of women on decision-making bodies was a function of the low percentage of women on the faculty, and the fact that many of them held junior positions. In 1907 and 1910 respectively, King's and UCL were incorporated into London University, meaning that they were governed by a delegacy of the Senate in which one quarter of the members were teachers of the college appointed on the nomination of the professorial board. This plan actually proved to be a disadvantage for King's College for Women. After the verdict of the Haldane Commission, the tutors hoped to organise a public appeal in the borough of Kensington, but because they were governed by the Senate, they had to comply with its refusal to sanction any action inconsistent with the recommendations of a Royal Commission.[145]

The position of women at UCL and the LSE was slightly better. Women had played a part in the government of the

---

[143]Janet Sondheimer, Castle Adamant in Hampstead (London, 1983), p. 81.
[144]Ibid., pp. 81-84, Educational Board Minutes (20 October 1913) and Resident Staff Meeting Minutes (5 February 1915 to 23 February, 1917), WCA.
[145]Oakeley, p. 152.

LSE from its foundation; for instance, in 1896, the Administrative Committee included Miss Payne Townshend, the future wife of Bernard Shaw, and Beatrice Webb.[146] In 1913-14, one woman, Lillian Knowles, sat on the LSE's professorial board. At UCL, the first woman on the Council was Margaret Gilliland, the headmistress of the Haberdashers Aske's School, Acton, elected in 1913. Women's attempts to gain a role in the governments of the London colleges and other coeducational institutions can be better seen, however, in the context of the general movement by assistant staff members for power and autonomy after the First World War.

In the early twentieth century, women academics in the Oxford and London colleges gained a degree of recognition by the university. As has been seen, the procedure set up by the University of London Act of 1898 for recognising teachers enhanced the status of both male and female academics. While most of the female staff at Royal Holloway and Bedford were recognised when the Act came into effect in 1900, the prerequisites for recognition--qualifications, position and experience in preparing students for the London degree--were more difficult for the staff of Westfield College to meet.[147] Of nine female lecturers (including non-resident lecturers) only three were recognised: Caroline Skeel, Anne Richardson and Lillian Whitby. Among

---

[146]Caine, p. 51.

[147]Sondheimer, pp. 57-58, and `Regulations for the Recognition of Teachers of the University,' University of London Calendar, 1901-2, pp. 50-51. Part-time teachers and demonstrators were not recognised which also limited the number of women's names appearing on the register.

those unrecognised was, for example, the science lecturer Florence Strudwick. Although she had received a First in the Natural Science Tripos, Westfield did not possess the laboratory facilities to enable her to prepare students for the BSc. Another was Mabel Beloe, the mathematics lecturer who had done an Honours degree in French.

The low number of recognised teachers combined with the inadequacy of the library and laboratories led to the rejection of the college's application for admission as a School of the University in the Faculties of Arts and Science in 1901. In the following year, the college attempted to remedy its position by the appointment of two (male) recognised teachers as visiting lecturers and the launching of an appeal to improve the library.[148] Mabel Beloe also conveniently left Westfield in this year to become headmistress of Howell's School, Denbigh. These changes resulted in Westfield being accepted as a School of the University in the Faculty of Arts in 1902.

Although London women had a voice in the university through their membership of the Boards of Studies, they were underrepresented at the level of the University Senate. Only University and King's colleges had direct representation on the Senate, while the three women's colleges made an informal agreement that one woman should be nominated to represent them on the Faculties of Science and Arts. As has been mentioned, Emily Penrose was the first representative of the Faculty of Arts, while Catherine

---

[148]Sondheimer, pp. 58-59.

Raisin, the representative nominated for Science was defeated. Penrose was succeeded by Beatrice Edgell and by Margaret Tuke.[149] In 1910, the Haldane Commission was presented with a petition signed by recognised teachers of the university complaining that women's views were not sufficiently represented on the Senate. As they had been over the question of the RHC chemistry professorship, however, the women were divided over the question of positive discrimination; only thirty of the sixty-one women who signed the petition called for reserving some Senate seats specifically for women.[150]

During this period, Oxford University made its first official move to recognise women with the foundation of the Delegacy for Women Students in 1910. The Delegacy was the first university body on which men and women acted together. It consisted of the vice chancellor and proctors, nine members of Convocation, and nine women members. Of the nine women members, two were to be appointed by the vice-chancellor and proctors and six chosen by an electoral board made up of the principals and women members of the educational staff of the women's colleges, as well as certain other women concerned with the education of women in Oxford. The principal of the Society of Home Students was a member ex-officio.[151]

The Delegacy was responsible for the registration of students, the recognition of new societies, the approval of

---

[149]Tuke, pp. 194-5.
[150]Haldane Commission, P.P. 1911 XX, qq. 7212, 7215-6.
[151]Marjorie Reeves, St. Anne's College, Oxford (Oxford, 1979), p. 9.

dwelling places, and the admission of women to university examinations. It also took over the administration of the Home Students from the AEW and was responsible for the appointment of a the Society's principal. Bertha Johnson and Annie Rogers were concerned about the position of the Home Students under the Delegacy, knowing that the women tutors from the other societies were worried about the growing number of Home Students and the way general funds were used for their support.[152] Trying to safeguard their interests, Rogers was able to secure the election as Delegates of Charlotte Green and Rachel Lane Poole, both of whom were supporters of the Society. Indeed the Delegacy proved to be favourable to the Home Students, giving them a grant of £25 for administration.[153] Under the Delegacy the Society of Home Students appointed its own tutors for the first time and placed some limitations on the number of students, bringing it more in line with the policy of the other colleges, and helping prepare its members for the admission of women to degrees and membership of the university, which would take place after the First World War.[154]

In the early twentieth century, there was no professional association for either male or female university teachers. A new forum for the concerns of university women, the British Federation of University Women

---

[152]R. H. Butler and M.F. Prichard, The Society of Oxford Home Students (Oxford, 1930), pp. 70 -71.
[153]Ibid., p. 75 and A. Rogers to B. Johnson (8 Dec. 1910) Delegacy for Women Students Papers, SAA.
[154]Butler, p. 75.

was, however, founded in 1907. The aims of the BFUW were to encourage independent research by women, to facilitate cooperation between those teaching at different universities, and to stimulate the interest of women in public life. In 1913, a standing committee responsible for guarding women's position in the universities actively remonstrated against Newnham's decision to reduce the number of staff lectureships, leading to Eleanor Sidgwick's resignation from its presidency.[155] Sidgwick believed that the staff had become too large for the college to support; in her view reducing the number of positions was preferable to raising student fees.[156]

Conclusion

In the period 1897 to 1914, women became increasingly assimilated into the academic profession, although the level of integration varied from one institution to another, and to some extent continued to be constrained by expectations of what constituted feminine behaviour and attitudes. An important development of this period was the appointment of women at coeducational universities and in new disciplines. Although these were important breakthroughs, at these institutions women academics tended to be disproportionately represented in junior positions, and, in spite of some new departures, to be concentrated in certain disciplines.

Women academics also followed the trend towards research,

---

[155]Janet Sondheimer, History of the British Federation of University Women (London, 1958), pp. 17-18.
[156]Ethel Sidgwick, Mrs. Henry Sidgwick (London, 1938), p. 179.

although the ability to make provisions for research was limited by the poverty of the women's colleges. The acceptance of women into learned societies and their nomination for academic prizes, however, showed that they were increasingly perceived as part of the scholarly establishment. Although the majority did research in mainstream areas, the contribution of women academics was distinguished by a number of women writing on subjects related to women's position in society. The professional ethos of women academics in this period was characterised by a belief in the importance of social service, and in some cases commitment to the emancipation of women. Of course, at this time certain inequities still existed; for instance women academics at Oxford and Cambridge were still denied degrees and membership of the university. Greater, although not total integration into the profession would not occur until after the First World War.

CHAPTER 7:

INTEGRATION INTO THE PROFESSION 1914-1930

By 1914, the position of women academics had improved considerably since the nineteenth century. The First World War would accelerate the trend towards the integration of women into the profession. In the absence of their male counterparts, women gained new opportunities to lecture and participate in university life. Moreover, the financial crisis of the war and the years immediately following it necessitated a substantial increase in the involvement of the state in the universities, which would be advantageous to both men and women. Women academics discovered, however, that costs as well as benefits resulted from their assimilation into the profession.

Women Academics and the First World War

During the First World War, women took men's places in schools, offices and factories. Women academics and students shared in the new opportunities which the war brought; they found themselves playing an important role in sustaining the universities both financially and socially. At London University, the number of students fell from 4,424 in 1910-11 to 3621 in 1915-16.[1] The university suffered from the loss of fee income, and a special grant from the

---

[1]Negley Harte, The University of London (London, 1986), p. 197.

Treasury was required to maintain solvency.[2] At Oxford, only 350 male students remained at the end of 1917, as opposed to over 3100 in 1913.[3] In the absence of their male colleagues, women at Oxford and Cambridge gained more opportunities to lecture. The Society of Oxford Women Tutors noted the names of eight of its members who lectured for the University during the war.[4] In Cambridge, students from other colleges attended lectures given at Newnham.[5] Women academics were also given the opportunity to help plan the curriculum with the remaining male tutors.[6]

As well as giving women more of a role in their own universities, the war presented new employment opportunities for women academics in various other institutions. For example, during the war, the Newnham lecturer Lynda Grier served as head of the economics department at Leeds University. She believed her experience there to be of great value; in 1921 she was elected principal of Lady Margaret Hall. Other women academics held responsible positions in the Civil Service. Among these was Grace Hadow, who, as head of a subsection of the Welfare Department of the Ministry of Munitions, was concerned with the health and well-being of women munitions workers.[7] Some women who chose not to leave their academic posts did war work during

---

[2]H. Miers to Secretary, Bd. of Ed. (19 Jan. 1915) ED/119/28, Public Records Office.
[3]Vera Brittain, Women at Oxford, (London, 1958), p. 136 and Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities (Asquith Commission) PP 1922, X, p. 26.
[4]SOWT Council Minutes (11 March 1919), SCA.
[5]Newnham Council Minutes (4 May 1918), NA.
[6]R. Butler and M. Prichard, The Society of Oxford Home Students, (Oxford, 1930), p. 86.
[7]Helena Deneke, Grace Hadow (London, 1946), pp. 74-75.

vacations, such as Mildred Pope who worked for the Friends' War Victims Relief Committee in France, arranging for the rehousing of civilians whose homes had been destroyed.

One advantage of wartime employment was that it was often better paid than academic work. After working for the Civil Service during the war, Adelaide Davin was reluctant to resume her post as assistant in Karl Pearson's laboratory:

> I am feeling old, and wish to settle down, so that I do not feel disposed to take another temporary post. I find I cannot work when there is uncertainty as to my ultimate fate and Life is altogether too melancholy under such conditions. Then there is also the difficulty with regard to salary. I am compelled to be dependent on what I earn, and I am afraid with the present conditions of living I could not reduce my expenses enough for them to be covered by a salary much lower than what the Ministry is giving me.[8]

Davin did return to Pearson's laboratory, where she remained until 1924. In fact most women academics resumed their posts; war work was essentially a temporary occupation brought into existence by the national emergency. After the war, it became more difficult for women to enter the higher grades of the Civil Service, because admission procedures favoured ex-servicemen. Except for a special competition for women in 1921, open competition for these posts was not resumed until 1924.[9] A few women did leave the academic sector, however: after working on private research during

---

[8]A. Davin to K. Pearson (19 January 1919), Pearson Papers, College Collection, UCA.

[9]See Meta Zimmeck, `Strategies and Stratagems for the Employment of Women in the British Civil Service,' The Historical Journal 27, 4 (1984), R.K. Kelsall, Higher Civil Servants (London, 1955) and Hilda Martindale, Women Servants of the State (London, 1938).

the war, Marie Stopes resigned her lectureship at UCL in disgust, claiming that it afforded `neither full facilities for research nor a living wage.'[10]

The First World War was followed by two important legislative changes for British women--the enfranchisement of women over thirty in 1918, and the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act of 1919, which allowed women to become lawyers, magistrates, serve on juries and in the upper levels of the Civil Service. Chartered professions such as accounting and engineering also opened their doors to women for the first time in the 1920s.[11] In 1922 Ivy Williams became the first woman to be called to the English bar, although rather than practising she served as tutor to the Society of Oxford Home Students. The first woman solicitor, Carrie Morrison, who had been educated at Girton, qualified in the same year.[12]

Although the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act was an important victory for women, it disappointed the hopes of those who believed it would completely end sex discrimination. Although it gave professional bodies the power to admit women, it did not give women the right to demand entry.[13] For instance, during the agitation for degrees at Cambridge, the women and their supporters took legal advice, and found that while the Act made it possible

---

[10]Ruth Hall, Dr. Marie Stopes (London, 1977), p. 186.
[11]Neal A. Ferguson, `Women's Work: Employment Opportunities and Economic Role 1918-39,' Albion, 7 (Spring 1975), pp. 59-60.
[12]Harry Kirk, Portrait of a Profession (London, 1976), p. 111..
[13]Harold Smith, ed., British Feminism (Massachusetts, 1990), p. 52.

to admit women to the university, it could not compel it to do so.[14]

The Emergence of a National Profession

Before the war, academic salaries, except for those of professors and Oxford and Cambridge fellows, were notoriously low. In 1913, fifty-eight members of the Manchester University teaching staff complained to the Council about salaries of £150 a year in Arts and £125 in science.[15] During the war, inflation made these salaries, always inadequate, impossible to live on. Government support seemed to be the only answer. The universities had first received grants from the Treasury in 1889; the first women's college to receive a Treasury grant was Bedford in 1894.[16] Bedford also received a grant from the Technical Education Board of the London County Council in this year.[17] Unlike Westfield and RHC, Bedford was eligible for public funding because each year it accepted a few women training to be elementary school teachers.[18] The Advisory Committee on University Grants gave ad hoc grants to universities or to university departments in the years before the war, and in 1919 the University Grants Committee was founded.

---

[14]Opinion of R.A. Wright and Arnold D. McNair (20 Oct. 1920), Agitation for Degrees Coll., NA.
[15]Harold Perkin, Key Profession (London, 1969), pp. 23-29.
[16]Robert O. Berdahl, British Universities and the State (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 48-49. The Scottish universities had first received grants from the Crown in 1706, and the University of London, where the members of the Senate were appointed by the government, received a small grant from 1836 onwards.
[17]Margaret Tuke, A History of Bedford College for Women (Oxford, 1939), pp. 155-6.
[18]Ibid., p. 172.

The women's colleges, which had suffered considerably from the inflation of the war years, were eager to be included in the new grant scheme. London University was granted over £300,000, including £8000 to Bedford College and £3000 to Royal Holloway college.[19] After some initial doubts the Committee, which inspected the college in November 1919, granted Westfield £3000. The change in the constitution which enabled non-Anglicans to be eligible for membership of the governing body in 1919 was necessary to make the college eligible for government funding.[20] The members of the UGC were convinced that university salaries were too low and hoped to make them commensurate with those of other professional groups.[21] Indeed the provision of grants enabled the University of London to gradually develop a standardised grading system of its academic staff with corresponding salary levels, which treated men and women equally.[22] London salary levels can be seen in Table 12.

In its 1921 report, the UGC made special reference to the needs of women academics--not surprising considering that Margery Fry, shortly to become principal of Somerville (1926-31) was one of its members. The Committee applauded the increase in the number of women university teachers, but stressed the need to encourage women to participate in university government and in the determination of the curriculum. Furthermore, it called on the universities to

---

[19]Harte, p. 198.
[20]Janet Sondheimer, Castle Adamant in Hampstead (London, 1983), pp. 81-84 and 95-96.
[21]Report of the University Grants Committee on the Financial Needs of the Universities of the United Kingdom, and on the Application of Parliamentary Grants, PP 1921, XI, p. 365.
[22]Harte, p. 198.

provide adequate salaries and emoluments in order to attract the best women.[23] The Committee also sought to ensure women's representation on university bodies, although it did not suggest how this could be carried out:

> So long as the women teachers remain in a comparatively small minority upon the staffs of the Universities, there may be a need to take special steps to ensure their representation on such bodies as deal with discipline and accommodation.[24]

These recommendations were repeated in the UGC Report of 1923, but by 1930, the UGC's optimism had faded in the face of economic depression: `High hopes were formed about openings for women during the war, which have not been fulfilled during the difficult period which succeeded it.'[25] The Committee also dropped its recommendations about women academics, remarking at one point that a university teaching post `should first of all offer to a man the prospect of marrying and maintaining himself and his family.'[26]

The Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges were given government funding during the period 1919-1922 pending the report of the Asquith Commission. They all sent written representations to the Commission explaining their urgent need for financial support. The need was particularly great at Oxford, because of the larger building debts and lack of endowment.[27] A joint memorandum from the five women's

---

[23]UGC Report, 1921, p. 368.
[24]Ibid.
[25]University Grants Committee Report Including Returns from Universities and University Colleges in Receipt of Treasury Grant 1928-9 (London, 1930), p. 4.
[26]Ibid., p. 23.
[27]Asquith Commission, Appendix 11, pp. 282-3.

societies emphasised the need for increased stipends and pensions, the promotion of advanced study and research, and the maintenance and development of buildings.[28] The individual societies proceeded to list specific needs: LMH and St. Hugh's Colleges were in an especially bad position because they had not been able to benefit from a grant made by the Cassel Trust, since the trustees objected to the rule requiring Council members to belong to the Church of England.[29]

The question of salaries was addressed specifically by a separate memorandum from the Society of Oxford Women Tutors. The tutors called for a higher fixed rate of payment, higher fees for tuition, more time and better provision for research, and an adequate pension plan. The question of salaries was a complicated one at Oxford because of the tutorial system.[30] The tutors' salaries were made up of a small fixed stipend added to the hourly fees they earned by tutoring students. This piecework system was also used at Newnham until 1920.[31] It was retained at Girton until a later date.[32] Salaries therefore varied from year to year and from School to School. The SOWT remarked that `the rate of payment is the same as it was over 25 years ago, and is lower than that now currently paid by the men's

---

[28]Ibid., pp. 275-6.
[29]E. Jourdain to M.N. Tod, Asst. Secretary (29 June 1921) MS. Top. Oxon. b.107, Minutes of Evidence of Asquith Commission, Dept. of Western MSS, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
[30]See Table 13 on Oxford and Cambridge salaries.
[31]Newnham Council Minutes (28 Feb. 1920), NA.
[32]Lady Margaret Hall Report of Finance Committee on Payments to the Staff, LMHA. The Girton Council minutes were not available for consultation.

colleges, when they send pupils to outside teachers.'[33] In 1920, in preparation for their submission to the Royal Commission, they sent a questionnaire to their members inquiring about workload and salaries. The questionnaire revealed that Oxford women tutors spent about fifteen and a half hours per week per term teaching students.[34] The LMH modern linguist Margaret Skipworth commented that `every spare moment' was taken up with duties of one sort of another, while the St. Hugh's historian Cecilia Ady noted that she was responsible for thirty students.

Annie Rogers chose to send a separate memorandum to the Commission. Although she supported the tutors' demands for higher salaries, she believed that to some extent the women tutors were responsible for their own poor financial position. She believed that fees for tutoring were depressed by the continued presence of women in Oxford willing to do part-time teaching:

> The competition of pocket money teachers for `casual' work also contributes to keep down salaries. They do not accept lower fees, but they are content with a small amount of teaching. Thus the work is broken up instead of being combined to produce adequate salaries for women who are dependent on their profession for a living.[35]

---

[33]Asquith Commission, Appendix 11, p. 282.
[34]Answers to Questionnaire (1920), Eleanor Lodge Papers, LMHA. It must be noted, however, that Oxford male academics also found the tutorial system at times excessive. For instance, Mary Stocks' husband J.L. Stocks gave up his tutorship at St. John's in 1924 for a post as professor of philosophy at Manchester because the long tutorial hours gave him little time for writing. See Mary Stocks, My Commonplace Book (London, 1970), p. 139.
[35]Annie Rogers, `Memorandum Submitted to the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities,' (21 May 1920), MS. Top. Oxon. b.107, 50, Minutes of the Asquith Comm.

Influenced by her own experience as a self-supporting, non-resident tutor, Rogers called for more cooperation between colleges to create full-time appointments.

Although they were better off than their Oxford counterparts, the Cambridge women's colleges shared many of the same concerns. Girton College had, with the help of several benefactors, managed to pay off its building debt before 1914, but the rising prices after the war had necessitated an increase of fees to what was believed to be their maximum level. The Newnham council was similarly concerned with the college's lack of endowment in the face of rising costs. Both colleges, however, possessed pension plans, while at Oxford only Somerville provided pensions for its staff at this time.[36]

In its report of 1922, the Asquith commission recommended government grants for the support of the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges, with the stipulation that half the sum should be reserved for stipends and pensions.[37] The grant was initially made for a ten-year period; £4000 was given to each university for distribution among its women's colleges. As can be seen in Table 13, by 1921 the temporary grants had already enabled the women's colleges to raise salaries from pre-war levels. Salaries at Oxford, however, lagged behind those at Cambridge.

As well as helping to improve salaries, the government grants enabled more of the women's colleges to introduce pension plans. Before the First World War, several had

---

[36]Asquith Commission, Appendix 11, pp. 280-83.
[37]Asquith Commission Report, n. 192.

begun pension funds,[38] such as the small-scale contributory scheme set up at Bedford in 1906-7.[39] It had the disadvantage, however, of only applying to professorial staff, thereby excluding most women staff members. In 1913, the Advisory Committee on University Grants, of which Emily Penrose was a member, set up the Federated Superannuation System for Universities, which was based on contributions by both the individual staff member and the institution, and had the advantage of being transferable from one university to another. A drawback for those men and women earning low salaries was that while the scheme was compulsory for new entrants receiving over £300 a year, it was optional for those earning between £200 and £300, and the consent of the governing body was needed for those earning between £160 and £200.[40] The London colleges all joined the scheme upon its inception. Somerville joined in 1917, and the other three Oxford women's colleges joined after the recommendations of the Asquith Commission.[41]

The Society of Oxford Home Students benefited less from the new grants than did the Oxford women's colleges. Although by 1924 the Society possessed nine tutors, all, with the exception of two at the Catholic hostel Cherwell Edge, were non-resident and received no fixed salary, making them solely dependent on fees from teaching. While between 1922 and 1932, the women's colleges each received £1000 per year out of the government grant given to the university,

---

[38]Barbara Stephen, Girton College, p. 96.
[39]Tuke, p. 243.
[40]Advisory Committee on University Grants. Second Report, (Superannuation Scheme) PP 1912-13, XXII, pp. 895-98.
[41]LMH Log Book (24 Nov. 1923), LMHA.

the Home Students only received £450 per year. Recognising that their expenses were less than those of the colleges, the Society nevertheless felt that the grant was inadequate for their needs. They claimed that they were unable to offer their tutors more than the nominal retaining fee which was begun in 1924[42], so that while by 1933 the colleges were offering their staff fixed salaries, the Home Students' tutors still relied on student fees.[43]

The inadequacy of academic salaries during the First World War also gave impetus to the formation of the first professional association for academics, the Association of University Teachers. The AUT was formed by assistant staff members, who suffered disproportionately from the wartime inflation. The number of assistants had increased greatly before the war; most of these men and women were doing similar work to senior members of staff, but were low-paid and had no security of tenure. During the war they began to organise informally within individual universities. In 1917, R. Douglas Laurie, a zoology lecturer at Liverpool University, called a general meeting of assistant staff associations, which planned the foundation of the AUT.

The AUT acted as an information bank for higher education in addition to its more important function of lobbying for higher salaries and benefits. Although women

---

[42]Marjorie Reeves, St. Anne's College, Oxford (1979), p. 16.
[43]W.D. Ross, `Application to the University for Increase of Grant to the SOHS' (15 May 1933), SF/9/2, Women Students Property Committee Papers, OUA.

academics played a role in the AUT, the organisation did not adequately explore or represent their interests. At the 1917 meeting only one women's college was represented, Bedford. Bedford was destined, however, to play an important role in the early formation of AUT policy--a memorandum by the Bedford Staff Association urged the importance of including both senior and junior ranks in the proposed association, a policy which was eventually adopted.

The AUT was governed by an Executive Committee whose members were chosen by a central council made up of the delegates of the local AUT branches.[44] The Committee was presided over by the Honorary Secretary, R. Douglas Laurie from 1921 to 1953. In the year 1921-22 there were two women on the Executive Committee, Helen Gwynne Vaughan of Birkbeck and A.C. Halket of Bedford. In the Council, which was composed of the officers of the AUT plus the delegates of the local associations, there were six additional women: Geraldine Jebb representing Durham University, Beatrice Edgell from Bedford, Helen Masters from King's College Department of Household and Social Science, Miss M. Bond representing the London medical schools and two rotating members from RHC.[45] Two women were appointed to represent a newly started Westfield branch in 1923.[46] The first woman president of the AUT, Mrs. I.J.M. Bisson was elected in 1934.

---

[44]Perkin, pp. 26-53.
[45]One of these could conceivably be a man, as there were male academics on the staff.
[46]Universities Bulletin (Nov. 1923).

The fact that Cambridge and Oxford did not form branches of the AUT until 1935 and 1939 respectively meant that during the 1920s, a substantial proportion of the female academic profession was excluded from the Association. Furthermore, originally the temporary assistants and demonstrators, who included many women, were not eligible for membership.[47] In 1923, it was decided that administrative personnel, librarians, wardens of hostels of academic standing, and part-time teachers could be accepted on recommendation of the local association with endorsement by the Council.[48] However, in 1929, a request to allow Dr. Ursula Andrewes, a part-time lecturer in physics at the Department of Household Science to join was `only confirmed by the executive unwillingly.'[49] The proviso as to part-time staff affected Westfield in particular, where in the 1920s, four women members of its small staff were part-time.

The position of women academics did not seem to be on the AUT agenda during this period. The only suggestion that women academics might have particular interests was the inclusion of a paper on the position of women in the universities at a conference held at the Bristol University branch.[50] In contrast, the parallel American Association of University Professors, founded in 1915, started a special committee, Committee `W,' on the status of women, which

---

[47]Perkin, p. 49.
[48]R.D. Laurie to E. Gedge (6 January 1923), Westfield Correspondence, AUT Papers, Modern Records Centre, Warwick University.
[49]D.R. Crofts to R.D. Laurie, (17 December 1929), KCW Correspondence, AUT Papers.
[50]Universities Bulletin (May 1922), p. 30. No further information could be located about this conference.

produced a landmark report during the 1920s.[51] (See below, p. 248 .) American academic women also continued to be represented by the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, known from 1922 as the American Association of University Women, and the National Association of Deans of Women.[52]

The AUT's journal, the Universities Bulletin,largely ignored issues of importance to women academics such as the failure to win degrees at Cambridge in 1920 and the passage of the statute limiting the number of women students at Oxford in 1927. The only reference to the debate at Cambridge was a letter from `M.A. Cantab.' exhorting the Girton and Newnham dons to spend more time `ruminating...on the past and future of the world' rather than on their teaching and administrative work.[53] The fact that Oxford and Cambridge were not part of the AUT during this period does not really explain this lack of interest.

The comments of I.J.M. Bisson upon her election as president of the AUT suggest a policy of deliberately avoiding the question of gender.

> She refrained from marking the occasion by any discussion of the position of women in the universities because she believed that it was a difficult problem which had passed the stage when statements of principle were of much value. It could best be solved by practical experience, with realism and wisdom and tact. The ardent theorist was a source of danger.[54]

---

[51] Ibid (April 1923), p. 36.
[52] G. Clifford ed., Lone Voyagers: Women Academics in Coeducational Universities (New York, 1989), p.1.
[53] Universities Bulletin (March 1924), pp. 61-62.
[54] AUT President's Address (14 December 1934), uncatalogued, AUT Papers.

Although during this period, the AUT failed to single out women from the rest of the academic profession, it did help women academics in the context of the general support it gave to assistant staff members. RHC and Bedford employees used the AUT to back up their demands for higher pay and security of tenure.[55] Furthermore, the AUT tacitly supported equal pay; its recommendations for a graded salary scale did not take gender into account.[56] It is difficult to know, however, if a separate women's section of the AUT would have been more effective, or would have been counterproductive.

The AUT's silence on the equal pay issue seems at first sight rather surprising in the light of the controversy which raged in other professions during the 1920s.[57] The elementary school teachers' association, the National Union of Teachers, voted to support equal pay in 1919 after a successful lobbying campaign by the National Federation of Women Teachers.[58] In 1920, however, under the name the National Union of Women Teachers, this organisation broke with the NUT, fearing it was not sufficiently committed to the principle of equal pay.[59] Two years later, a group of male teachers, the National Association of Schoolmasters, split from the NUT objecting to equal pay and the increased

---

[55]Agenda, Executive Committee Meeting (6 Oct. 1927), MSS 27/3/10/43/1, Bedford Correspondence, and I. Powell to R.D. Laurie (8 May 1927), MSS 27/3/13/28, RHC Corr., AUT Archives.
[56]Perkin, p. 72.
[57]See Alison Oram, `Inequalities in the Teaching Profession,' in Felicity Hunt, ed., Lessons for Life (Oxford, 1987) and Geoffrey Partington, Women Teachers in the Twentieth Century (NFER Publishing, 1976).
[58]Partington, pp. 19-20.
[59]Ibid.

employment of women teaching boys.[60] Female secondary school teachers also earned lower salaries than their male counterparts, and their situation worsened during the interwar period. In the 1920s, the wages of women secondary teachers declined in relation to men's as a result of the statutory marriage bar of 1922, which led to a constant supply of young teachers at the bottom of the salary scale, and the reduction in women's increments instituted by the Burnham settlement of 1925.[61]

The higher education sector was, however, very different from the elementary or even the secondary school sectors. Since women teaching at the universities were in such a minority, there was no perceived danger of the feminisation of the profession as existed in elementary schoolteaching. Furthermore, in spite of government grants, the universities were essentially autonomous institutions which determined their own salary structures, so there was no question of a government policy on salaries being imposed from above. With the exception of Oxford and Cambridge, where colleges maintained their own salary scales, academics were paid according to rank, so equal pay was not an issue.

This picture contrasts greatly, however, with the situation in the United States. During the period 1910-1924, American women academics actively tried to improve their status, but with little success. The ACA's journal criticised the dearth of women in senior posts at

---

[60]Oram, pp. 101-105.
[61]On the issue of equal pay in secondary schools see Penny Summerfield, `Women and the Professional Labour Market,' History of Education Society Occasional Publication, 8, (1987), pp. 46-48.

coeducational universities, and gave instances of women academics being frankly rejected because of their sex. The Association encouraged the AAUP to form Committee W. This committee's report was one of a number of surveys of academic women during the 1920s which showed their marginalisation into highly feminised fields, their difficulty in advancing despite the possession of higher degrees, and the inequality of salary scales. The Committee also conducted an opinion survey, which suggested that women did not advance because their contribution to scholarship was insufficient. Ignoring the fact that women's relegation to junior posts gave them little opportunity to perform original research, the Committee rather lamely concluded that women must try to publish more--a deliberate strategy of overqualification. By 1924, academic feminism in America had collapsed.[62] The greater organisation and outspokenness of American women academics seemed to have had little effect, beyond, perhaps, increasing hostility.

Relations with the Universities

As has been seen, in the AUT the particular concerns of women academics were submerged to some extent in the wider needs of the profession. Similarly, at Oxford after the admission of women to membership of the university, women academics had to accept being part of a larger whole. As the men's colleges had discovered during the nineteenth century, they found that centralisation cost them some of

---

[62]Margaret Rossiter, Women Scientists in America (Baltimore, 1982), pp. 163-67.

the autonomy which they had enjoyed as separate entities. For instance, after 1920, women students came under the authority of the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors. An early disagreement occurred over the proper academic dress for women; as a cap, the women principals favoured the mortar-board worn by the men. The proctors thought the mortar-board unsuitable for women, however, and chose a soft cap instead.[63] Susan Leonardi sees the alternative cap as a way of preserving difference.[64] In the early 1920s, the women principals continued to make rules for their students, although these were agreed by the proctors and had proctorial sanction. In 1926, however, the Vice Chancellor and Proctors drew up their own set of rules without consulting the women principals. Although the women principals remained responsible for enforcing discipline, the university gradually played a larger role.[65]

The challenge that the University posed to the autonomy of the women's colleges was further illustrated by the continuing conflict over the Taylorian Institute. In 1920, a new scheme was inaugurated in which college tutors in modern languages could hold part-time lectureships at the Taylorian. Mildred Pope of Somerville and Eleanor Jourdain of St. Hugh's were duly appointed, as well as a few other women on a temporary basis.[66] Three years later, however, Pope resigned her appointment because she preferred to be

---

[63]Annie M.A.H. Rogers, Degrees by Degrees (Oxford, 1938), p. 114.
[64]Susan Leonardi, Dangerous by Degrees (New Jersey, 1989), p. 48.
[65]Rogers, pp. 137-145.
[66]Charles Firth, Modern Languages at Oxford (London, 1929), p. 101.

independent of the Taylorian organisation. As she wrote to Emily Penrose, `I sometimes feel that the real educational interests of the students may be in danger of being sacrificed to some extent to the exigencies of organisation.'[67] Pope objected to the teaching methods of the Taylorian, which she described as `antiquated and uneducational.'[68] She was referring to the overuse of the lecture method, which she believed did not allow for sufficient variety or discussion of the reading assigned. Furthermore, she felt that the Taylorian staff dominated decisions about the content of the lecture list. Pope's colleague, Margaret Skipworth shared her grievances, as well as maintaining that the male students did not prepare for class beforehand, and hence the standard of work suffered.[69]

Essentially, Pope and Skipworth objected to the principle of having to send their students to the Taylorian if nothing being offered there was suitable, when for many years they had been completely responsible for the tuition of their own students. Another boycott of the Taylorian was considered and discarded.[70] Instead the women tutors approached Lewis Farnell, the Vice-Chancellor, whom they found unsympathetic. According to Pope, `(The Vice-Chancellor) is taking the point of view that the women want to introduce a system of teaching that is non-university in character, schooling and spoonfeeding.'[71]

---

[67]M.K. Pope to E. Penrose, (24 April 1921), Council Minutes, SCA.
[68]Mildred Pope's Personal Notes, Pope Collection, c.1923, SCA.
[69]Notes on Taylorian Problem, 1923, Ibid.
[70]Ibid.
[71]Pope's personal notes, SCA.

In Pope's eyes, however, it was the large lecture classes which tended to spoonfeeding; she called for small discussion classes in the colleges. Farnell, however, was concerned that the tutorial side of the work should not be over-emphasised.[72] This dispute with the women's colleges had its roots in Farnell's desire to increase the jurisdiction of the university over the colleges, while the women fought for their right to control their own students' education. As had occurred upon the formation of the Honour School of Modern Languages, women academics found their power over their own students threatened by absorption into the university structure.

Constitutional Change in the Women's Colleges

Women's integration into the university was also characterised by the adoption of the self-governing structures of the men's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, and the increased representation of women academics in college and university government in London. Constitutional change at Oxford was made particularly urgent by a controversy known as the `St. Hugh's Row.'[73]

In the early 1920s, the senior history tutor at St. Hugh's, Cecilia Ady, was the leader of a group of tutors who were actively trying to improve the representation of the

---

[72]Taylor Institution Conference (3 July 1923), Principals' Correspondence and Papers, 1910-28, Department of Modern Manuscripts, Room 132, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

[73]Accounts of the row have been published by Hilary Spurling in The Secrets of a Woman's Heart (London, 1984), the second volume of her autobiography of Ivy Compton-Burnett and by Lucille Iremonger in The Ghosts of Versailles (London, 1957). The most objective account is that given by Rachel Trickett in Penny Griffin, ed., St. Hugh's (London, 1986).

staff on the governing body of the college. The principal, Eleanor Jourdain,began to feel that their activities were a threat to her position. In 1923, the growing tension between Jourdain and Ady came to a crisis in a dispute over the constitutional status of tutors' meetings. Jourdain objected to the discussion by the staff, led by Ady, of a pension fund and of the duties of the new vice-principal at meetings which had no constitutional status, and at which she was not present.[74]

Although Jourdain was technically correct in her condemnation of the tutors' meetings, she was also aware that the trend at the Oxford women's colleges was toward greater power for the tutors. She supported this movement in theory; for instance in an editorial in the Oxford Magazine she explicitly stated that the constitutions of the women's colleges allowed for only inadequate representation of the staff on their councils.[75] Her personal distrust of Ady and her supporters, however, led her to believe that they were conspiring against her.

On 18 November 1923, Jourdain called Ady into her office and accused her of disloyalty, informed her that her appointment had expired, and that if she did not resign, she would be dismissed.[76] Ady appealed to the college Council,

---

[74]Trickett, pp. 52-53.

[75]EFJ, `The Royal Commission and the Women's Colleges,' Oxford Magazine (15 June 1922), p. 434. Betty Kemp points out that because of Board of Trade regulations tutors could not hold ex-officio seats on the St. Hugh's Council after incorporation; therefore the number of tutors on the council declined which probably affected the outcome of the vote against Ady in 1923. Betty Kemp, `The Early Years,' in Griffin, p. 24.

[76]The renewal of appointments of senior staff was usually a formality. Trickett, pp. 53-54.

where a motion to reappoint her was lost by one vote, whereupon six members of the Council and five tutors resigned: Edith Wardale (English), Margaret Shaw (French), Dorothy Everett (English), Gladys Scott-Thomson (History), and Jocelyn Toynbee (Classics).

Jourdain hired replacements for the resigning tutors and attempted to continue running the college under mounting pressure, most notably the boycott of St. Hugh's students by tutors from other colleges. The new tutors had to be appointed hurriedly; several were recent graduates of St. Hugh's--Evelyn Stopford, Helen Burnett, Margery Perham, Margaret Gardner, and Dorothy Newcomen. Evelyn Ritchie had been a schoolmistress before being hired by Jourdain. Of the new group, only Margery Perham and Elizabeth Francis would have distinguished academic careers.

In the Hilary term of 1924, St. Hugh's was bitterly divided. Ady and her supporters tried to sabotage Jourdain's efforts to continue running the college; for instance they corresponded with headmistresses, hoping to discourage schoolgirls from applying to St. Hugh's.[77] One student placed a `stink bomb' in the room of Joan Evans, who was acting as a replacement.[78]

Finally, in response to representations by the Old Students and the parents of current students, the Chancellor of the university was appointed to inquire into the dispute. Lord Curzon's report, published in the Oxford University Gazette on 2 April 1924 vindicated Cecilia Ady and suggested

---

[77] Ibid. pp. 56-57.
[78] Spurling, p. 108.

changes in personnel which could be understood to mean the resignation of the principal. Four days later, Eleanor Jourdain died of a heart attack.[79]

In the Michaelmas Term, 1924, the principalship of St. Hugh's was taken over by Barbara Gwyer, who managed to rebuild the college's reputation in the university.[80] Several of the resigning tutors were offered positions at other colleges in Oxford--Edith Wardale at St. Hilda's and Dorothy Everett at Somerville--while Jocelyn Toynbee lectured for three years at Reading before becoming director of studies in classics at Newnham.[81] Ady herself became a tutor to the Oxford Home Students. The row effectively ended the academic careers of two of the women--Margaret Shaw, who subsequently worked as an assistant mistress and inspector of schools, and Gladys Scott-Thomson who became honorary archivist of Woburn Abbey.

As Rachel Trickett points out, the row was the result of a conflict of personalities as well as a disagreement over the constitutional rights of principal and tutors.[82] Particularly at issue was the personality of its protagonist, Eleanor Jourdain. Jourdain came from a large clerical family; she was educated at home and at LMH where she received a second class in the Honours School of Modern History in 1886.[83] She taught in girls' schools for several years before founding a small private school at Watford in

---

[79]Trickett, pp. 59-60.
[80]Ibid., p. 60.
[81]Everett was lecturer at Somerville from 1925-6. She was appointed fellow and tutor in English at LMH from 1928 to 1948, when she became a Reader.
[82]Trickett, p. 49.
[83]On Jourdain's family life, see Spurling, Chapter 1.

1892. Clearly Jourdain's primary experience was in the hierarchical relationships of school government rather than in the more democratic structure of universities. Many of her supporters on the St. Hugh's council were also headmistresses.[84]

Although she studied history at Oxford, Jourdain's real interests lay in French literature, in which she received a doctorate from the Sorbonne. In 1901 she was invited to be vice-principal and French tutor at St. Hugh's. It was in August of that year that Jourdain and Anne Moberly had a `psychic experience' while on a trip to Paris designed to help them become better acquainted. While visiting the gardens of Versailles, they saw what they believed were landscape, buildings, and people from the eighteenth century. After extensive research aimed to prove the authenticity of what they saw, they published an account of their experience entitled An Adventure pseudonymously.[85]

In 1911, the date of its publication, and for many years afterwards, An Adventure caused great popular interest and debate.[86] An answer to the mystery was finally found in 1976, when Joan Evans suggested that the two women had stumbled into a rehearsal for a fancy dress party given by the Comte de Montesquiou, a wealthy aristocrat who had a passion for eighteenth century history.[87] A question which

---

[84]Trickett, p. 55.
[85]An Adventure was a best-seller in 1911 and there were several subsequent editions and reprints. The latest is C.A.E. Moberly and E.F. Jourdain, An Adventure, ed. Joan Evans (London, 1955).
[86]A Symposium on An Adventure was organised as late as 1958. See The Trianon Adventure, 1958.
[87]Joan Evans, `An End to an Adventure,' Encounter (October, 1976), pp. 33-47.

remains, however, is why two women academics exposed themselves to so much dubious publicity at a time when most university women were known for their prudence and caution.

At first, it seems curious that the two women made no serious attempt to hide their identity--although they used pseudonyms, they spoke freely to their students and to others about their experience. As Joan Evans has pointed out, however, interests in psychic phenomena were fairly acceptable in university circles. The Society for Psychical Research had a large university membership; Henry Sidgwick was its first president, an office later held by Gilbert Murray.[88] Nevertheless, Anne Moberly and Eleanor Jourdain's faith in their experience and attempts to prove it were very different from the empirical methods of the SPR. In her review of An Adventure in the proceedings of the Society for 1911, another academic woman, Eleanor Sidgwick poured scorn on Moberly and Jourdain's interpretation, claiming that nothing supernatural had occurred at all.[89] The review caused much bad feeling; Moberly and Jourdain had assumed that their claims would be taken seriously.[90]

Jourdain's attitude towards the Versailles experience revealed that, in spite of her Paris doctorate, she had not absorbed professional standards of scholarship. Joan Evans, who supported her, described Jourdain as `not an exact

---

[88]Evans, p. 40. On the history of the SPR see Ivor Grattan-Guinness, ed., Society for Psychical Research (Wellingborough, 1982), pp. 17-35.

[89]`An Adventure,' Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research, 63 (June, 1911), pp. 353-60. Also see Ethel Sidgwick, Mrs. Henry Sidgwick (London, 1938) for Eleanor Sidgwick's involvement with the SPR.

[90]Evans, p. 40.

scholar,' and stated elsewhere that both she and Moberly were more likely to prefer a `romantic explanation to one capable of scientific proof.'[91] Evans believed that the Versailles experience was unfortunate for Jourdain's professional career in that it increased her reliance on the imaginative side of her character, which alienated her from the more scholarly tutors at St. Hugh's.[92] Cecilia Ady was one of these: she was the author of several important works on Italian medieval history and became a university lecturer in 1927 and in 1941 a member of the Council of the Royal Historical Society.

The reaction of Eleanor Sidgwick and others towards An Adventure, and more crucially towards Jourdain's treatment of Cecilia Ady during the Row, revealed that by this time there was some agreement as to standards of scholarship and professional conduct among women academics. Most believed that Jourdain's behaviour was unacceptable.[93]

The events following Ady's non-reappointment also revealed the shortcomings of the constitutions of the women's colleges, which had only a few representatives of the staff on their councils and in which there was no provision for the adjudication of disputes. One commentator in the Oxford Magazine stated that such a sequence of events could only happen at the women's colleges, with their vestiges of school government:

---

[91]Joan Evans, Prelude and Fugue (London, 1964), p. 35 and `An End to an Adventure,' p. 38.
[92]Evans, Prelude and Fugue, p. 99.
[93]For instance, Mary Bennett recalled that her mother Lettice Fisher thought Jourdain villainous. Conversation with Mary Bennett (29 June, 1989).

> St. Hugh's College is not a college at all, as that term is understood in Oxford. It is a girls' school, of which the Principal is headmistress, and the tutors are assistant mistresses, liable in practice, though not in theory, to dismissal by the Principal.[94]

The Row and the Chancellor's report, which recommended reform of the government of St. Hugh's, was followed by constitutional change at all of the Oxford women's colleges. For instance, in the formulating of the new LMH constitution, the rights of the tutors were carefully safeguarded. Tutors could only be dismissed by a two-thirds majority of the members of council, and had the right of appeal to a visitor. Eleanor Lodge tried to ensure permanent appointments for tutors after a probationary period, but had to be satisfied with a system of seven-year reappointments.[95] Royal charters were granted to all four women's colleges in 1925-6, which vested the governments in the principal and Council, which consisted of most of the college tutors, who officially became fellows, together with some outside members.[96] Annie Rogers believed that the presence of these outside members was an important way of maintaining links with university men. In subsequent years, however, male academics began to have less time to devote to the concerns of the women's colleges, which became completely self-governing in 1950-55.[97]

The constitutional development of the Society of Oxford Home-Students took a different path. After the dissolution

---

[94]Oxford Magazine (6 March 1924), p. 347.
[95]LMH Council Minutes (10 May 1924), LMHA.
[96]Brittain, The Women at Oxford, pp. 167-9.
[97]Ibid., pp. 18-20.

of both the Delegacy for Women Students and the AEW in 1921, a Delegacy of Home Students was created of which the vice Chancellor, proctors, principal and controller of lodgings were ex-officio members and other members were appointed by Congregation, by the vice chancellor and proctors, and by the Hebdomadal Council or co-opted.[98] A few of these were usually tutors to the Home Students. The Society's tutors had, however, no official status in the college government, although the principal held informal tutors' meetings and laid their views before the Delegacy.

In 1926, a statute was drafted which limited the number of Home Students' tutors to four who would become delegates; the others would hold the rank of lecturers. The tutors unanimously opposed this plan, and under their influence a tutors' meeting was officially constituted which had the right of electing four representative delegates.[99] The Statute also defined conditions under which tutors could be appointed. The Society's tutors gradually acquired more powers in the following years; for instance in 1928 for the first time they had some say over the appointment of the new principal, Grace Hadow. As St. Anne's College, the Society of Oxford Home Students received a constitution similar to those of the other women's colleges in 1952.

At the London colleges, the assistant staff began to play a greater, if still limited role in college government during the 1920s. In 1922, the Westfield Council dissolved

---

[98]Reeves, p. 14.
[99]Ibid., p. 17. Also see Butler, pp. 8-11.

its education committee with the intention of relying in future on the Board of Principal Teachers for advice in educational matters. Renamed the Academic Board, this body was given official status in the Charter of 1933; the assistant staff, through the General Staff meeting, could pass on recommendations to the Board.[100] Constitutional development occurred more rapidly at RHC, where in 1928, two junior members of staff were allowed to sit on its analogous Academic Board.[101] A similar change had been made at Bedford in 1920-1.[102] At UCL, educational decisions were made by the Professorial Board, which nominated six members of the college governing body, the Committee. In 1921, it was decided to let the tutor for women students and sub-deans be ex-officio members of the Board.[103]

Women also gained a greater role in university government at London when the statutes of the university were altered according to the recommendations of the Hilton-Young Committee of 1926. At first, of the women's colleges only Bedford was included in the group of institutions slated for representation on the Senate and Collegiate Council.[104] After lobbying by Ellen Higgins of RHC and

---

[100]Sondheimer, pp. 106-7.
[101]Pick, 194.
[102]Tuke, p. 244.
[103]See Report on Status and Title, Representation and Status, (1921), in Council Minutes, UCL Records Office.
[104]Departmental Committee on London University, PP 1926, X, p. 241. The others were UCL, Kings, Imperial, the LSE, East London College, Birkbeck, two representatives of the medical schools and 5 additional members, 2 of whom could represent other schools of the university.

Eleanor Lodge, who had been elected principal of Westfield in 1921, the two colleges were each given representation.[105]

Conclusion

It has been seen that after the First World War, women academics found themselves members of an increasingly organised, self-conscious profession. The increased government funding administered through the University Grants Committee made the academic profession more viable for all its practitioners and particularly aided the struggling women's colleges. Through their membership of the Association of University Teachers, women academics at London and, eventually Oxford and Cambridge were able to play a limited part in the attempts to secure better salaries and benefits. Finally, women academics became members of Oxford University and secured a greater role in the governments of the Oxford, Cambridge and the London women's colleges.

As women became incorporated into the academic profession, however, they sometimes lost advantages they had gained through separate development. As members of the university, Oxford women academics lost some of the control over teaching arrangements that they had enjoyed when their colleges were independent entities. Similarly, in professional organisations, the interests of women academics tended to be submerged in those of the wider profession. Although women benefited from the AUT's policy on salaries, nothing was done to address the concerns of academic women

---

[105]One of these was Bertha Philpotts, the former principal of Westfield and Mistress of Girton.

specifically, and in particular to help reconcile the incompatibility of marriage and career, which will be further discussed in the following chapters.

Table 12:

Salaries at Selected London Colleges and Civic Universities in £ per year for the year 1921.

	Prof	Read	Head of Dept	Sen Lect	Asst Lect	Asst/Dem
Bed	800	400	600		250	200
Wes		400		300r* 400*	200r* 300*	
RHC	600r* 800*		250r* 700*		180r*	120* (pt-time)
Kin	800	400		300	250	200
UCL	800	400			250	75 (pt-time)
LSE	800	800		400		200
Lee	800			325	200	280
Bri	800	450		300	300	200
AUT	900	700		350	300	

These figures are taken from the University Grants Committee Returns, except those marked * which are taken from a report prepared for the Lady Margaret Hall Council, included in Council Minutes, LMH Archives. The AUT's proposed salary scale for 1921 is taken from Harold Perkin, Key Profession (London, 1969), p. 72.
Figures for the principals' salaries during this period could not be located. In 1910, fixed salaries were substituted at Bedford for the previous system of teaching fees. The other colleges, for which detailed information was unavailable also appear to be fixed-rate.

Those marked as "r" are resident. All others are non-resident.

Table 13:

Average Salaries at the Oxford and Cambridge Women's Colleges in £ per year as of June 1921.

	Principal	VP or Head of House	Dir of Stud	Tutors
Som	600	155*		250
LMH	450	286		232
SHu	300	190*		235
SHi	400	450		275
Gir			200	343
New	800	450	420	370

Averages were taken because of salaries varied depending on the amount to teaching each staff member did.
All figures refer to resident positions. Director of Studies were found at Cambridge only.
* Does not include teaching fees.
These figures are taken from the Report of the Finance Committee on Payments to the Staff, LMH Council Minutes, LMH Archives.

CHAPTER 8: REACTION

1920-30

In the 1920s, women academics faced a wave of reaction against the gains they had made directly following the war. Opposition to the higher education of women had, of course, continued to exist in spite of nineteenth-century developments; new justifications for this prejudice were, however, found in the 1920s. The renewed strength of the opposition was revealed by the failure of women to be granted degrees at Cambridge in 1921, and the passage of the Limitation Statute at Oxford in 1927. The disillusionment with women's position in higher education was also expressed by the increasing dissatisfaction of younger dons and students with the values and structure of the women's colleges, the institutions founded and sustained by women academics. In the 1920s, the professional ethos of women academics, so influential in the early twentieth century, began to be seriously questioned.

Reaction against Women in the Ancient Universities

Directly following the war, the professional position of women academics at Oxford was consolidated by their admission to degrees and membership of the university. Women were given degrees in the wake of the admiration for women's participation in the war effort. A statute admitting women to degrees and membership of the university without the academic vote had been proposed in the

Hebdomadal Council by J.L. Stocks in 1913, but was delayed by the war.[1] By 1920, after the passage of the women's franchise bill and the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, the statute granting degrees and full membership of the university to women was passed easily.[2] The question of the admission of women to degrees had also been revived in Cambridge in 1918, but by the time the first vote was taken in 1920, the reaction against post-war change had begun to set in. The campaign for women's degrees in Cambridge was bitter, protracted, and ultimately unsuccessful. Its events have been reconstructed by Rita McWilliams-Tullberg.[3] Of interest here is to see what role women academics played in the conflict and what its implications were for them.

Women academics in post-war Cambridge suffered from a number of disabilities. They could not hold university positions, were excluded from the Boards of Studies, and had no voice in university legislation. Women lecturers had no right of access to university laboratories and could only use the Cambridge University Library on the same basis as members of the public. In 1918, a Memorial written by 135 members of the university called for the reconsideration of the position of women in Cambridge, drawing particular attention to the plight of the woman lecturers. At the same time, committees were formed at Girton and Newnham to work towards the granting of degrees to women.[4]

---

[1] Annie Rogers, Degrees by Degrees (Oxford, 1938), p. 67.
[2] Oxford Chronicle (12 March 1920).
[3] Rita McWilliams-Tullberg, Women at Cambridge (London, 1975).
[4] Ibid., pp. 153-4.

After much agitation, a proposal giving women degrees and full membership of the university was defeated by a vote in the Senate in December 1920. Almost immediately a compromise proposal was brought forward. Known as Grace I, it gave women degrees and membership of the university but excluded them from holding the offices of chancellor, vice-chancellor, proctor, and any university office which was ex-officio head of a department; it also denied women M.A.s a vote in the Senate, while allowing them two non-voting representatives on the Council, and limited the number of women undergraduates. An alternative proposal, Grace II, gave the university the power to allow women the titles of their degrees, made some provision for their admission to libraries and laboratories, and limited their numbers.[5]

The decision to reopen the question so soon after the December defeat incensed many of the women's opponents, as did the threat made by the degree party to approach the Asquith Commission, which was currently sitting, if Grace I was not passed.[6] Even some of those sympathetic to the women's cause objected to the principle of interfering with the university's autonomy in this manner. This hostility probably contributed to the defeat of Grace I in the Senate in October 1921. The voting was followed by a near-riot in which undergraduates damaged the bronze gates of Newnham College. Grace II, which enabled women to have their

---

[5]Royal Commission on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, (Asquith Commission), PP 1922, X, Appendix 11, pp. 286-289.

[6]See Charles B.C. Storey (MA Clare), `Women and Morals,' Cambridge Review (3 June 1921), p. 407 and Letter from MA, Cambridge Review (13 May 1921), p. 364.

achievements recognised by the title Bachelor of Arts, was passed.

Subsequently, the women carried through their threat of submitting their case to the Royal Commission.[7] This appeal was not entirely successful. In their report of 1922, the Commissioners supported the principle of degrees and membership for women, although they believed certain restrictions should be placed upon them: `We desire strongly that Cambridge should remain mainly and predominantly a "men's University" though of a mixed type, as it already is.'[8] To safeguard the identity of the university, the Commissioners recommended that the posts of chancellor, vice-chancellor and proctor should not be opened to women; they were also against women heads of departments and opposed to the concept of a woman being elected to a post because of her gender.[9] The Labour leader William Graham and the Newnham principal B.A. Clough, both of whom served on the Commission, added a reservation objecting to the principle of a university which refused to give women equal status being the recipient of government funding.

As has been seen, the Report of the Asquith Commission resulted in the Oxford and Cambridge Act of 1923. In January 1924, statutory commissioners were appointed to alter the university statutes in accordance with the terms of the Act. Bertha Philpotts, at that time mistress of Girton, was one of the statutory commissioners, as was Emily Penrose. The resulting statutes of 1926 allowed women to be

---

[7]McWilliams-Tullberg, pp. 290-1.
[8]Asquith Commission, Report, n. 194.
[9]Ibid.

members of the newly created faculties and schools, so that the isolation of the women tutors of Girton and Newnham was finally brought to an end. Women became eligible for university posts, and eleven women were appointed out of 183 new lectureships created by the statutes. Women still had no part in university government, however, and the heads of Girton and Newnham and their staff attended university functions by courtesy only and were counted as `wives' at social gatherings and ceremonials.[10] Women were not admitted as full members of the university with the right to vote in university elections until 1947-48.

How can one account for the hostility towards women's aspirations in Cambridge? One of the most frequently-used arguments was related to a fear of women gaining control over men's education. Grace I was referred to as:

> Not a compromise but a surrender. As professors, lecturers, and above all, as members of Boards of Studies, women would obviously exercise that control of men's education which the new proposals professed to prevent.[11]

Some university men were anxious about women's influence on the academic standards and social life of the university. One correspondent referred to the `difficulty of maintaining severe intellectual tests in a university where women were members of educational boards.'[12]

A more real fear was of the influence that the presence of large numbers of women would have on the social life of

---

[10]McWilliams-Tullberg, p. 208.
[11]R.F. Scott and W. William Ridgeway, Flysheet (25 April 1921), Agitation for Degrees Coll., NA.
[12]A. Godley, `Greek in Extremis,' Nineteenth Century (1920), p. 987.

the university, considering the different sort of discipline which was considered necessary when men and women were together:

> Many think that the restrictions and supervision which would become necessary, and must create a different atmosphere would be unfavourable to the free undergraduate life of the place, on which so much of its prestige depends.[13]

These opponents felt that the traditional socialising function which the university provided for men would be altered by the presence of women, both as students and in positions of authority.

Some similar arguments were used in Oxford several years later during the controversy surrounding the Limitation Statute. The statute, which was passed in 1927 limited the number of students at the women's colleges to 840 or one fourth of the number of men. The first call for limitation had come in 1925, when a committee of the Hebdomadal Council noted an increase in the ratio of women to men students. This committee suggested that a diminution in the number of women students might enable more lodging houses to become available for men, citing the limitation of women at Cambridge to five hundred as a precedent.[14] The committee's report was the result of concern over the rapid increase in student numbers in the years following the war. There were complaints about congestion at lectures and

---

13. Corr. from Cantab.,' Cambridge Review (28 May 1920), p. 355.
14 Report of the Committee on the Number of Undergraduates in Residence, (4 Dec 1925), Hebdomadal Council Papers, Bodleian Library.

examinations, overcrowding in the Radcliffe Camera, and the shortage of lodging houses.

When examined, the recommendations of the committee seem rather curious. Most of the women in lodging houses were members of the Society of Oxford Home Students, whose numbers had been limited by the Delegates in 1922.[15] Furthermore, after the admittedly rapid increases after the war, in the year 1924-5, the number of women students had stabilised.[16] Ruth Butler reacted to the committee's report with sad amusement: `The naivete is beginning to strike me as humorous: the university is overcrowded, women nearly 1:4, cut down the women.'[17] Officially the women's colleges rallied their forces to counter the Committee's arguments, each sending a reply to the Hebdomadal Council. The LMH reply explained that `the increase in the number of undergraduates was due to efforts on the part of Council to maintain adequate tutorial staff and ensure financial stability.'[18] Indeed the Royal Commission had urged the women's colleges to aim at self-support. Most women academics accepted the fact that women would remain a minority in Oxford because of the late foundation of the women's colleges, and because at this time the opening of the men's colleges to women was inconceivable.[19]

---

[15]R.F. Butler, A History of St. Anne's Society, ii (Oxford, 1955), p. 7.
[16]Committee Report (4 Dec. 1925), Hebdomadal Council Papers, Bodl. L.
[17]R. Butler to C. Burrows (11 Dec. 1925), Delegacy for Women Students Papers, SAA.
[18]Reply from LMH (30 Jan. 1926), Heb. Council Papers, Bodl. L.
[19]Dame Lucy Sutherland, `Women in Oxford,' Unpublished typescript of talk given to T.H. Aston's seminar in 1973; in History of the University Office.

Nevertheless, they saw no reason why they had to be limited by the Hebdomadal Council, when they were perfectly willing to limit themselves as the men's colleges did; they objected to this difference in treatment between men and women.[20] Finally, the women emphasised that there was no competition for accommodation between men and women students; landladies willing to take women students would probably never have agreed to take men.[21]

The issue came to a head when, in March 1927, a petition from 210 members of Congregation asking for the limitation of the numbers of women students was published in the Gazette.[22] The proposers were drawn from a wide spectrum of opinion, including scientists, resident and non-resident members, and men who had hitherto supported the women's colleges. Clearly the motion had support beyond the conservative wing of Congregation.

In the spring of 1927, the two parties wrangled to produce a compromise plan. The women's supporters were successful in increasing the numbers permitted to them; the initial proposal of a limit of 700 would have been disastrous for them financially because it would have entailed a reduction of numbers.[23] The women's colleges also offered to limit themselves for ten years, making university legislation unnecessary. Acting as representative of the proponents of the statute, Joseph

---

[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid. Also see Reply from Somerville College (26 Jan. 1926), Reply from St. Hugh's (1 Feb. 1926) and Reply from St. Hilda's (26 Jan. 1926), Heb. Council Papers, Bodl. L.
[22] Oxford University Gazette (16 March 1927).
[23] Report (4 Dec. 1925) and Replies, Heb. Council Papers, Bodl. L.

Wells insisted, however, that in exchange for their offer of self-limitation, the women accept a statute preventing the foundation of a new society unless the numbers of men had increased enough to maintain the existing ratio.[24] The women's college authorities rejected this plan, wishing to be treated equally with the men's colleges and opposing the restriction of women's education in general in order to benefit themselves.[25]

The Limitation Statute was debated for over two hours in the Sheldonian Theatre on 14 June 1927. Margery Fry, the new principal of Somerville, made a lively speech opposing the motion, which began: `We are conscious that we do our best work not as women but as human beings.' She went on to state that the Limitation Statute would perpetuate the `woman question' in Oxford. She asked why women were so unpopular, hinting that men feared academic competition, and that they could not face the changing social relations between men and women.[26] Some people felt that she did not speak wisely in that she subjected the men to ridicule rather than accepting their claims at face value and attempting to argue against them.[27] At one point, Fry taunted, `There must be some reason for the fear which we seem to inspire in otherwise virile minds.'[28] The Limitation Statute was passed by a majority of sixty-five.[29]

---

[24]J. Wells to C. Bailey (10 May 1927), Lim. Stat. Papers, SCA and Oxford Chronicle (17 June 1927).
[25]E. Penrose to J. Wells (18 May 1927), Lim. Stat. Papers, SCA.
[26]Oxford Chronicle (17 June 1927).
[27]Enid Huws-Jones, Margery Fry, (London, 1966), p. 148.
[28]Oxford Chronicle (17 June 1927).
[29]Oxford University Gazette (15 June 1927).

Numbers of women students at Oxford were limited to 160 at LMH and St. Hugh's and to 150 at Somerville and St. Hilda's.[30] The Society of Oxford Home Students had previously been limited by the university to 220.

As in Cambridge, the Limitation Statute was the result of the fear of the increasing numbers and influence of women in the university. In Oxford, this fear was epitomised by the election of Lynda Grier to the Hebdomadal Council in June 1926. Her election was part of a general demand for change on the Council which led to the defeat of many veteran members, one of whom, the Dean of Christ Church had been assumed to have a right to a seat.[31] Grier's election and the rash of defeats caused a few commentators to accuse the women of unfair canvassing.[32] Apparently a whip was sent round to the voters urging them to vote for a slate of five candidates which included Grier. Ruth Butler believed, however, that the canvassing was done in a completely fair way.[33] There may have also been concern about the increase in women's power over their own colleges; an editorial in The Oxford Magazine suggested that the petitioners feared that the change in the composition of the councils resulting from the 1925-6 statutes would lead the women's colleges to take a decision to expand.[34]

It must have been clear to most people, however, that even with Grier's election, the power of women within the university was negligible. As Margery Fry had pointed out,

---

[30]Butler, p. 33.
[31]Oxford Magazine (10 June 1926).
[32]Correspondence from W.T.S. Stallybrass, Oxford Magazine (10 June 1926).
[33]Butler, p. 33.
[34]Oxford Magazine (2 June 1927).

a more immediate problem was the change in the character of social relations between men and women in society as a whole: `if there were no women in Oxford there would still be the same amount of sociability.'[35] This anxiety about the impact of women's membership of the university on social life was best expressed in an article by Joseph Wells which appeared in the influential journal The English Review four days before the vote on the Statute. Wells, who admitted to having been on the council of either LMH or Somerville for more than thirty years, began his article by acknowledging that numbers of women students had remained practically stationary since 1924. The biggest change in Oxford since the war had rather been the intermingling of the sexes. He described without comment women's predilection for morning coffee, the appearance of intercollegiate debates and dances held at women's colleges and the beginning of engagements. Clearly Wells was implying that the growing presence of women in Oxford in light of the changes in behaviour would threaten the male relationships and solidarity which the university had traditionally fostered.

> Oxford is much more than a strictly `educational' body, and it is more than doubtful if women can share the full life, which centuries of students have gradually elaborated for men and for the development of English manhood.[36]

Wells and the other supporters of the Statute feared that the new mixed Oxford would lose students to Cambridge.

---

[35] Oxford Chronicle (17 June 1927).
[36] Joseph Wells, `Women at Oxford,' English Review (1927), pp. 437-43.

The Asquith Commissioners' contention that Cambridge should remain a `men's university--but of a mixed type' was cited as a precedent for safeguarding the male character of Oxford.[37] Lewis Farnell warned that if the number of women at Oxford increased, men would prefer Cambridge,[38] while Annie Rogers was told that Cambridge propaganda represented Oxford as `socialistic, weak in athletics and be-womaned.'[39]

Like the Cambridge degree agitation, the Limitation controversy revealed the depth of hostility that remained towards women's presence in the university. As J.C. Thornton, St. Hilda's College Secretary (1920-1953) wrote to Emily Penrose:

> Our staff acquiesced in the limitation decision; we feel, as you say, that it has cleared the air, and that it is better as it is than if we had won, for we have avoided the bitterness which our victory would have caused.[40]

Although the number fixed on, 840, was higher than the actual number of students, and beyond the capacity of the women's colleges to expand at that time, in the long term the statute, which existed until 1956 would limit the growth of the academic profession for women in Oxford.[41]

---

[37]Letter from J. Wells, G. B. Allen and W. Buchan-Riddell, Times (2 June 1927).
[38]Flysheet (14 June 1927), Lim. Stat. Papers, SCA.
[39]A. Rogers to E. Penrose (29 Oct. 1926), Ibid.
[40]J.C. Thornton to E. Penrose (26 Sept. 1927), Ibid.
[41]See Chapter 9, p.311.

Changing Communities: the Ethos of the Women's Colleges in the 1920s

In the 1920s, the women's colleges faced a crisis of confidence from within their ranks as well as hostility from outside. The generation of women students who arrived after the war began to resent the conservative values, strict regulations and austere living conditions of the women's colleges. They wanted more of a role in college policy and more freedom, particularly in their relations with male students. Although by no means all women students of this period were dissatisfied or alienated, they were much more critical than the students of their mothers' generation had been.

One of the first conflicts, however, arose at a coeducational institution, University College London. During the First World War, UCL still possessed separate men's and women's unions; and although the Women's Union was meant for students, a large proportion of its Committee were staff members. After the execution of Nurse Edith Cavell by the German army in 1915, the Provost of University College asked the Women's Union to join in a movement to express public abhorrence at the act, and to contribute to the Daily Telegraph Memorial Fund.[42] The Committee believed, however, that the sentence was acceptable under German military law, and they objected to the way the press had sensationalised the incident. The students, who favoured the proposal tried

---

[42]Women's Union Committee Minutes (27 Oct. 1915), UCL Record Office. This incident is also described in David Taylor, The Godless Students of Gower Street (London, 1968), pp. 63-64

to suggest a compromise of sending a donation in Cavell's memory to the London Hospital. The Committee, however rejected this idea as well, and threatened to resign if it was carried, thus forcing the students to accept their point of view.[43]

During the war, the Newnham JCR also began to demand more of a role in decision-making, even attempting to interfere in a college appointment in 1919. Motivated by their opposition to the choice of one of the directors of studies as principal, the students held a college meeting which elected a representative to communicate their views to the current principal, Katherine Stephen.[44] While this agitation failed, women students at Newnham and several of the other colleges continued to press for a voice in college affairs, particularly in the area of social life.

The more sophisticated young women of the 1920s demanded more than the social life within the college which had satisfied their predecessors. They felt that the college regulations imposed standards no longer observed in the world outside.[45] In this respect, they were influenced by changes in social life and behaviour taking place in society as a whole during the 1920s.

One area of disagreement was over appearance. Several of the women principals viewed the fashion changes of the

---

[43] Women's Union General Meeting Minutes (29 Nov. 1915), UCL Record Office.
[44] Geraldine M. Aves (1917-20) reminiscence, material not used in the anthology, NA. This person was just referred to as `one of the directors of studies.' Possibly it was B.A. Clough who was appointed as principal in that year.
[45] M. Macnaughton to E. Penrose (7 May 1925) in Intercollegiate Principals Ctte Minutes (23 May 1925), Dep. d.760, Room 132, Dept. of Western MS, Bodleian Library.

1920s as improper and unladylike. Ellen Higgins and Eleanor Jourdain disliked bobbed hair, although Higgins' own hair was short.[46] Higgins and Annie Rogers insisted that students wear hats whenever they went outside, even from one building to another; an extra hat was kept in St. Hugh's for this purpose.[47] After women became members of Oxford University, the proctors tried to enforce rules about what to wear with academic dress. Bare arms, for instance were not appropriate.[48] Even in the freer atmosphere of Bedford College, during the 1920s students were still required to wear both stockings and hats in the vicinity of the college.[49]

The students, in turn were critical about the dowdy appearance of the dons. Many of the women dons dressed in dark grey or black and wore long skirts at a time when the fashion was for knee-length ones.[50] Annie Rogers was recalled as `wearing four coats, each shorter than the one beneath it, and a man's trilby hat.'[51] This was not true of all women dons, however. Upon her arrival at Somerville as principal, Margery Fry was smartly dressed in `a long pillar-box-red cloth coat.'[52] Joan Evans was remembered as wearing medieval dresses and glittering jewellery.[53]

---

[46]Bingham, p. 156 and Griffin, p. 89.
[47]Griffin, p. 93 and Bingham, p. 156.
[48]Griffin, p. 3.
[49]Barbara Wootton, In a World I Never Made (London, 1967), p. 101.
[50]Conversation with E. Withycombe (2 June 1989).
[51]Griffin, p. 110.
[52]Vera Brittain, The Women at Oxford (London, 1960), p. 171.
[53]Griffin, p. 93.

The strictures about hats and gloves began to disappear towards the end of the 1920s.[54] A more bitter source of controversy was over the chaperone rules. As has been seen, before the war contact with male undergraduates was severely restricted. In the years directly following the war, however, the students began to demand more unsupervised time with men. A staff-student committee was formed at Newnham in 1919 to discuss questions of discipline; a similar committee was later founded at Somerville. May Wallas recalled a discussion of whether a Newnham student could be allowed to take an afternoon walk with an undergraduate, where a senior member said, `Well...yes...if she is engaged to him.' One of the students replied that it seemed a heavy price to pay for a walk.[55]

After consultation with the mistress of Girton and with the tutors of the men's colleges, several important concessions to the Newnham students were made in 1919: sisters were allowed to go unchaperoned to brothers' rooms, unchaperoned parties were permitted if two hostesses were present, and students were allowed to be out until midnight without permission, but not more than twice a term.[56] In 1920, the students were allowed to go on the river unchaperoned.

Ironically, the fact that Cambridge women were prohibited from membership of the university gave the women principals more freedom in making rules for their students. In Oxford, as members of the university, women students were

---

[54]Huws Jones, p. 143.
[55]Phillips, p. 118.
[56]Council Minutes (16 March 1919), NA.

under the authority of the proctors, who in some cases were stricter than the women heads. For instance, the women principals had tentatively given their students permission to act in the Oxford University Dramatic Society in 1920, a decision which the vice-chancellor Lewis Farnell revoked.[57]

For this reason, change occurred more slowly at the Oxford women's colleges. In 1921, after representations by the Somerville JCR Committee, students were granted leave to have men to tea if another woman was present, as had been done at Newnham two years before. While Newnham women were allowed to go unchaperoned to the theatre if the play was approved,[58] Somerville women could attend even matinees or afternoon performances of plays only if there were two ladies in the party.[59] Furthermore, unlike at Cambridge, Oxford women students were required to be in by 10:30, which forced them to leave plays before the end.[60] Students in the late 1920s also remembered the need to have a chaperone on the river as a major grievance.[61]

The enforcement of the rules was the responsibility of the women principals. In some cases, the tutors appeared to be more sympathetic to student demands. For instance, when Somerville students asked if the necessity of going to the High Table at breakfast could be removed, they discovered that Emily Penrose enjoyed the students' company, although

---

[57]Letter from Lewis Farnell (16 Dec. 1920), Intercollegiate Principals' Correspondence and Papers, Dep. d.759, Dept. of Western MS, Room 132, Bodl. L.
[58]Council Minutes (29 Jan. 1921), NA.
[59]JCR Committee Minutes (26 April 1921), SCA.
[60]Conversation with C.L. Morrison (30 May 1989).
[61]Conversation with C. Cole and E. Dodgson (5 May 1989).

the rest of the Senior Common Room did not.[62] A proposal by one of the Girton staff members to create a rota of chaperone responsibilities was abandoned when the chemistry tutor M.B. Thomas pointed out that it would imply an acceptance of the principle of chaperonage.[63]

Dissatisfaction among the Oxford women students, which was supported by some male undergraduates, came to head in 1924. That autumn several articles appeared in the student magazine, the Isis, which criticised the regulations of the women's colleges; these were written by Gerald Gardiner, who would later become Lord Chancellor, but was at that time President of the Union and sub-editor of the Isis, and the ex-Somerville student Dilys Powell, who later became a film critic. Finally Powell wrote an article which the proprietor of the Isis refused to publish, so Gardiner took the responsibility of paying for its publication and distributing it in Oxford. In its facetious call for still stricter discipline at the women's colleges, the pamphlet clearly pointed to the failure and absurdity of the existing rules:

> There is good reason for the discipline to which the women students are subject. These women students are none too innocent themselves and further they need to be protected against certain elements in the undergraduate body. Even in the status quo the rules are not strictly kept. We know the names of more than one woman student who is in the habit of visiting undergraduates in their rooms alone.[64]

---

[62]Somerville JCR Committee (9 Nov. 1919), SCA.
[63]Combination Club Minutes (10 Nov. 1919), GA.
[64]Gerald Gardiner, Michael Tandy and Dilys Powell, The Truth about Somerville, copy in Discipline Coll., SCA. A brief

Its implication was that men had to be protected from women as much as women had to be protected from men. For a woman of Emily Penrose's generation, who had grown up in a society where women's sexuality was denied, this concept was deeply antipathetic. She was incensed by the pamphlet, calling it `a detestable and mischievous production.'[65] Its publication was suppressed by the Proctors, Gerald Gardiner was sent down, and the Isis editor Michael Tandy gated for the rest of the term. A year later, however, there was an important change in the chaperone rules: a woman student was allowed to visit a man's rooms without the presence of an official chaperone if she had the principal's permission and had a companion with her.[66]

The strictness of the principals of the 1920s can partly be explained by the continuing insecurity of women's position in the university, illustrated by the Cambridge degree controversy and the passage of the Limitation Statute at Oxford. In 1925, the Newnham principal Pernel Strachey emphasised in a talk delivered to new students: `Every successive Principal and every lecturer and tutor has the responsibility of seeing to it that future generations shall enjoy these benefits of a Cambridge education.'[67] On a more

---

account of the incident is published in Muriel Box's biography of Gerald Gardiner, Rebel Advocate (London, 1983), p. 42.

[65]E. Penrose to Vice Chancellor (11 June 1924), Discipline Coll., SCA.

[66]M. Macnaughton to E. Penrose (7 May 1925) in Intercollegiate Principals Cttee Minutes (23 May 1925), Dep. d.760, Dept. of Western MS, Room 132.

[67]Speech at Newnham by J.P. Strachey, c. 1925, Box 53, J.P. Strachey Papers, Fawcett Library, City of London Polytechnic.

trivial level, Edith Major, the mistress of Girton, advised her students to put on gloves and hats at Storey's way, the half-way line to Cambridge, so as to avoid offending the `Cambridge Ladies.'[68]

Another concern was that socialising would distract students from their work. Emily Penrose was afraid that the mixed reading parties organised by Canon Streeter and his wife during term would interfere with Schools' work and possibly lead to `silliness.'[69] Women academics like Penrose who remembered the initial battle for access to higher education could not understand their students' absorption with social life. By the late 1920s, however, the students' agitation began to die down. Penrose's successor Margery Fry, who had direct experience of a coeducational university took a more realistic view of the relations between men and women students, believing that it was impossible to artificially segregate them.[70] Similarly, Lynda Grier thought that the almost complete isolation from men of nineteenth century women students gave them no preparation for the world outside.[71] By the early 1930s, the cautious St. Hugh's principal Barbara Gwyer found herself increasingly isolated in her opposition to change.[72]

Women students at Bedford and the other non-residential London colleges enjoyed much more freedom than their Oxford

---

[68]M.C. Bradbrook, That Infidel Place (London, 1969), p. 73.
[69]Canon Streeter to E. Penrose (19 March 1918), Discipline Coll., SCA.
[70]Alice Woods, ed., Advance in Coeducation (London, 1919), pp. 125-30.
[71]Brown Book (May 1968), p. 13.
[72]Intercollegiate Principals Committee Minutes (29 Oct. 1934) and B. Gwyer to L. Grier (31 Oct. 1935), Dep. d. 764, Principals Committee Minutes and Correspondence, Room 132.

and Cambridge counterparts. At Bedford there were no chaperone rules and women students were allowed to stay out until midnight.[73] At Westfield, the early evangelical rules such as Constance Maynard's prohibition of the theatre were abandoned after her retirement in 1913.[74] As principal of Westfield, Eleanor Lodge found it impossible to enforce chaperone rules in a large city, and allowed her students to stay out until midnight as was done at Bedford.[75] Chaperoning was less of a problem at Royal Holloway College, which was separated by its location from the mixed London colleges. There was, however, similar unrest among the students. For example, after the war the joint college meeting was discontinued because of a cleavage of opinion between students and staff, and the staff withdrew from many of the student activities in which they had formerly participated.[76]

Another source of grievance related to the women tutors' attitudes towards their students. Some critics of the 1920s believed that women dons neglected aspects of their students' education other than the purely academic. According to a correspondent in Time and Tide:

> It is more a protest directed towards the woman in authority, the woman don, a plea that she should remember when she talks about `Heritage,' that she is not doing her best to obtain for the future wives,

---

[73]Evening Standard (28 Oct. 1926).
[74]Resident Staff Meeting Minutes, Westfield College (11 Dec. 1914), WCA.
[75]E. Lodge, Terms and Vacations (Oxford, 1938), p. 215.
[76]Marion Pick, `Social Life at RHC,' TS, c.1947, p. 172.

> sisters, and mothers of England their <u>full</u> heritage, only the heritage of brain.'[77]

Vera Brittain believed that her history tutor at Somerville, Maude Clarke, fitted this description: `She did not appear inhuman, but though her keen incisive mind could be moved to sympathy by intellectual struggle, the emotional conflicts of those whose work she directed seemed to leave her singularly unmoved.'[78] In her novel <u>The Dark Tide</u>, the history lecturer, Patricia O'Neill, seems to be Brittain's vision of what Maude Clarke <u>could have been</u> if she had not repressed the emotional side of her character. O'Neill, who is portrayed as kind and sympathetic eventually marries another lecturer. Brittain believed that women dons' lack of compassion for youth `will never be remedied until teaching posts in schools and universities are opened to married women who have known the humours, exasperations and minor tragedies of family life.'[79]

On the other hand, many women dons are remembered affectionately by their students. For example, the Oxford English tutor Margaret Lee was recollected as being `always ready to hear anything you wanted to say or help in any trouble.'[80] Although unlike Maude Clarke, Margaret Lee did little research, she was devoted to her students and to teaching. A few women dons were able to achieve a unique combination of the academic and the personal; the scholarly

---

[77]Editorial by `Eckford,' <u>Time and Tide</u>, 4 (28 Dec. 1923), p. 1313. <u>Heritage</u> was the name of the periodical launched in connection with the Oxford women's colleges joint appeal.
[78]V. Brittain, <u>Testament of Friendship</u> (London, 1940), p. 85.
[79]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 86.
[80]Conversation with C.L. Morrison (30 May 1989).

LMH English tutor Janet Spens was described as being very solicitous about her students' health and work: `she was one's ideal of what a don should be.'[81]

Some students also claimed that the women dons did not give them enough advice about possible careers. When Elizabeth Withycombe went down from LMH in 1923, she was given the option of teaching or taking a secretarial course.[82] Kathleen Raine, at Girton from 1926 to 1929 was too much in awe of her tutors to go to them for advice.[83] Margery Fry, however, tried to be helpful; she encouraged students to go into areas other than teaching, believing that they should not despise non-intellectual jobs.[84] By 1930, a Women's Appointments Board was set up at Cambridge made up of representatives from the Girton and Newnham staffs, from the various professions, and from the University Appointments Board.[85] In Oxford, a Women's Sub-Committee of the Appointments Committee was set up in 1933, which tried to provide information on careers other than teaching; it was particularly effective in encouraging students to undertake post-graduate training, for example in secretarial work, social work, and domestic science. V.E. Lane Poole, the wife of St. John's College fellow Austin Lane Poole, served as secretary.[86] The Sub-Committee was

---

[81]Conversation with E. Withycombe (2 June 1989).
[82]Ibid.
[83]K. Raine, The Land Unknown (London, 1975), p. 56.
[84]Huws-Jones, pp. 142-145.
[85]Newnham Council Minutes (1 March 1930), NA.
[86]Report of the Appointments Committee on the Work of the Women's Sub-Committee (26 April 1935), 161 Hebdomadal Council Papers, pp. 3-7.

given independent status in 1946, but was eventually merged into the Appointments Committee in 1954.

Some of the younger women tutors of the 1920s also began to rebel against the strict standards of propriety expected of women academics. For example, Elsie Butler, the Newnham modern languages tutor challenged the silence of women dons on sexual matters. In 1929, she published a book on the biographer and travel-writer Prince Puckler-Muskau, which was briefly a best-seller because of a chapter on his scandalous personal life. The work was attacked in the Cambridge Review as being unfit to mould undergraduate minds, leading the Newnham dons, as Butler recalled, to ostracise her for the rest of the term. To combat her feeling of isolation, she founded a Newnham drinking club, the Weinabend Society. Designed as a protest against academic attitudes, some of its activities included publishing lampoons about Newnham. Butler's friend the orientalist Isaline Horner served as president.[87]

The women tutors of the 1920s also began to call for a greater degree of privacy and autonomy than had been possible in the early women's college communities. As has been mentioned, the Somerville tutors were weary of the custom of having to entertain students at the High Table at breakfast.[88] At RHC, the younger staff members became increasingly impatient with Ellen Higgins' regime. The much-resented dinner partner system, in which the lecturers

---

[87]E.M. Butler, Paper Boats (London, 1959), pp. 113-118.
[88]Somerville JCR Committee Minutes (9 Nov 1919), SCA.

were forced to dine every night with a student dinner partner, against a background of the noisy college hall, persisted until 1932.[89] Elizabeth Blackwell, lecturer in botany from 1922 to 1949 recalled how Higgins sent the college nurse to see two lecturers who had asked permission to have dinner in their own rooms, and then was affronted when she discovered that they were not ill, only tired.[90] More seriously, staff and students alike were outraged by a questionnaire asking where each student had attended religious services on three Sunday mornings.[91]

In the 1920s, women academics also began to express dissatisfaction with the residential provisions. The austerity of the women's colleges which the pioneers had endured cheerfully was less acceptable to modern professional women. Annie Rogers, for one, had always maintained that residence restricted freedom and privacy: `You are constantly surrounded by women, mostly immature and constantly changing.'[92] Residence, however, was often more of a necessity than a choice, as room and board were included in the salaries received by the women tutors; the small stipend provided for non-resident tutors made it difficult to find adequate accommodation.

The increased salaries after the war made non-residence more of a possibility, although still expensive. At the same time, some women tutors were beginning to express dissatisfaction with the residence arrangements more

---

[89]Pick, p. 169.
[90]Miscellaneous notes, Elizabeth Blackwell Papers, RHCA.
[91]Pick, pp. 163-4.
[92]A. Rogers to Ruth Butler (8 July 1934), Ruth Butler Papers, SAA.

vocally. In 1919, Anna Paues, tutor in old German, and Jessie Slater, tutor in chemistry brought up the question of the living conditions of the staff at a meeting of the Newnham governing body. According to Paues:

> There was need for greater freedom and independence in the lives of the resident Fellows...greater dignity in the arrangements concerning them would affect their position not only in relation to the students but in Cambridge.[93]

Some specific demands included arrangements to have meals in their rooms, better facilities for hospitality, and the use of their rooms during the long vacation.[94] The latter was a grievance in other colleges as well: Marion Pick recalled that in her early years at RHC she was forced to impose on her parents during vacations as she did not have enough money for a holiday or to maintain herself elsewhere.[95] The colleges gradually increased the time tutors could reside--for instance, they were given leave to stay thirty weeks of the year at St. Hilda's in 1920.[96] The response to the Newnham tutors' other grievances was, however, inconclusive; the House Committee replied that it would attempt to improve the facilities available for women tutors, but the shortage of domestic servants after the war made this difficult.[97]

In the 1920s, several colleges also began to extend their provision for non-resident tutors. In 1922 Janet Spens was given permission to live out of college with an

---

[93]Newnham Governing Body Minutes (30 May 1919), NA.
[94]Ibid.
[95]Pick, p. 175.
[96]St. Hilda's Council Minutes (24 Feb 1920) SHIA.
[97]Newnham Governing Body Minutes (1 August 1919), NA.

allowance of £100 a year in lieu of board and residence.[98] The staff at RHC were given the option of non-residence in 1921, upon the appointment of Hilda Johnstone to the Chair of History tenable at RHC--Johnstone spent much of her time at the Institute of Historical Research in London. [99] Only four women took advantage of this privilege, however, until 1939.[100] Residence continued to be an important component of life at the women's colleges for many years. Marjorie Reeves recalled that the massive building programme at St. Anne's in the 1950s included provision for staff residence, and she herself believed it would have been to her advantage financially to live in residence.[101]

Women Academics and Interwar Feminism

Another source of disagreement between women academics and students was over feminism. The students tended to identify their tutors with the old feminist movement epitomised by women's suffrage and the drive for education. A Girton student of the late 1920s recalled:

> The Victorian pioneers were still close to us. As freshers we came up two days early and were given a talk on them by the Mistress, Miss Major....We always remembered that Girton had been England's first residential college for women.[102]

---

[98]LMH Log Book (17 June 1922), LMHA.
[99]Margaret J. Powell, ed., The Royal Holloway College (Egham, 1937), p. 30.
[100]Bingham, p. 139.
[101]Conversation with M. Reeves (8 May 1989).
[102]G. Freeman, quoted in Denys Thompson, ed., The Leavises (Cambridge, 1984), p. 7.

Yet others felt that since its primary goal, women's suffrage had been achieved, the feminist movement no longer had anything to offer them.[103] At Somerville in the early 1930s, Mary Bennett, the daughter of the pioneer of child welfare Lettice Fisher, recalled that students of her generation reacted against the earnestness of their parents.[104] This attitude goes some way towards explaining an incident where the Newnham Debating Society passed a motion `That Woman's sphere is the home' in an attempt to shock their elders.[105]

Some younger women also began to react against earnestness in a different guise, the commitment to social service of their predecessors. As the art historian Joan Evans wrote:

> The education of my generation, especially of girls, was too often fogged and darkened by doctrines of self-sacrifice for the taught, that masked a want of respect for the individual in the teacher.[106]

Overcoming her sense of guilt that her work did nothing to directly help society, Evans went on to become an authority in her field.

For the most part neither women dons nor students took a great interest in interwar feminism. In 1920, Elizabeth Withycombe joined an equal rights society presided over by Mary Stocks, who at that time was tutoring women students in economic history. Withycombe recalled that there were few

---

[103]Conversation with C. Cole and E. Dodgson (5 May 1989).
[104]Conversation with Mary Bennett (29 June 1989).
[105]Phillips, p. 118.
[106]Joan Evans, Prelude and Fugue (London, 1964), p. 76.

members, and the society was wound up before she left Oxford.[107] After the granting of the vote to women in 1918, the movement had gone in several different directions; the campaign for equal political rights continued and was joined by efforts to protect women workers and mothers, known as `new feminism,' and more controversially, to gain sexual emancipation for women.

The equal rights tradition was best represented by the British Federation of University Women. In the 1920s, its presidents were all distinguished academic women: Professor Caroline Spurgeon, the Bedford principal Margaret Tuke and Professor Winifred Cullis. Later presidents included Helen Wodehouse, the mistress of Girton and Edith Batho, principal of RHC. The BFUA was active in trying to improve professional opportunities for women. In 1930 it submitted evidence to the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, arguing for an increase in the number of women in the administrative grades, and raised the issue of equal pay. In 1919, an International Federation of University Women was formed through links with the American Association of Collegiate Alumnae.[108] At its conference of 1926, the IFUW identified as its most important subject of discussion the need to enable women to reconcile marriage and career.[109]

Women academics were less attracted to new feminism. With a few exceptions, new feminism had little relevance for academic women, the majority of whom were unmarried, and

---

[107]Conversation with Elizabeth Withycombe (2 June 1989).
[108]Janet Sondheimer, The British Federation of University Women (London, 1958), p. 28. See also Virginia Gildersleeve, Many a Good Crusade (New York, 1954).
[109]Yorkshire Post (6 Aug. 1926).

whose interests lay in encouraging professional opportunities for women rather than trying to improve the condition of married women and children. But two married women academics who were active proponents of new feminism were Mary Stocks and Lettice Fisher. Stocks promoted the concept of family allowances, payments for the support of women and children which she believed were a priority over equal pay.[110] In a similar vein, Lettice Fisher supported the concept of wives being allotted a proportion of their husbands' income.[111] Stocks differed from other academic women, however, in that she was married with two children and did part-time coaching, while Fisher had given up her academic work before the First World War.

The sex reform movement had even fewer adherents among academic women. Those who were involved had given up their academic work; the radicalism of this movement, which included campaigns for more liberal divorce laws, birth control and abortion, could not be reconciled with the prudence required of women academics. In 1930, the World League for Sex Reform held a conference at which a number of prominent intellectual women were present.[112] One participant was the former UCL paleobotanist Marie Stopes. Stopes had married a Canadian botanist, Reginald Gates, and after three years of misery, apparently realised her marriage was unconsummated. She obtained an annulment, but this revelation of her own ignorance about sex led her to

---

[110] Woman's Leader (25 Feb. 1921).
[111] Lecture by L. Fisher at Bedford, reported in Morning Post (8 Feb. 1924).
[112] Norman Haire, ed., Sex Reform Congress (London, 1930).

write Married Love, published in 1920, in which she tried to help other women understand and enjoy sexual intercourse. It was followed by Wise Parenthood, which provided information on birth control. In 1921, Stopes and her second husband opened a birth control clinic in North London; Stopes' ideas would have enormous influence in the 1920s in helping bring about the separation of women's sexual pleasure and conception.[113]

The other former academic woman who attended the Sex Reform Congress was Dora Russell. Born Dora Black, she was a scholar of Girton College in modern languages. In 1917 she was elected to a research fellowship at her old college. Even at that stage, however, Russell's main interests were in social and sexual reform. While at Girton, she spent little time in the college community, preferring to lead a Bohemian life in London, where she met Bertrand Russell; she became his second wife in 1920.[114] After her marriage, Dora Russell gave up her academic life and devoted herself to social causes, especially the Labour Movement and birth control.[115] She was also an advocate of free love and opposed to conventional marriage.[116] Her friend Dorothy Wrinch, who was a research fellow at the same time, found it more difficult to reconcile her Girton life with Bertrand Russell's circle.[117]

---

[113]Ruth Adam, A Woman's Place (London, 1975), pp. 92-93 and Ruth Hall, Dr. Marie Stopes (London, 1977).
[114]On Dora Russell's career, see her autobiography The Tamarisk Tree (London, 1975).
[115]Drusilla Modjeska, `Dora Russell,' Spare Rib, 54 (1977).
[116]Russell, p. 68.
[117]Pnina G. Abir-Am, `Synergy or Clash,' in P.G. Abir-Am and D. Outram, eds., Uneasy Careers and Intimate Lives (London, 1987), pp. 245-7.

As had occurred in the early twentieth century, some women academics of the interwar period incorporated an interest in women into their research. (See Appendix 3.) For instance, the Girton lecturer and LSE professor of economic history, Eileen Power, developed a strong, personal form of feminism.[118] When an article she had written on medieval women was rejected by the Oxford University Press, she commented, `I gather that I am not sufficiently respectful to (a) man (b) the church and (c) the proprieties!!'[119] The author of an important study of nunneries, Power had always hoped to complete a major work on medieval women; her lectures on this subject were edited by her husband Michael Postan, and eventually published many years after her death.[120] Women lecturers in social science at the LSE continued to research women's work and social policy. Gertrude Williams, who taught at the LSE and at Bedford College, published extensively on women's work and was eventually elected a fellow of the Royal Economic Society. Another LSE lecturer, Edith Eckhard, who was also a qualified midwife, wrote about mothers and infants and was active in the infant welfare movement. Women's research, as opposed to research on women, was encouraged by the Newnham lecturer in English literature, Enid Welsford, who founded the Cambridge University Women's Research Club in 1919 and served as its president several times.

Women Academics, Spinsters and Lesbians

---

[118]Comments by Maxine Berg at seminar delivered at All Souls College, Oxford (2 March 1989).
[119]E. Power to G.G. Coulton (5 Sept, n.d.) Power Papers, GA.
[120]Eileen Power, Medieval Women (Cambridge, 1975).

The new freedom in women's dress, mobility, and behaviour of the 1920s was accompanied, paradoxically, by the glorification of motherhood and a renewed emphasis on women's role in the family. In the 1900s, concern over the ill-health of the nation, which had been revealed by the poor condition of the recruits for the Boer War, and fears of competition from other countries and races had led to a movement to create a healthy growing population, which was assumed to be women's responsibility.[121] The loss of life during the First World War made it seem even more crucial for women to marry and have children.[122] These arguments gained renewed force in the interwar period as concern mounted about the falling birthrate, particularly among the middle classes. Eugenicists feared the swamping of the British elite by less intelligent classes and races.[123]

These changes may have affected the attitudes of students towards marriage. In spite of the increased number of `surplus women' after the First World War, the percentage of women students marrying increased significantly between 1900 and 1925, as can be seen in Table 14, on p 306.. By 1925, 50 percent or more of the students at Girton, Newnham and three Oxford women's colleges would marry.[124] This

---

[121]Anna Davin, `Imperialism and Motherhood,' History Workshop, 5 (Spring 1978), esp. pp. 9-14.

[122]This argument is put forward by Sandra Gilbert in `Soldier's Heart,' in M.J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert, eds., Connecting Spheres (Oxford, 1987). Also see Susan Kingsley Kent, `Gender Reconstruction after the First World War,' in Smith, p. 72.

[123]On the fall in fertility rates, see J. Lewis, Women in England (Sussex, 1984), p. 5.

[124]Reliable information for the London women's colleges was unavailable.

increase reflected the tendency for more and younger women to marry in society as a whole.[125]

In this context, the many women academics who did not marry began to appear increasingly anachronistic to their students. As one Newnham student of the late 1920s recalled:

> Miss Paues told me that she was married to scholarship (she wore a wedding ring), with the implication that that was the state to be wished. I was not as yet wishing to be married otherwise but I found Miss Paues's notion unpleasing.[126]

While hardly typical, Miss Paues' statement was in the tradition of the idea of teaching as a lifelong vocation which was so important to Dorothea Beale and Ellen Bishop. The few dons who did marry were viewed favourably by the students. For instance, an LMH student of the 1920s described Mary Stocks as `something quite quite different...she was married with two young children...she was a good teacher, very attractive, full of interest, enthusiasm and humour--she was unlike the others.'[127]

The women students of the 1920s began to question for themselves the strict separation of marriage and career, and to look for alternatives:

> But there remains a suspicion that there is an important class, merging on the one hand into that which would be happier with a husband and a home, and on the other into the pronounced `intelligentsia,' a

---

[125]Lewis, p. 3.
[126]E.E. Phare, `From Devon to Cambridge, 1926,' Cambridge Review (26 February 1982), pp. 144-149.
[127]Conversation with E. Withycombe (2 June 1989).

> class <u>both</u> interested and serious--and yet which, by comparison with a similar group among University Men, is on the whole less successful, certainly less content.[128]

Women academics gave their students confused messages about the relative value of marriage and career. A few seemed to imply that married women were somehow superior to single ones. Eleanor Lodge habitually told her students that first-class women always marry.[129] The contradiction was clearly expressed by one of the women dons in Dorothy Sayers' <u>Gaudy Night</u>:

> The fact is, though you will never admit it, that everybody in this place has an inferiority complex about married women and children. For all your talk about careers and independence, you all believe in your hearts that we ought to abase ourselves before any woman who has fulfilled her animal functions.[130]

On the one hand there was still a strong belief among women dons that academic work was a single woman's career. Marion Pick wrote that almost until the end of her time at RHC (she retired in 1947), all the tutors were single. `To marry was the equivalent of sending in one's resignation.'[131] On the other hand, a greater number of women dons married in the 1920s, although only a few were able to raise families and maintain their careers. These women adopted a number of different strategies. The

---

[128]`University Women,' <u>Thersites</u> (Newnham student magazine), Lent Term, 1927.
[129]Lodge, 232.
[130]Dorothy Sayers, <u>Gaudy Night</u> (London, 1987), p. 220.
[131]Pick, p. 200.

Westfield lecturer and later reader and professor in French Gladys Milnes married M. André Turquet, the head of a diplomatic college. While she was absent in 1925 to give birth to her son, he took over her classes. In contrast, the Bedford mathematics lecturer Enid Turner changed to a part-time appointment after her marriage in 1925--she proceeded to have two children. Finally the French lecturer Edith Earle took up a position at the LSE in 1922, while her son was still a small boy.

The eagerness of some women academics to appear to be in favour of marriage may have been caused by the growing criticism of single women during the 1920s. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a group of writers known as the sexologists had emerged who began to examine sexuality scientifically. The most influential of these, Havelock Ellis, was the author of the seven-volume The Psychology of Sex, which was published between 1897 and 1927. Ellis believed that women, in contrast to the Victorian idea of `passionlessness,' had their own sexuality, which could be best fulfilled through heterosexual relationships, particularly marriage. Although liberating for women in general, these theories were damaging for single women, because they implied that single women, deprived of their normal source of fulfilment would become embittered and frustrated. In the 1920s, Ellis was joined by Sigmund Freud, whose theories were interpreted as exhorting men and women to rid themselves of harmful repressions.[132]

---

[132]Adam, p. 87.

The theories of Freud and the sexologists were also used directly to attack single women. The Freudian psychoanalyst Wilhelm Stekel wrote that upper-class, educated, and economically self-sufficient women were quite likely to develop an unhealthy aversion to marriage.[133] A particularly virulent attack was launched by Charlotte Haldane, the wife of the Cambridge biologist J.B.S. Haldane, in Motherhood and its Enemies, published in 1927. Haldane attributed the conflict between the sexes to the influence of `female types, who while biologically superfluous, are nowadays socially and politically influential members of the community.'[134] Showing the influence of eugenicist ideals, she stated that single women were usually genetically inferior: `these spinsters who remain governesses, school-teachers, or Fellows of women's colleges, are far from being the most enterprising or intelligent of their sex.'[135] Haldane implied that it would be better if `normal' women held these posts. This influence was also shown by a motion in favour of coeducation passed by the University of London Union in 1930, which criticised the `fossilised virgins' in charge of women's schools and colleges.[136]

The hostility towards single women gained a new dimension from the increasing public awareness of lesbianism. In the mid-nineteenth century, women's close, even intimate friendships were perfectly acceptable.[137]

---

[133]Wilhelm Stekel, Frigidity in Woman (New York, 1926), p. 289.
[134]Haldane, p. 159.
[135]Ibid., p. 148.
[136]Journal of Education (Nov. 1930), p. 835.
[137]This point is explored in Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, `The Female World of Love and Ritual,' Signs (Autumn 1975).

Homosexuality in women began to be defined as a pathological condition, however, in the late nineteenth century. The first scientific study of lesbianism was published in 1869 by the German psychiatrist Carl von Westphal, who described lesbians as congenital inverts.[138] Von Westphal influenced another German scientist, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, the author of Psychopathia Sexualis (1882), who in turn influenced Havelock Ellis. Both men defined homosexuality as a pathological condition, rather than a vice, as had previously been believed.[139] Ellis wrote that women's growing independence caused them to disdain men and favour relationships with their own sex. `The Congenital anomaly occurs with special frequency in women of high intelligence who, voluntarily or involuntarily influence others.'[140] Women teachers and lecturers were the obvious examples.

By the 1920s, Freud had replaced Krafft-Ebing as the major influence on theories of homosexuality. His Psychogenesis of a Case of Homosexuality in a Woman was published in English in 1920. In Freud's view, arrested development rather than disease was the cause of homosexuality.[141] Whether a pathological or a psychological condition, lesbianism was still seen as harmful.

The identification of lesbianism with educated single women led to direct criticism of girls' schools and women's colleges, and the passionate friendships which they nurtured. In America, this criticism dated from as early as

---

[138]Lillian Faderman, Surpassing the Love of Men (New York, 1981) p. 239.
[139]Ibid., p. 241.
[140]Ellis, Studies in the Psychology of Sex, i, p. 100.
[141]Faderman, p. 314.

the 1880s, when the Association of Collegiate Alumnae tried to discourage the practice of `smashing,' intense relationships between young women on college campuses.[142] The Association believed such friendships prevented girls from studying and damaged their health; at this time these relationships were seen as dangerous, but not necessarily as deviant. In 1908, the Mt. Holyoke lecturer Jeannette Marks counselled her students on `Unwise College Friendships,' ironic because she was herself devoted to the principal of the college, Mary Woolley.[143] Similarly, in the 1920s, there was growing suspicion of friendship between boarding-school girls in England.[144]

The developing hostility towards women's relationships with each other was also expressed through popular literature. Several novels depicting lesbianism as a negative force were set in American women's colleges.[145] In Britain, Clemence Dane's novel Regiment of Women, published in 1915 was seen as an expose of homosexuality in women's single-sex communities. This novel is a vitriolic portrait of a lesbian headmistress, who destroys the lives of her students and staff.

There is no real equivalent of Regiment of Women among British women's college novels. In these novels, while friendship between women dons is sometimes described, it is

---

[142]Nancy Sahli, `Smashing,' Chrysalis, 8 (1979), p. 22.
[143]Faderman, p. 229 and Penina Glazer and Miriam Slater, Unequal Colleagues (New Jersey, 1987), p. 35.
[144]Martha Vicinus, Independent Women (London, 1985), pp. 206-210.
[145]These novels are discussed by Jeannette Foster in Sex Variant Women in Literature (London, 1958). Some examples are Dorothy Baker, Trio, 1943, Wanda Neff, We Sing Diana, 1928 and Mary Lapsley, Parable of the Virgins, 1931.

not necessarily portrayed as lesbian. In the novels of Ivy Compton-Burnett, women's relationships are seen as important, but not as deviant. In Dolores, published in 1911, which was based on her old college, RHC, Compton-Burnett describes `a passionless, ardent little world, a world of women's friendships.'[146] The women also however, attach importance to relationships with men.[147] Similarly, in More Women than Men, 1933, close relationships between women are suggested, but the focus of the novel is on male-female relationships and most notably, on the homosexual relationship of two of the male characters.[148]

The college novels which do portray lesbian relationships locate them among students rather than among the tutors. Rosamund Lehmann's Dusty Answer, 1927, depicts a destructive lesbian relationship between two students at Girton. Similarly, in Monica Redlich's Cheap Return (1934), based on Westfield, the heroine rejects the advances of a fellow student: `She scarcely realised how little she enjoyed, or ever would enjoy, having Fritz's arm round her neck.'[149] The plain, hard-working Fritz with her masculine name is a stereotype of the deviant single woman.

In these novels, the dons are more likely to be viewed as asexual--purely intellectual. The women tutors in Dusty Answer are remote figures who gaze down upon the students

---

[146]Compton-Burnett, Dolores, p. 110.
[147]Ibid., p. 220
[148]Susan J. Leonardi, Dangerous by Degrees (New Jersey, 1989), p. 233 n.5. and Hilary Spurling, Secrets of a Woman's Heart (London, 1984), p. 110. Leonardi refers to More Women than Men as set in RHC, although Spurling locates it in the Corran School, Watford which Compton-Burnett also attended.
[149]Redlich, p. 105.

from the High Table: `black garments, grey, close brushed intellectual heads, serious thin faces looking down the room.'[150] In Cheap Return, they are described as dowdy and unfeminine, but not in a threatening way. According to one student, `The Cow, a woman of much eminence who lectured on Classics, had been bicycling through Holland all the vacation, and my dear, she looked like it.'[151]

Most notably, in Dorothy L. Sayers' Gaudy Night, none of the women dons at the fictionalised Somerville College are lesbians. In fact, Sayers deliberately tries to refute the notion that single women are deviant.[152] The culprit turns out to be, not one of the women dons suffering from warped sexuality, but a woman attempting to avenge what she perceives as the wrongs done to her husband.

The extent of lesbian relationships among academic women is impossible to determine. Undoubtedly some women academics were lesbians. However, as Leila Rupp has pointed out, one must be cautious in characterising women's relationships in the past. Rupp believes that some historians have underplayed their subjects' lesbianism, while others have identified as lesbian women who would themselves have violently denied this term. For instance, she believes that their biographer deliberately ignores evidence that American women academics Mary Woolley and Jeannette Marks were lesbians.[153] Of course this argument raises the knotty problem of how to define lesbianism. Rupp

---

[150]Lehmann, p. 181.
[151]Redlich, p. 57.
[152]Leonardi, p. 93.
[153]Leila Rupp, 'Imagine My Surprise,' Frontiers, 5, no. 3 (1980); 61-70.

suggests a solution in stressing that by the twentieth century a lesbian culture existed with which women could identify, if they chose: `identity, and not sexual behaviour is the crucial factor in the discussion.'[154] As has been seen, many academic women lived communally in women's colleges, while others shared houses throughout their lives with one woman friend. One of these couples, Eleanor Lodge and Janet Spens were partly motivated by financial necessity. `Two establishments were more than we could manage, so we sadly abandoned our cottage and brought back its furniture to our present house.'[155] These women cannot, however, necessarily be termed lesbians.

Conclusion

The reaction against the position women had gained in the academic profession in the 1920s was caused by several interconnected pressures. At Oxford and Cambridge, as numbers of women students increased and women academics gained a small voice in university administration, there was fear that their influence would change the intellectual and social character of the ancient universities, which had previously been defined by men. This process was less apparent at London, where women had played an active part in the university since its reconstitution in 1900.

At all three universities, however, the image and position of women academics was weakened during this period by criticism from the younger generation. Younger women

---

[154] Ibid., p. 67.
[155] Eleanor Lodge, Terms and Vacations (Oxford, 1938), p. 232.

began to react against the high standards of propriety and what they saw as the outdated feminism and social conscience of the older generation. Taking their education for granted, they began to demand a voice in college policy, particularly over the regulation of social life. In the context of the greater freedom in behaviour for women of the 1920s, the women dons seemed to be adhering to standards no longer observed in the outside world.

Furthermore, the influence of eugenicists, sexologists, and psychologists led to a renewed emphasis on marriage and children, which made single women seem anachronistic at best and at worst deviant. Younger women began to question the nineteenth-century dichotomy of marriage and career, which most academic women supported. The implications of these changes for the development of the academic profession for women will be further explored in the following chapter.

Table 14: Matriculants' Marriage Rates (%)

	1900	1910	1915	1925
Som	27	29	45	56
LMH	38	48	40	50
S.Hildas	14	33	67	60
Newnham	37	39	46	54
Girton	16	50	52	57

CHAPTER 9:

WOMEN IN THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION IN 1930

By 1930, women's share of the profession had reached a point at which it would roughly remain for the next three decades. In these years, the academic profession was viable for a limited number of middle-class women, mostly single, who tended to congregate in certain subject areas, and in the lower grades of the profession. A few outstanding women did, however, manage to reach the highest levels. This chapter will first attempt to gauge the extent of this stabilisation by measuring the size of the profession in 1930, a procedure made necessary by the existing lack of complete data. The causes of this stabilisation will then be considered, particularly in the context of institutional changes, and the effects of a declining birthrate and the economic depression of the 1930s on numbers of women students. The significance of institutional factors, in particular, will be assessed by taking into account parallel developments in the United States.

Both the samples of London, Cambridge, and Oxford compiled for this study and Margherita Rendel's `global' figures indicate the trend towards stabilisation by the 1930s. According to Margherita Rendel's statistics, the percentage of women in the academic profession remained relatively constant, at 9.7 percent in 1920-1 and 9.9 percent in 1930-1.[1] Because, as has been seen in Chapter 2, Rendel's figures present certain problems, an alternative

---

[1]M. Rendel, `How Many Women Academics 1912-76,' in R. Deem, ed., Schooling for Women's Work (London, 1980), pp. 147-8.

sample for the year 1930-1 has been prepared based on college and university calendars, and the results are given in Table 15.[2]

In 1930-1 there were 586 women academics in England out of a total of 4323, or 14 percent. As can be seen, the percentage of women at Oxford and Cambridge, particularly Cambridge was below the national average for 1930-31, while the percentage at London University was above average, partly because of the presence of the London women's colleges, where women made up over half of the academic staff. University College London had, however, the largest number of women academics--almost as many as there were at the five women's colleges at Oxford. The percentage of women was also above average at King's and the LSE; in fact, London was one of the most favourable places for women scholars during this period. Eleanor Lodge, who sat on the History Board of the university in the 1920s, compared London favourably to Oxford. She recalled `It was cheering to find with what complete equality men and women worked together on it.'[3] The percentage of women academics at other universities was highest at the recently founded university colleges like Nottingham and Southampton. It was lowest at those universities where a substantial proportion of the staff was found in engineering, applied sciences, and medicine, such as Liverpool, Leeds and Manchester.

A similar trend occurred in the United States. The percentage of women academic staff at colleges and

---

[2]See Appendix 2 for discussion of the methodology used in compiling this table.
[3]Eleanor Lodge, Terms and Vacations (Oxford, 1938), p. 206.

universities in the United States remained relatively stable during this period--in fact, it declined slightly after 1930.[4] In 1910, it was estimated at between 22.4 and 24.6 percent, in 1920 at 28.2 per cent, in 1930 at 27.9 percent and in 1960 at 23.9 percent.[5] Susan Carter shows that this stabilisation can be attributed to the changing institutional mix--the closing of women's colleges and normal schools which had employed large numbers of women.[6] In Britain, however, there was no real change in the distribution of different types of institution until the 1970s, when many teacher training colleges were closed, so the explanation must be found elsewhere.

One possible influence was the decline in the numbers of women students. By the mid-1920s, the rapid expansion in the number of women students which followed the First World War was at an end. The University Grants Committee reported a slight decrease in the number of women students, from 12,962 in 1923-4 to 12,899 in 1928-9; in medicine and dentistry the decrease in numbers was dramatic--from 2595 in 1921-2 to 1108 in 1928-9,[7] probably a direct result of the end of the wartime demand and exclusionary policy of the medical schools. Hospitals which had admitted women to clinical training during the war began to exclude them again

---

[4]On the debate over the reasons for the decline in the number of academic women, see Jessie Bernard, Academic Women (Philadelphia, 1964), Patricia Albjerg Graham, `Expansion and Exclusion,' Signs, 3 (Summer, 1978), pp. 759-773 and Susan Carter, `Academic Women Revisited,' Journal of Social History, 14 (Summer 1981), pp. 675-697.

[5]Carter, p. 688.

[6]Ibid.

[7]University Grants Committee Report Including Returns from Universities and University Colleges in Receipt of Treasury Grant 1928-9 (London, 1930), p. 4.

afterwards. By 1928, the Royal Free Hospital and University College Hospital were the only hospitals in London still accepting women, the latter only in limited numbers.[8] The UGC, of which Margery Fry, the principal of Somerville from 1926 to 1931 was a member, partly attributed the decrease to the economic depression, which resulted in parents preferring to send their sons rather than their daughters to university.[9] In Scotland alone, the proportion of women students fell from 40 percent in the 1920s to 30 percent in 1930, as a result of the economic crisis.[10] During the period 1930/1 to 1934/5, the total number of women students in Britain declined from 13,072 (27 percent) to 12,232 (24 percent).[11] The decline can also be attributed to demographic factors. While there were 295 legitimate live births per 1000 married women in the 1870s, by the 1900s, there were only 222; the fertility rate continued to decline steadily until after the Second World War.[12] In spite of this decline, however numbers of male students continued to increase, from 34,754 in 1929/30 to 38,406 in 1934/5.[13]

The number of women students had, of course, a bearing on numbers of women academics. A large pool of women students was needed to supply bright young women to enter the academic profession. In the poorly endowed women's colleges, reliant for income on student fees, the number of

---

[8]E. Moberly Bell, Storming the Citadel (London, 1953), pp. 170-4.
[9]UGC Report, p. 4.
[10]R.D. Anderson, The Student Community at Aberdeen 1860-1939 (Aberdeen, 1988), p. 86.
[11]Appendix to the UGC Report for the five years 1929/30-1934/35.
[12]Jane Lewis, Women in England (Sussex, 1984), p. 5.
[13]Appendix to the UGC Report, p. 53.

students determined the number of academics that the colleges were able to support.

The effects of the Depression and the decline in the birth rate were compounded by institutional factors. Two were of particular importance. At Oxford and Cambridge, the limitation of the numbers of students at the women's colleges during the 1920s restricted the extent to which the academic profession for women in these universities could expand. According to the former LMH principal Lucy Sutherland, the statute `kept the women's colleges...poor; it drove away able young women to less restrictive universities, and it resulted in very poor pay for their teachers.'[14] At the London women's colleges, the new factor was the beginning of a trend, which became more significant after 1945, to appoint men to academic posts. The percentage of female staff at Royal Holloway College decreased from 84 percent in 1923-4 to 81 percent in 1933-4 and at Bedford from 67 percent in 1923-4 to 63 percent in 1933-4. By 1957-8, only 50 percent of RHC academics were women. During the principalship of Edith Batho (1945-62), all the newly appointed professors or heads of departments were men, with the exception of the appointment of Dr. Joan Hussey as head of the history department in 1950, anticipating the decision in 1960 to admit male undergraduates.[15] This process could also be seen at Bedford and Westfield colleges; the first male full-time

---

[14]L. Sutherland, `Women in Oxford,' Unpublished Paper.
[15]Caroline Bingham, The History of Royal Holloway College (London, 1987), pp. 199-200.

member of staff at Westfield was Bernard E.C. Davis, who was appointed as head of the English department in 1926.[16]

In American women's colleges, the increased hiring of male staff members had begun at an earlier date. In the late nineteenth century, male faculty members were in a minority and mostly held junior positions.[17] After the First World War, however, there was a shift in policy towards appointing men as a way of gaining status.[18] This resulted from the creation of the Association of American Universities in 1900, which was responsible for accrediting universities. It required instructors to have a Master of Arts and heads of department a doctorate or an equivalent amount of post-graduate work. In addition, the creation of the Carnegie Fund for Teachers in 1901 required academics to have a Ph.D. in order to qualify for a pension, a development which had adverse consequences for women, since many graduate schools were closed to them. In this context, it is not surprising that in 1914, Wellesley dropped its preferential hiring of women.[19] This factor did not operate in Britain, where a doctorate was not a requirement for academic employment. Visiting the United States in 1938, the Home Students' principal Grace Hadow was concerned about

---

[16]Janet Sondheimer, Castle Adamant in Hampstead (London, 1983), p. 106. Of course in London, the university as distinct from the colleges had a say in appointments.
[17]Penina Glazer and Miriam Slater, Unequal Colleagues (New Jersey, 1987), p. 36.
[18]Ibid., p. 67.
[19]Hummer, p. 35.

the way the heads of American women's colleges were being replaced by men.[20]

Another reason for the low representation of women in the academic profession in both countries was that women academics failed to break into new subject areas, particularly engineering and technology, as well as into professional training departments such as law and medicine. According to Rendel's statistics, only 2.0 per cent of women were found in engineering in 1930, and 1 percent in agriculture, compared to 26.1 percent in pure sciences, and 37.0 percent in humanities.[21] Several reasons can be suggested why women made these choices. In England in 1930, women had only been recently admitted into a number of technological professions. The first woman to enter the Institution of Structural Engineers was in 1922; the Institution of Mechanical Engineers opened its doors to women in 1924, and that of Civil Engineers in 1925.[22] Women understandably avoided areas like engineering in which there were few opportunities for their employment, and remained concentrated in much the same areas as they had been found in the earlier period. A similar pattern can be observed in the United States, through the subjects in which women earned Ph.D.s. In 1925-9, 31.4 percent of the Ph.D.s awarded to women were in English and 20.6 percent were in

---

[20]Intercollegiate Principals' Meeting and Correspondence 1938-45, Dep. c.692, 13-17, Dept. of Western Manuscripts, Room 132, Bodleian Library.
[21]Rendel, p. 152.
[22]Charlotte Haldane, Motherhood and its Enemies (London, 1927), p. 107. Haldane surveyed about 30 professional organisations, asking them to volunteer information about numbers of women. See Neal Ferguson, `Women's Work,' Albion, 7 (Spring 1975), p. 61..

social sciences other than economics. In contrast in that year only 6.5 percent earned Ph.D.s in economics and statistics and 6.4 percent in physical sciences.[23]

A further aspect to be considered is the relative attractiveness of the academic profession for women. In 1930, women academics at the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges still earned substantially less than women teaching at the civic universities, as well as much less than their counterparts in the men's colleges. As late as 1955, the maximum stipend a woman teaching in one of the Oxford women's colleges could earn was £1100, while at the civic universities it was £1850.[24] Women's salaries at Oxford had actually begun to improve in 1950 when women dons were made eligible for the newly set up Common University Fund lectureships, where the university paid part of the lecturer's salary. This scheme was advantageous for women academics in that it subsidised existing academic positions, which, being at women's colleges, were reserved for women. The system at Cambridge was less favourable for women. Academics who were paid by the university were known as University Teaching Officers or UTOs. Since very few UTOs were women, and of course only female UTOs could be attached to women's colleges, in practice the university supported very few Girton and Newnham academics, while at some men's colleges it supported large numbers.[25]

---

[23]Carter, p. 686.

[24]The Oxford Magazine (5 May 1955), p. 201. It must be noted that salaries at the women's colleges included free residence.

[25]Report of the Syndicate on the Relationship between the University and the Colleges (Bridges Committee) Cambridge University Reporter (13 March 1962), p. 1095 and p. 1114.

At London and civic universities, salaries were determined by rank, and men and women were paid equally. In this respect, the conditions were more favourable than in the United States, where many women in the same grade as men received lower salaries.[26] At one institution in 1920, a minimum salary of $1800 was set for women and $3000 for men. This policy was overturned, however, after protests from the women lecturers.[27] At another institution, women associate professors were actually given a lower maximum salary than were the lower ranking women assistant professors, eliminating any incentive for women to rise in the profession.[28]

Low salaries and heavy teaching responsibilities continued to be a problem at the women's colleges throughout the interwar period. As the Somerville tutor and university lecturer Hilda Lorimer wrote:

> The double job at Somerville and the university, especially the two winter terms, was so heavy that my main association with term was almost unendurable fatigue, and with vacation a fruitless scramble to (get) ready for the double function.[29]

Oxford and Cambridge women academics often taught longer hours than their male counterparts. Mary Warnock, later mistress of Girton recalled that as a tutor at St. Hugh's

---

[26]Margaret Rossiter, Women Scientists in America (Baltimore, 1982), p. 187.
[27]Geraldine Clifford, ed., Lone Voyagers (New York, 1989), pp. 33-34.
[28]Rossiter, p. 197.
[29]H. Lorimer to P.L. Wingfield (24 March 1934), Papers relating to the Lady Carlisle Research Fellowship, SCA.

College in the 1950s, she regularly taught more than eighteen hours a week with no thought of overtime, while as a tutor at Magdalen College, her husband received overtime if he taught more than eleven hours a week.[30] In the more popular subjects, women tutors were responsible for large numbers of students.[31] Women academics at the London women's colleges also had heavy teaching responsibilities. Congratulating her on her marriage, the Westfield principal Eleanor Lodge told Marian Delf that `Most of the senior staff break down and now here's one suddenly got engaged.'[32]

These particular circumstances operating in the early 1930s--the declining birth rate and the Depression, institutional changes in Oxford, Cambridge and London, together with the sometimes unattractive conditions of employment--were all significant in influencing the size of the profession. Yet the underlying reason that the academic profession for women did not grow beyond a certain level lay in the difficulty of combining careers with marriage and bringing up children. Although more women dons began to marry in the 1920s, numbers were still low, and only about 1 per cent are known to have brought up children while they were teaching. At the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges, Royal Holloway, and Westfield, the residential nature of the colleges remained an obstacle to marriage. Married women dons could not, of course, reside in the

---

[30]Anne Whiteman, ed. al., `Women in Oxford since 1945,' Seminar at Nuffield College (11 March 1986), p. 19, copy in History of Oxford University Office.
[31]Bridges Committee, p. 1114.
[32]E.M. Delf to Percy Smith (5 March 1928), Delf Smith Papers, WCA.

college, although at Girton one reputedly `semi-surreptitiously...harbour(ed) husband and baby on the premises.'[33] Married women dons were more likely to be found at the non-residential colleges; there were seven at the LSE in 1924, a few of whom had children. Residential men's colleges could resolve this difficulty since they could afford to purchase nearby houses for their fellows. A survey in 1946 found that of 277 resident fellows in Oxford, 189 were married, and of these 64 were living in college houses.[34]

Women academics were ambivalent in their attitude towards combining marriage and the academic career. At the Oxford women's colleges, dons were technically expected to resign on marriage but occasionally were given permission to stay on. For example, in 1916, Florence O'Loughlin asked leave to marry without resigning her post as temporary history tutor at Somerville. After the question was discussed by a specially-appointed committee, it was decided that O'Loughlin could retain her post provided she did not marry immediately and that she give the Council as long a notice as possible.[35] O'Loughlin informed the council of her marriage in October 1917 and resigned the following October.[36] When the Oxford women's colleges received their charters in 1925-6, their statutes included a proviso that

---

[33]Muriel Bradbrook, That Infidel Place (London, 1969), p. 75.
[34]Oxford Magazine (14 Nov. 1946), p. 81. This survey included heads, bursars, and other college officers. Four colleges did not reply, and St. Peter's and All Souls were not included. It is not known whether the women's colleges were included.
[35]Council Minutes (9 May 1916) and (6 June 1916), SCA.
[36]Ibid. (23 Oct. 1917), SCA.

principals and tutors should resign on marriage, but gave the Council the opportunity to reappoint them, which was usually done.[37] This formality continued at LMH until the 1960s and at Somerville until the present.[38]

As late as 1965, the St. Hugh's principal Kathleen Kenyon, while giving evidence to the Franks Commission about appointments of Common University Fund lecturers, emphasised the need to appoint unmarried women to residential posts, to act, as she put it, as `house-mistresses.' `The best person intellectually was not always the best person for domestic relations with undergraduates.'[39] The other women principals disagreed with her, maintaining that the best person for the job was always chosen. The discussion does suggest, however, that as late as the 1960s, single women were still perceived as valuable to the profession, as well as showing that the motherly care of students continued to be seen as a legitimate function for a women academic.

In some cases, married women academics were enabled to continue teaching by becoming non-resident. Marian Delf, who was committed to continuing her career after marriage remained at Westfield as a non-resident lecturer: `Home claims would I suppose largely replace those of residence here.'[40] Of course as a senior lecturer Delf was in a stronger position than a younger woman who wished to marry.

---

[37]See the charters and statutes of Somerville, LMH and St. Hilda's Colleges in Statutes Collection, SCA.
[38]Whiteman, p. 5.
[39]University of Oxford, Commission of Inquiry (Franks Commission), Report of Evidence, Third Session (25 May 1965), p. 30.
[40]E.M. Delf to Percy Smith, Delf Smith Papers (5 March 1928), WCA.

She was also one of a number of academic women who married late: Bertha Phillpotts married at 54 and Eileen Power at 48, both to male academics whom they had met through their work. Conceivably at this stage, with their careers settled and no prospect of children, it was easier to make the decision to marry.

Single women also had to make compromises between their family and academic responsibilities. Christine Burrows resigned the principalship of St. Hilda's in 1918 because she felt the time had come for her to make a home for her ageing mother, Esther Burrows.[41] Burrows was happily able to resolve this conflict three years later, in 1921, when she was appointed to the non-residential post of principal of the Society of Oxford Home Students. Mrs. Burrows lived until 1935. Similarly, when Helen Palmer was appointed tutor to Peile Hall at Newnham College in 1923, the Council agreed to allow her to remain living with her parents in Cambridge, but felt the need to stipulate that she should make the tutorship the first claim on her time.[42]

Aside from the problem of residence, the greatest difficulty of marriage for women dons was that it affected their mobility. Often their husbands' work forced them to move to places where they could not carry on their own teaching or research, or they were unable to accept a position in a part of the country too far removed from their husband's place of employment. For instance, Marie Mackie, who had studied at Girton, left her French lectureship at

---

[41]C. Burrows to St. Hilda's Council (25 April 1918), SHIA.
[42]Council Minutes (15 June 1923), NA.

Bedford and UCL upon her marriage to the Swiss Dr. Markus Hottinger in 1926. She was later able, however, to lecture in English at Zurich University.

The women's colleges were sometimes prepared to help married women academics resolve the problem of mobility. The mathematical biologist Dorothy Wrinch was Yarrow research fellow at Girton at the time of her marriage to another mathematician, John Nicholson of Balliol in 1922. Wrinch agreed to come to Oxford if a position could be found for her at one of the women's colleges. When it appeared that too few students were available, however, Wrinch declined to come, and another tutor was found to take the work. Changing her mind about coming, Wrinch was upset to find that she had been replaced. Although she wanted to help Wrinch, the LMH principal Lynda Grier was conscious of the need to observe proper etiquette in the appointment of tutors, regardless of the desire of a married woman to be near her husband. Through quiet negotiations with Grier, however, Nicholson was able to secure some women students for his wife to coach, enabling her to come to Oxford the following year without compromising her professional identity.[43]

Transactions of this sort, of which there are other British examples, were prevented in the U.S.A by anti-nepotism laws which prevented women from being employed at the same institutions as their husbands. These laws were introduced in the early twentieth century as an attempt to

---

[43]P.G. Abir-Am, `Synergy or Clash,' in P.G. Abir-Am and D. Outram, eds., Uneasy Careers and Intimate Lives (London, 1987), pp. 248-50.

reduce patronage in the public sector, but were adopted on an ad hoc basis by many colleges and universities in the 1920s. Especially during the Depression, there was fear that the growing number of women academics, who often earned lower salaries, would take jobs away from men.[44] Women academics in England also benefited from the fact that there was no tenure system comparable to that which was introduced in the United States in the 1930s. This policy made it possible to dismiss candidates not deemed eligible for permanent posts after a maximum of seven years service. The tenure system particularly hurt women academics, the majority of whom held junior or irregular positions.[45] Appointments at the British women's colleges were usually made for one year initially, and if successful, for five or seven year periods subsequently. At this stage, however, reappointment was usually automatic, as shown by the outrage at Cecilia Ady's dismissal from her post at St. Hugh's upon the expiration of the term of her appointment.

Some universities in England, however, operated official marriage bars. In the early 1930s, the Newnham scholar Elsie Phare applied for a lectureship at University College, Southampton. At the interview, she was asked if she was engaged or likely to be so; she replied truthfully in the negative, but a year later when she became engaged to another lecturer, she was accused of behaving deceitfully and upon her marriage was fired.[46] On the other hand,

---

[44]Rossiter, p. 197.
[45]Clifford, pp. 32-34.
[46]Elsie Phare, `From Devon to Cambridge,' Cambridge Review (26 Feb. 1982), p. 149.

during this period a number of married women held positions at the same time as their husbands at the provincial universities. For instance at Exeter in 1930, Mrs. Lewis Horrox, the wife of the assistant professor of English taught drama, while at Nottingham the wife of the professor of economics taught music, and at Reading the wife of the history professor was a lecturer in the same department.

Marriage bars were more rigid in American universities. Many American women's colleges did not hire married women at all, in spite of the fact that the rate of marriage among female college graduates was increasing.[47] Some coeducational universities also operated marriage bars, such as that imposed at Howard University in 1913.[48]

The crucial nature of the marriage issue was revealed by its persistence. By the 1960s, when the quota system, economic and demographic factors were no longer obstacles to the growth of numbers of academic women, the problem of reconciling marriage and career, significant in the interwar period, had become even more insistent. In this expansionary period, there was greater demand for academics than ever before. As more women were marrying younger, it was clear that some effort had to be made to accommodate married women in the profession. The concern was revealed by the evidence of the Franks Commission, when Janet Vaughan, principal of Somerville, drew attention to the problem of women's mobility which had initially arisen

---

[47]Glazer and Slater, pp. 59-64 and Barbara Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women (New Haven, 1985), p. 138.
[48]Clifford, p. 31.

during the interwar period.[49] The need for child care was also being recognised, shown by the founding of the St. Anne's College creche for the children of dons in 1963. The ambivalence of women academics towards marriage during the interwar period, had,however, done little to prepare the ground for the entry of married women into the profession.

So far the discussion has concerned the opportunities for entry into the profession generally; after entry, however, the question of advancement became important. In 1930, women academics were underrepresented at the highest levels of the profession, particularly in science, medicine and technology, where few women were employed at any level. Examination of the university calendars shows that in 1930-1, there were 14 women professors and 17 women readers in England, which accounted for 3 percent of the posts held by women in this year. Among the women professors, 7 were in the humanities, 2 in biological sciences, 2 in mathematics or physical sciences, 2 in social science and 1 in education.

As well as being underrepresented in senior academic posts, women academics in 1930 held very few senior administrative positions, a situation which has persisted until the present time. As has been seen, the first woman to sit on the Hebdomadal Council in Oxford was Lynda Grier, the principal of Lady Margaret Hall, in 1926. The first woman member of the council of the Cambridge Senate was Dame Myra Curtis, principal of Newnham, who was elected in 1952,

---

[49]Comments by Janet Vaughan, Franks Commission (19 Nov. 1964).

four years after women became members of the university. Very few women were electors to Chairs--in 1957 only 3 of 595 electors at Oxford were women--most chairs were of course tied to men's colleges. Women at Oxford were also excluded from serving as vice-chancellor or as proctors.[50] Proctorships had importance beyond their disciplinary function in that they entailed membership of the Hebdomadal Council and certain university committees. A new office, corresponding to the proctorship, known as `the representative of the women's college' was set up in 1959. Later this officer was known as the assessor and represented both the women's colleges and the graduate colleges. There has been no woman vice-chancellor at Oxford or Cambridge, although Lucy Sutherland, principal of LMH, was the first woman to serve as pro vice-chancellor from 1960 to 1969. Women were included in the proctorial cycle in 1979.[51] The first woman proctor at Cambridge, Marie Caxton, was also appointed in this year. The first woman vice-chancellor in the Commonwealth was the historian Lillian Penson at London University in 1948.

Women's isolation from the university was deepened by their social and geographical isolation. The women's colleges at both Oxford and Cambridge were located away from the town centres. Royal Holloway College was eighteen miles from London, and Westfield was on the outskirts of the city. More importantly women were excluded from the Senior Common Rooms of men's colleges where much important discussion took

---

50 'The Subjection of Women,' Oxford Magazine (7 Feb. 1957) p. 254.
51 Whiteman, p. 4.

place and from meals in men's colleges except on formal occasions.[52] Ruth Butler wrote of Oxford in the 1920s:

> The meetings of the History Faculty were at that time--despite the vigorous chairmanship of Mr. Arthur Johnson--singularly lifeless, the real discussion and decisions being carried on at a `History Association' dinner, from which women were excluded. But before long a place on the History Board was found for one woman--a Home-Student tutor; another of our tutors was invited in 1926 to examine in the History Group--to the horror of a few of the young men, who obviously resented being `viva'd' by a woman.[53]

This type of exclusion occasionally occurred in the London colleges as well. At King's College London in the 1950s, the crystallographer Rosalind Franklin found that as a woman researcher she was not allowed to enter the men's common room with her colleagues.[54] She later arranged to transfer to Birkbeck College. Particularly at Oxford and Cambridge, the isolation of women dons resulted in their not being widely known outside their own colleges, leading to a situation where women candidates for election to university bodies were seen as chiefly representing the interests of women.[55]

In spite of the many obstacles to women's advancement in the academic profession during the interwar period, a number of women managed nevertheless to have highly successful careers. Within this 1924 sample, there were in effect two avenues for successful careers. The first was

---

[52]Oxford Magazine (7 Feb. 1957), p. 254 and `Inscrutable Women,' Oxford Magazine (19 Feb. 1959), p. 254.
[53]Ruth Butler, A History of St. Anne's College, ii (Oxford, 1955), pp. 10-11.
[54]James D. Watson, The Double Helix (London, 1968), p. 26.
[55]`Inscrutable Women,' p. 254.

election to a university professorship or readership. The second--confined to the women's colleges in this period--was appointment to a principalship.[56] Within these two categories of achievement, women academics gained acceptance by their universities and earned the highest honours in their disciplines. The careers of these women showed that gender was not necessarily an obstacle to professional success, although their small numbers testified that this was only true for the most exceptional women.

Table 16 illustrates some of the characteristics of the women in the 1924 cohort who held senior positions--college principals, professors, and readers. Generally these successful women mirror the characteristics of the other women academics surveyed. Like their less successful colleagues, they mostly came from professional and business families, ranging from the Newnham principal Pernel Strachey, whose father Sir Richard Strachey held a high position in the government of India, to the King's College English scholar Clara Knight, whose father was a shopkeeper. Like the other women in the sample, the vast majority of these women had attended one of the Oxford or Cambridge women's colleges or London University. The only exception was Hilda Johnstone, who received her degree from the University of Manchester. Of the professors and readers, seven had received first class honours. Four women were, however, from the first generation of women academics, who had entered the profession without formal academic

---

[56]While women could technically be appointed as heads of mixed colleges, none were during this period.

qualifications. Alice Werner studied at Newnham, but took no Tripos; she gained her expertise in African languages through independent research. Ethel Elderton and Margaret Murray studied at Bedford and UCL respectively but did not take degrees.

The distinctive feature of these women is that except for the two botanists, they were all found in the arts or social sciences, reflecting women's inability to break into the physical sciences, especially at upper levels, during this period. Furthermore, only three of the group were married in 1924, of whom two had children. Eileen Power and Marion Delf both married later, but had no children. The proportion who were married in 1924, 12 percent, is, however, only slightly smaller than the proportion who were married while teaching in the whole 1924 cohort (14 percent), suggesting that for those women committed to academic careers, marriage proved to be no greater obstacle to professional success than to entry to the profession in the first place. The critical problem of marriage affected the profession as a whole.

Table 15: Numbers of Women Academics at English Universities 1930-31

	Women	Total	%Women
Oxford	54	487	11
Cambridge	31	649	5
London			
Bedford	44	67	66
Birkbeck	9	53	17
East London	6	45	13
Imperial	4	171	2
King's	31	166	19
King's Household Sci	14	18	78
LSE	11	70	16
RHC	26	32	81
School of Oriental Stud	4	45	9
UCL	51	283	18
Westfield	14	18	78
Wye	0	32	0
Total London	214	1000	21
Birmingham	28	171	16
Bristol	11	114	10
Durham	28	197	14
Exeter	12	55	22
Hull	5	34	15
Leeds	29	279	10
Liverpool	26	297	9
Manchester	39	359	11
Nottingham	25	120	21
Reading	38	133	29
Sheffield	15	180	8
Southampton	16	68	24
Total	586	4323	14

Data for University College Leicester was unavailable.

Table 16:
Women Academics Holding Senior Positions (1924)

Name	Rank	Subj.	Inst.	Marital Status	Children
C. Burrows	Prin		SOHS	Unmarried	
E.J. Davies	Read	Hist	UCL	Unmarried	
B. Edgell	Read	Psych	Bed	Unmarried	
E. Elderton	As Prof	Stat.	UCL	Unmarried	
L. Grier	Prin		LMH	Unmarried	
E. Higgins	Prin		RHC	Unmarried	
B. Hosgood	Read	Geog	Bed	Unmarried	
H. Johnstone	Read	His	RHC	Unmarried	
E. Jourdain	Prin		St Hu	Unmarried	
C. Knight	Read	Clas	Kin	Unmarried	
L. Knowles	Prof	Ec His	LSE	Married	No
E. Lodge	Prin		Wes	Unmarried	
W. Moberly	Prin		St Hi	Unmarried	
M. Murray	As Prof	Egypt	UCL	Unmarried	
H. Oakeley	Read	Phil	Kin	Unmarried	
C. Paquier	Prof	Lang	Wes	Married	Yes
E. Penrose	Prin		Som	Unmarried	
B. Phillpotts	Mist		Gir	Unmarried	
E. Power	Read	Ec His	LSE	Unmarried	
M. Delf	Read	Bot	West	Unmarried	
C. Spurgeon	Prof	Engl	Bed	Unmarried	
L. Stebbing	Read	Phil	Bed	Unmarried	
J.P. Strachey	Prin		Newn	Unmarried	
E. Thomas	Read	Bot	UCL	Unmarried	
M. Tuke	Prin		Bed	Unmarried	
G. Turquet	Read	Lang	Wes	Married	Yes
A. Werner	Prof	Af Stu	Kin	Unmarried	

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSIONS

An academic profession for women developed in English universities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This study has attempted to place women's employment in the universities in the context of the evolution of a wider academic profession for both men and women. As previous work on women academics has been limited to certain individuals or groups,[1] it was first necessary to create a map of the academic profession, describing its membership and characteristics, which has been done through the statistical survey in Chapter 2. Secondly, because the academic career was still itself evolving during this period, it was necessary to examine the professionalisation process and how it affected women. While some historians have seen professionalisation as damaging to women's interests,[2] this study suggests that professionalisation did not always harm women and in fact can be seen in some respects as a positive development. Rather than being forced into an alien professional mould women were able to adapt those features of professionalisation which suited their needs.

The distinctive characteristic of the three universities discussed in this study was the presence of

[1]Sandra Peacock, Jane Ellen Harrison (New Haven, 1987) and Martha Vicinus, Independent Women (London, 1985).
[2]Margaret Rossiter, Women Scientists in America (Baltimore, 1982), Pnina G. Abir-Am and Dorinda Outram, eds., Uneasy Careers and Intimate Lives (New Jersey, 1987), and Patricia

women's colleges affiliated to them. The women's colleges provided the opportunity for a small number of middle-class, mostly single women to have academic careers. These women developed their own professional ethos based on high academic standards, gentility and commitment to social service. Even as women academics were assimilated into the male profession in the twentieth century, the values of the early women's colleges would remain influential. This concept of `professional ethos' was similar to that described by historians of other professions in which women played an important role such as secondary school teaching and social work.[3]

In the late nineteenth century, women entered a profession which had hardly developed. There was no real training for an academic career except for the possession of a good university degree. The profession was divided between institutions where salaries and conditions varied widely; the profession was not organised and had no self-governing structure outside of individual institutions. Although learning was perceived as valuable, giving academics prestige, the salaries of academics at universities other than Oxford and Cambridge were so low that professors, who were sometimes forced to pay assistants out of their own salaries, often had other jobs to enable

---

Palmieri, `Here was Fellowship,' History of Education Quarterly, 23 (1983), pp. 209-11.

[3]Penny Summerfield, `Cultural Reproduction in the Education of Girls,' in F. Hunt, ed., Lessons for Life (Oxford, 1987), pp. 167-9 and Robyn Muncy, `Gender and Professionalization in the Origins of the U.S. Welfare State,' Unpublished Paper Presented to the Women in the Welfare State Conference, University of Wisconsin (19-22 June 1989), pp. 1-2.

them to support themselves. The fluidity of the profession at this time enabled women to gain entry, but the women's colleges were poor relations even in a poor profession, which limited their ability to fund building and research, and to pay their staffs. Women academics at Oxford and Cambridge were also somewhat isolated because they were not members of faculties or boards until the 1920s, so played no part in the planning of lectures or in other academic business.

As well as being influenced by the institutions in which they played sometimes only an unofficial part, the careers of women academics were shaped by ideas about femininity and the feminist movement. With the exception of Girton and RHC, which were influenced by male collegiate ideals, the early women's colleges were created according to the small domestic model.[4] Students and staff were close in age and created a community life which would survive the expansion in size and professionalisation of the twentieth century. The creation of a genteel, family-like atmosphere was a way in which women academics could deflect criticism of their colleges as unfeminine. Opposition from outside also made it necessary to maintain discipline and propriety. Although the early women dons found their professional position sometimes undermined by the need to act as chaperones, the regulations were accepted by most early students and were not actually unreasonable in the context of the time. The rules governing contact with male

---

[4]Elizabeth Edwards, `Educational Institutions or Extended Families,' Gender and Education, 2 (1990).

undergraduates would carry on into the interwar period, however, when changing conventions and attitudes caused the women's colleges to become the target of a different kind of criticism.

Many early women academics took an interest in social reform, which in the nineteenth century was seen as an extension of women's traditional sphere. Some women academics saw their teaching and research as a type of service to society, a belief which was also shared by some male academics of their generation. One of the most controversial areas of reform, the emancipation of women, was particularly important in the formation of Bedford and Girton Colleges, although at the Oxford women's colleges, the founding impulse had come chiefly from university men.[5] Rather than being divided between feminists and non-feminists as has been suggested by Sara Delamont and Joyce Pedersen, early women academics exhibited a range of attitudes towards the relationship between gender and education.[6] The early academic profession was also characterised by a close relationship with secondary school teaching. Although some male academics also moved freely between schools and universities during the nineteenth century, this exchange diminished in the early twentieth century while for women it continued into the interwar period. In some respects the influence of schools was damaging to the professional position of women academics; it

[5]Philippa Levine, Victorian Feminism (London, 1987), pp. 44-45.

gave their critics an opportunity to label them as schoolmistresses, and in fact women academics sometimes unsuccessfully tried to adapt the discipline and hierarchy of schools to the more adult environment of the women's colleges.

The women's colleges were in the process of evolution in the late nineteenth century. Gradually a strong academic record became a criterion for appointment, and the colleges expanded in size and appointed more tutors. Women academics were, however, able to accommodate the growing emphasis on intellectual achievement into their college communities, maintaining the values of gentility, service and friendship. The women's college communities were not necessarily sacrificed to professionalisation.

The successful creation of women's college communities in the nineteenth century set the stage for the more rapid professional development of the twentieth. The first decade of the twentieth century was noteworthy because of the beginning of appointments of women at the coeducational London colleges and civic universities. Women academics also began to be accepted into some learned societies, enabling them to share in an academic profession overreaching the boundaries of institutions. There is little evidence of direct barriers against the hiring of women at coeducational colleges. Furthermore, although women tended to be disproportionately represented in the

---

[6]Sara Delamont, ed., The Nineteenth Century Woman (London, 1978) and Joyce Senders Pedersen, `Some Victorian Headmistresses,' Victorian Studies, 24 (Summer 1981).

lower ranks at coeducational institutions, it was not impossible for a woman to be appointed to a professorship or readership. In contrast, in the United States there is evidence that women were allowed to gain a foothold in the profession, but when their increasing numbers began to be perceived as a threat, some deliberate efforts were made to limit their participation.[7] In the much smaller university sector in Britain, however, there were probably too few women academics to create a fear of feminisation, although there were some efforts to contain numbers of women students in the 1920s.

Women at both coeducational and single-sex colleges were influenced by the wider evolution of the academic profession during this period. The dramatic increase in government funding after the First World War benefited the women's colleges, most notably those at Oxford and Cambridge which had not previously received support. The economic crisis also led academics to organise--the Association of University Teachers was open to men and women equally, and its proposed salary scale did not take gender into account. Although neither the University Grants Committee nor the AUT actively sought to ameliorate women's position in the profession, women shared in the gains made by assistant staff members in general. During this period both male and female assistant lecturers worked for better representation within the governing bodies of the their institutions, and, at Oxford and Cambridge, the position of the women tutors

---

[7]Rossiter, p. xvii.

and lecturers was strengthened by the adoption of the self-governing structure of the men's colleges.

In spite of the increases in funding, poverty still remained a problem at the women's colleges. Nevertheless women academics were able to incorporate the growing emphasis on research into their careers; in fact in Oxford in some years more women than men published or did higher degrees. In spite of these positive developments, it must be noted that in some respects, the centralisation which accompanied professionalisation limited the control which women academics exercised over their own careers and over those of their students. During the period under review, however, the women's colleges maintained their distinctive character and continued to reserve posts for women, unlike the American women's colleges, where the competition for status involved the increased hiring of male faculty members.[8]

By the interwar period, it became clear that the professionalisation process itself did not harm women; many factors existed which tended to marginalise women's role in the profession. In the nineteenth century, university teaching and other professions which admitted women were viewed as successful strategies towards gaining occupation and independence for single women. Academic careers were seen as incompatible with marriage and child-rearing, although a few exceptional women did manage to combine the

---

[8]Penina Glazer and Miriam Slater, Unequal Colleagues (New Jersey, 1987), p. 67.

two. The ready supply of single women, however, caused the profession to grow rapidly. But by the late 1920s, the economic depression, demographic change, and, at Oxford and Cambridge, the limitation of numbers of women students acted as a damper on expansion. Thus, during this stagnant interwar period, while there was little pressure to accommodate married women in the profession, nothing was done to establish conditions favourable to the entry of married women in a later generation.

By the early 1970s, the small proportion of academics who were women was a point of concern and contention. One argument asserted that rather than being the victims of discrimination, too few women applied for academic posts.[9] On the other hand, it has been suggested that the structure of the academic profession itself discriminated against women.[10] In this period, when many of the problems of the interwar years were no longer relevant, the greatest difficulty for academic women lay in combining marriage, child-rearing and career. The demands of time and mobility required for a successful academic career meant that some married women were probably discouraged from entering the profession.

In the early 1970s, the debate also focused on why so many women academics were found at the lower rungs of the

---

[9]Tessa Blackstone, `The Scarce Academics,' The Times Higher Education Supplement (14 March 1973) and `Mistresses, Masters, Professors and Vice Chancellors,' The Fawcett Lecture delivered at Bedford College, University of London (24 June 1984).

[10]Margaret Masterman, `Life, Death, and Resurrection of the Academic Woman,' The Fawcett Lecture (24 Oct. 1974).

professional ladder. This trend, which has existed throughout the twentieth century, was partly caused by the low representation of women in the profession in general. However, taking this into account, women are still underrepresented at the highest levels of the profession. A likely explanation is women's failure to break into the physical sciences, technology and professional disciplines, where women professors are notably absent. It has also been suggested that women's lower research productivity has led them to be passed over for promotion.[11] At least before 1930, however, women academics managed to do an impressive amount of research in spite of the constraints of few resources and heavy teaching loads. Another possible interpretation is that marriage and child-rearing led many women to drop out of the profession before there was any chance of them being appointed to senior posts.

The comparison of women's academic careers in various types of institutions also contributes to the current debate over whether single-sex colleges are positive or negative influences on women's status in the academic profession.[12] Certainly these colleges have provided jobs for women academics, particularly at the male-dominated universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where women's only chance to enter the profession was through women's colleges. Single-sex colleges have also created opportunities for women in male-dominated subjects. Some of the limitations of women's

---

[11]Blackstone, `The Scarce Academics.'
[12]For the current debate on this subject see Mary J. Oates and Susan Williamson, `Women's Colleges and Women

colleges in the past, however, have been that they were never able to amass the funds needed to provide research fellowships, sabbatical leave or staffing levels comparable to those of the men's colleges. Furthermore, women academics at single-sex colleges were ambivalent about the relationship between career and marriage for women, in many cases maintaining the nineteenth-century strategy of careers for single women only, thus inevitably limiting the appeal of the academic career for their students.

A final question is to what extent women made a special contribution as women to scholarship. Throughout the period under review, a number of women did research on the history of women or on their social and economic role, as well as in topics related to women such as the household and infant mortality. The majority of academic women, however, did research in mainstream areas. In fact mid-twentieth century women academics did not see themselves, as some contemporary academic women do, as seeking to change the male domination of the university and of scholarship.[13] Rather they sought to gain access for women to the opportunities offered by the universities as students and as academics.

Achievers,' in E. Minnich, et al., eds., Reconstructing the Academy (Chicago, 1988).

[13] E. Minnich, `Introduction,' Ibid.

APPENDIX 1: SELECT BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX[1]

Cecilia M. Ady (1881-1958) Resident Tutor St. Hugh's 1908-24, Tutor Society of Oxford Home Students, University Lecturer, Modern History 1927, specialist Italian history.

Mabel Atkinson Lecturer in Economics, King's College for Women 1908-14. Author, Economics, Descriptive and Theoretical, 1911 with Margaret McKillop.

Mary Bateson (1865-1906) Teaching History Newnham 1888-1906, published in medieval history, first woman member of Committee, Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

Dorothea Beale (1831-1906) Influential headmistress of Cheltenham Ladies College. Founder of St. Hilda's College 1893.

Margaret J. Benson (1859-1936) Lecturer in Botany, RHC, 1894-1922, University Professor, 1912, Fellow, Linnean Society.

A. Frances Bernard (Mrs. Latham) (1839-1926) Mistress of Girton 1875-1884.

Matilda Ellen Bishop (1842-1913) Principal RHC, 1887-97, formerly Headmistress, Oxford High School 1879-1886.

Elizabeth Blackwell Lecturer, Botany, RHC 1922-49, published extensively, collaborated with M. Benson.

Barbara Bodichon, nee Leigh Smith (1827-1891) One of founders of British feminist movement, benefactress and Council member of Girton, friend of Emily Davies.

Mabel C. Buer Assistant Lecturer, LSE 1912-15, 1917-18, later Lecturer, Reading University. Published Economics for Beginners, and Health, Welfare and Population in the Early Days of the Industrial Revolution, 1926.

Christine M.E. Burrows (1872-1959) History tutor, St. Hilda's 1894-1910, Principal, St. Hilda's 1910-19, Principal, Society of Oxford Home Students 1921-9.

Esther E. Burrows, nee Bliss (1847-1935) Principal St. Hilda's 1893-1910, formerly in charge of house for boarders, Cheltenham Ladies College. Mother of C. Burrows.

Eliza M. Butler (1885-1959) Newnham Lecturer in French and German 1915-1936, Schroeder Lecturer in German 1929-36, Professor Manchester University 1936-45.

---

[1]This appendix includes the principals of the women's colleges, women who had distinguished careers, and women academics who are mentioned several times in the text.

Ruth F. Butler (1881-1982) Modern History Tutor, Society of Oxford Home Students, 1913-42. Also Dean of Degrees and Senior Tutor.

C. Violet Butler (1884-1982) Tutor in Economics, Society of Oxford Home Students 1914-45, Secretary for Social Training, Barnett House, 1915-45, University Lecturer 1929. Sister of R. Butler.

Helen M. Cam (1885-1968) Director of Studies in History and Law, Girton 1921-48, Formerly Assistant Lecturer RHC 1912-21. Professor of History, Harvard 1948-54. Fellow of British Academy 1945.

Maude V. Clarke (1892-1935) Tutor in History, Somerville 1919-35, University Lecturer 1930-35. Formerly Deputy Professor of Modern History, Queen's University, Belfast 1916-19. Published extensively in medieval history.

Anne Jemima Clough (1820-1892) Principal Newnham 1871-1892. Formerly organised Schoolmistresses Association, Liverpool, helped found North of England Society for Promoting the Higher Education of Women 1867.

Blanche Athena Clough (1861-1960) Vice-Principal, Newnham 1896-1920, Principal 1920-3. Member of Asquith Commission 1920. Niece of A.J. Clough.

Helen Darbishire (1881-1961) Principal Somerville 1931-1945. Tutor in English Literature Somerville 1908-31, Published on John Milton and William Wordsworth.

Beatrice Edgell (1871-1948) Head of Philosophy Department, Bedford 1898-1933, Reader and Professor of Psychology, Bedford. Extensive publications.

Ethel M. Elderton (1878-1954) Galton Research Scholar, UCL 1907-15, Research Fellow 1915-23, Assistant Professor 1921-31, Reader 1931-35. Published extensively on genetics, infant welfare and the employment of women.

Sarah Emily Davies (1830-1921) Founder of Girton College, Honorary Secretary, and Mistress 1872-4.

Joan Evans Librarian St. Hugh's 1917-22, Reserch Fellow LMH 1933-35, President, Royal Archaeological Society 1948-51. Published extensively on medieval art.

Lilian Faithfull (1865-1952) Lecturer in English literature, RHC 1889-94, Vice-Principal, King's College Women's Department 1894-1907, Principal, Cheltenham Ladies College 1907-22.

Lettice Fisher (née Ilbert) (1875-1956) History Tutor, St. Hugh's 1902-13, founder, Oxford Health and Housing Association, 1905. Chairman, National Council for the Care of the Unmarried Mother and her Child, 1918-49.

Ida Freund (1863-1914) Lecturer in Chemistry, Newnham 1888-1913. Published Chemical Composition, 1904, and posthumously Experimental Basis of Chemistry, 1920.

Sara Margery Fry (1874-1958) Principal, Somerville 1926-31. Previously Librarian at Somerville. Worked with Quakers' War Relief Mission in France during the First World War, Hon. Sec. Howard League for Penal Reform 1916-26.

Alice Gardner (1854-1927) Lecturer in History, Newnham 1884-1914, Reader in Byzantine History, Cambridge 1920, Fellow and Member of Council, Royal Historical Society.

Helen Gladstone (1849-1925) Vice-Principal Newnham 1882-1896, Member of Newnham Council, Warden Women's University Settlement 1901-6.

Frances Ralph Gray (c.1863-1935) Classics Lecturer, Westfield 1883-93. Later High Mistress, St. Paul's Girls' School.

Lynda Grier (1880-1967) Principal LMH 1921-45. Formerly Lecturer and Director of Studies in Economics, Newnham, 1909-21. Member of Hebdomadal Council, Oxford. President, Economics Section of British Association, 1925.

Barbara Gwyer (1881-1974) Principal, St. Hugh's College 1924-46.

Grace Hadow (1875-1940) Tutor and Lecturer in English, LMH 1906-17, Secretary, Barnett House 1920-29, Principal, Society of Oxford Home Students 1929-38. Vice-Chairman, National Federation of Women's Institutes.

Jane Ellen Harrison (1850-1928) Newnham Lecturer in Classical Archaeology 1899-1922. Published extensively on Ancient Greek art and mythology. Member of Council Hellenic Society.

Ellen C. Higgins (1871-1951) Principal and Mathematics Lecturer, RHC 1907-35.

Ethel Hurlbatt (1866-1934) Principal and Lecturer in Political Economy Bedford 1898-1906. Later Warden, Royal Victoria College, Montreal.

Evelyn Mary Jamison (1877-1972) Tutor in History, LMH 1907-37. University Lecturer in Modern History 1927-32, and in Medieval History 1932-5. Specialised in Italian history.

Henrietta Jex-Blake (d. 1953) Principal, LMH 1909-21, formerly headmistress, St. Margaret's School, Polmont.

Katharine Jex-Blake (1860-1951) Mistress of Girton College 1916-1922. Formerly Classics Mistress, Notting Hill High School. Published Latin texts and translations.

Bertha Johnson (née Todd) (1846-1927) Honorary Secretary, AEW, Oxford 1883-1894. Principal, Society of Oxford Home Students 1893-1921.

Emily E.C. Jones (d. 1922) Lecturer, Moral Sciences, Girton 1884-1916. Mistress of Girton 1903-16. Published extensively in logic and ethics.

Eleanor F. Jourdain (1863-1924) Vice-Principal, St. Hugh's 1902-15, Principal 1915-24. Formerly headmistress, Corran School, Watford.

Mary Kingsland (Mrs. Higgs) (1854-1937) Resident Lecturer in Natural Sciences at Girton 1875-6, author of Glimpses into the Abyss, study of vagrancy based on time spent living as a vagrant.

Lillian Knowles (née Tomn) (1870-1926) Lecturer, Modern Economic History, LSE 1904-7, Reader 1907-19, Professor 1919-26. Member of Council, Royal Economic Society, Royal Historical Society. Speciality Industrial Revolution and imperialism.

Margaret Lucy Lee (d. 1956) Lecturer English literature, King's 1898-1920, and AEW 1896-1930.

Alice E. Lee (1859-1939) Lecturer, Maths and Physics, Bedford 1880-1926. Research, Galton Eugenics Laboratory 1892-1916. Author Infant Mortality in a Manufacturing Town, 1914.

Madeleine Shaw Lefevre (1835-1914) Principal Somerville 1879-89. Manager of residence, Bedford 1885-1914.

Ada Elizabeth Levett (1881-1932) Professor of History, Westfield 1929-32. History Tutor, 1910-23 and Vice-Principal St. Hilda's 1913-23. Reader Economic History, London 1927-29. Speciality medieval history.

Eleanor C. Lodge (1869-1936) Principal, Westfield College 1921-31, History Tutor, LMH 1899-1921, Vice-Principal LMH 1906-21. Fellow, Royal Historical Society. Speciality French medieval history.

Hilda Lorimer (1873-1954) Tutor in Classics, Somerville 1896-1934. University Lecturer, Homeric Archaeology 1929-37. Author Homer and the Monuments, 1950.

Louisa Lumsden (1840-1935) Resident Classics Tutor Girton 1873-5. First Headmistress of St. Leonard's School, St. Andrew's 1877-1882.

Ellen McArthur (1862-1927) Economic Historian. Lecturer in History, Girton 1886-1912. Fellow, Royal Historical Society.

Margaret McKillop née Seward (1864-1929) Lecturer, King's College for Women in Maths and Natural Science 1896-14.

Formerly Tutor Somerville 1885-87, RHC 1887-1891. Published in Economics and Domestic Science.

Agnes Maitland (1849-1906) Principal of Somerville 1889-1906.

Edith Major (1867-1951) Mistress of Girton 1925-31. Formerly Headmistress.

Julia de Lacy Mann (b. 1891) Principal, St. Hilda's 1928-1955. Vice-Principal and Tutor in Economics, St. Hilda's 1923-8. Published in Economic History.

Constance L. Maynard (1849-1935) One of founders and first Principal, Westfield College 1882-1913. Helped found St. Leonard's School, St. Andrew's. Lecturer in Divinity.

Charlotte Anne Moberly (1846-1937) Principal St. Hugh's 1886-1915.

Winifred H. Moberly (1875-1928) Principal, St. Hilda's 1919-28.

Edith J. Morley (1875-1964) Professor, University of Reading. Lecturer in English literature, King's College for Women 1899-1914. Published in Renaissance literature and on women's work.

Margaret A. Murray (1863-1963) Lecturer, later Professor of Egyptology, University College London. Fellow, Society of Antiquaries, Scotland.

Hilda D. Oakeley (1867-1950) Vice-Principal and Warden, King's College for Women 1907-15. Reader in Philosophy, London University, 1921-31. Member of Council, Aristotelian Society.

Clara Pater (d. 1910) Tutor in Latin, Somerville 1887-94.

Edith A. Pearson (d. 1940) Vice-Principal and Tutor in Mathematics, LMH 1888-1902. Head of LMH Settlement 1902-5, 1907-15, Tutor and Lecturer, London School of Sociology 1901-12.

Emily Penrose (1858-1942) Principal, Somerville 1907-26. Principal, Bedford 1893-7 and Professor of Ancient History. Principal, RHC 1898-1907. Member, London University Senate, Asquith Commission.

Bertha S. Phillpotts (Dame Bertha Newall) (1877-1932) Mistress, Girton 1922-5. Principal, Westfield 1919-21. University Lecturer in Anthropology, Cambridge 1926-32, Cambridge and London Statutory Commissioner. Publications on Icelandic literature and anthropology.

Marion Pick Lecturer, Mathematics, RHC 1911-46.

Mildred K. Pope (1872-1956) Tutor Modern Languages, Somerville 1894-1934. Oxford University Lecturer 1920-23, Professor, Manchester University 1934-39. Speciality medieval French literature.

Eileen E. Power (1889-1940) Professor, Economic History LSE 1931-40. Lecturer in History and Economics, Girton 1913-21. Lecturer (1921-4) and Reader LSE 1924-31. Fellow, Royal Historical Society. Author Medieval English Nunneries, 1922.

Catherine A. Raisin Head of Geology Department, Bedford 1890-1920 and Head of Botany Department 1886-1908.

Elisabeth Reid (1789-1866) Unitarian widow, founded Bedford College 1849.

Anne W. Richardson (1859-1942) Lecturer in Classics and Vice-Principal, Westfield 1887-1926.

Annie M.A.H. Rogers (1856-1937) Tutor in Classics, AEW 1878-1920. Tutor, Society of Oxford Home Students 1920-27. Honorary Secretary, AEW 1894-1920, Member, Delegacy of Women Students, Delegacy of Home Students.

Edith Rebecca Saunders (1865-1945) Demonstrator and later Lecturer in Botany, Newnham 1892-1925. Fellow, Linnean Society, Royal Horicultural Society. President, Botany Section of the British Association 1920.

Agnes de Selincourt (1872-1917) Principal, Westfield 1913-17. Member of Board of Oriental Studies, London University. Formerly Principal, Lady Muir Memorial College, Allahabad.

Phoebe Sheavyn (1865-1968) Tutor, English literature, Somerville 1897-1907. Lecturer, Manchester University 1907-25. Author The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age, 1909.

Eleanor M. Sidgwick, née Balfour (1845-1936). Principal, Newnham 1892-1910. Treasurer Newnham 1878-1920. Founder member, Society for Psychical Research. Worked in Cavendish Laboratory with Lord Rayleigh, Professor of Experimental Physics. Member, Royal Commission on Secondary Education 1894-5.

Caroline A.J. Skeel (1872-1951) Lecturer in History, Westfield 1895-1907; 1911-27. Reader and Head of History department, Westfield 1919-25, Professor 1925-29. Fellow Royal Historical Society.

Ellen Marion Delf Smith (1883-1980) Lecturer, Botany, Westfield 1906-14. Reader, London 1921-48. Research Fellow, Lister Institute 1916-20. Fellow Linnean Society.

Janet Spens (1876-1963). Tutor in English, LMH 1911-36. Specialist in Renaissance literature.

Caroline F.E. Spurgeon (1869-1942) Professor and Head of English Department, Bedford 1913-29. Member of Government Mission on University Education to the USA. President, International Federation of University Women. Shakespearian and Chaucerian scholar.

Katharine Stephen (1856-1924) Principal Newnham 1911-20 and Vice-Principal 1889-1911.

Mary Stocks (née Brinton) (1891-1975) Principal of Westfield 1939-1951. Formerly Assistant Lecturer LSE, King's College Department of Household and Social Science, tutored students in economics at Oxford.

Marie Stopes (Mrs. Verdon Roe) (1880-1958) Lecturer UCL in paleobotany 1913-20. Lecturer Manchester University 1904-11. Travelled in Japan under auspices of Royal Society 1907-9. Later author of works on sex education and birth control. Founded first birth control clinic in England in 1921.

Joan Pernel Strachey (1876-1951) Principal Newnham 1923-41. Lecturer in French RHC 1900-5. Lecturer Newnham 1905-23.

Margaret Janson Tuke (1863-1947) Principal Bedford and Lecturer in French 1907-29. Lecturer Newnham 1892-1905. Member London University Senate 1911-29.

Edith E. Wardale (d. 1943) Tutor in English literature, St. Hugh's 1889-23, Lecturer, St. Hilda's 1924-26, LMH 1924-7. Speciality Old and Middle English.

Elizabeth Welsh (1843-1921) Mistress Girton 1885-1903. Lecturer in Classics, Girton 1876-85.

Ivy Williams (1877-1966) Tutor in Jurisprudence, Society of Oxford Home Students 1920-45. First woman to qualify for the bar 1920. Researched and published on the Swiss Civil Code. Member of the Aliens Deportation Advisory Committee 1932.

Elizabeth Wordsworth (1840-1932) Principal of LMH 1879-1909. Founder of St. Hugh's College 1886.

Elizabeth Wright (née Lea) (1863-1958) Lecturer Old and Middle English, AEW 1893-6. After marriage to Joseph Wright taught part-time in Oxford and collaborated with him on the English Dialect Dictionary.

APPENDIX 2: NOTE ON METHODOLOGY

In my sample of English academics in the year 1930-31, I have included all universities and university colleges in England, with the exception of University College Leicester, where complete information was not available. I did not include teacher training colleges or other institutions affiliated with universities. Although I included medical and dental departments, I did not include the London teaching hospitals which employed university lecturers, and which are included in the UGC sample; these numbers are fairly small, however.

Within these universities, I included part-time and temporary lecturers, which the UGC sample does not include, as well as junior lecturers, many of which are excluded in the Commonwealth Universities Yearbook used by Margherita Rendel. Unlike Rendel, I did not include the clinical teachers in the university medical schools, as these were not academics, but physicians and surgeons who did some teaching.

I included honorary lecturers, (but not emeritus posts), visiting lecturers, and all assistants and demonstrators other than those clearly doing manual work. Because of the vagaries used in terminology, I chose to equate professors with assistant professors, and senior lecturers with lecturers.

It is very difficult to arrive at an accurate count of the complete academic staff at Oxford and Cambridge universities. I chose to count members of the faculties which can be found in the Oxford University Calendar and The Cambridge Reporter. These provide the most complete list, although there are some double-counts--people who taught in more than one faculty.

APPENDIX 3: WOMEN WHO DID RESEARCH ON WOMEN OR ON TOPICS RELATED TO WOMEN

Ady, Cecilia. The Role of Women in the Church, 1948.

Atkinson, Mabel. The Economic Foundations of the Women's Movement, 1914.

Bidder, Marion. Domestic Economy in Theory and Practice, 1901.

Block, Katherine. The Housewifery Schools and Classes of Belgium.

Buer, Mabel. Health, Wealth and Population in the Early Days of the Industrial Revolution, 1926.

Bulkeley, Mildred. The Feeding of School Children, 1914.

Eckhard, Edith. The Mother and the Infant, 1921.

Elderton, Ethel. On Factors Influencing Infant Mortality, 1928.

Elderton, Ethel. On Infantile Morality and the Employment of Women, 1914.

Hadow, Grace, trans. Clara Schumann by B. Litzmann, 1913.

Harrison, Jane Ellen. Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion. Cambridge, 1922

Harrison, Jane Ellen. Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion, 1927.

Hentsch, Alice. De la litterature didactique du Moyen Age s'addressant specialement aux femmes. Cambridge, 1903.

Hugon, Marianne Cecile. Social France in the Seventeenth Century, 1911.

Jones, M.G. The Charity School Movement in the Eighteenth Century, 1938.

Jones, M.G. Hannah More.

Jourdain, Eleanor.`Methods of Moral Instruction and Training of Girls in France,' in Michael Sadler, ed. Report of an International Enquiry on Moral Instruction and Training in Schools, 1908.

Lee, Alice. Infant Mortality in a Manufacturing Town, 1914.

McArthur, Ellen. `Women Petitioners and the Long Parliament,' English Historical Review, 1909.

Mann, Julia de Lacy and A. Wadsworth. The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1931.

Morley, Edith. Women Workers in Seven Professions, 1914.

Power, Eileen. Medieval English Nunneries, 1922.

Power, Eileen. Medieval Women, posthumously, 1975.

Rider, Bertha Carr. The Greek House, 1916.

White, Rachel. `Women in Ptolemaic Egypt,' Journal of Hellenistic Studies, 1898.

Williams, Gertrude. Social Aspects of Industrial Problems, 1923.

Williams, Gertrude. Women and Work, 1945.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival Sources

Cambridge

Trinity College Archives
Henry Sidgwick Papers

Girton College Archives
Barbara Bodichon Papers
Emily Davies Papers
Eileen Power Papers

Newnham College Archives
Agitation for Degrees Collection
A.J. Clough Papers
E. Sidgwick Papers
M.J. Tuke MSS Autobiography
Governing Body Minutes
Council Minutes

Cambridge University Archives
Degrees for Women Syndicate Minutes

Oxford

Lady Margaret Hall Archives
Evelyn Jamison Remininscences Collection
Eleanor Lodge Papers
Elizabeth Wordsworth Papers
LMH Log Book
LMH Council Minutes
Entrance Papers

St. Anne's College Archives
Ruth Butler Papers
Bertha Johnson Papers
A.M.A.H. Rogers Papers
Manuscript Register

St. Hilda's College Archives
Christine Burrows MS History of the College
Tutors' Collection
Council Minutes

St. Hugh's College Archives
Committee Minutes
Manuscript Register

Somerville College Archives
Mildred Pope Papers
Society of Oxford Women Tutors Papers
Council Minutes
Discipline Collection
Limitation Statute Papers
JCR Committee Minutes
Manuscript Register

Oxford University Archives
Hebdomadal Council Papers
Women's Students Property Committee Papers
Board of English Language and Literature Minutes

Department of Western Manuscripts
Association for Promoting the Education of Women in Oxford Papers
Intercollegiate Principals Committee Minutes and Correspondence
Minutes of the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities

London

Bedford College Archives
Caroline Spurgeon Papers
Press Cuttings Collection

King's College For Women Archives (Liddell-Hart Centre, King's College London)
Committee Minutes
General Policy Files
Manuscript Register

Royal Holloway College Archives
Margaret Benson/Elizabeth Blackwell Papers
Marion Pick MS Autobiography
Manuscript Register

University College London Archives
Karl Pearson Papers
Council Minutes (Access through Record Office)
UCL Women's Union Papers (Access through Record Office)

Westfield College Archives
Constance Maynard Green Book Diary
Constance Maynard MS Autobiography
Marion Delf Smith Papers
Resident Staff Meeting Minutes
Educational Board Minutes

Other

University Grants Committee Papers, Public Record Office

Glynne\Gladstone MS, St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden, (Access through Clywyd Record Office)

Edith Morley Papers, Reading University Archives

Joan P. Strachey Papers, Fawcett Library, City of London Polytechnic

Association of University Teachers Papers, Modern Records Centre, Warwick University

Interviews

Mary Bennett (29 June 1989)

Catherine Cole and Elizabeth Dodgson (5 May 1989)

Christine L. Morrison (30 May 1989)

Marjorie Reeves (1 and 8 May 1989)

Elizabeth Withycombe (2 June 1989)

Parliamentary Papers and other Commission Reports:

Abstracts of Accounts of Secondary Schools on the Grant List in England. PP 1913, L.

Advisory Committee on University Grants. Second Report (Superannuation Scheme). PP 1912-13, XXII.

Appendix to the University Grants Committee Report for the Five Years 1929-1934/5.

Census of England and Wales, 1931 (London, 1934).

Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Consider the Draft Charter for the Proposed Gresham University in London. (Gresham Commission) PP 1893-4, XXXI, PP 1894, XXXIV.

Report of the Departmental Committee on London University. PP 1926, X.

Report of the Royal Commission to Inquire Whether Any and What Kind of New University or Powers is or are Required for

the Advancement of Higher Education in London. (Selborne Commission) PP 1889, XXXIX.

Report of the University Grants Committee on the Financial Needs of the Universities of the United Kingdom and on the Application of Parliamentary Grants. PP 1921, XI.

Reports and Minutes of Evidence of the Royal Commission on University Education in London (Haldane Commission) PP 1910 XXIII, PP 1911 XX, PP 1912-13, XXII and PP 1913 XI

Returns from Universities and University Colleges in Receipt of Treasury Grant 1919-20. PP 1921, XXVI.

Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, PP 1895, XV.

Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities (Asquith Commission), PP 1922, X.

Schools Inquiry Commission (Taunton Commission). PP 1867-8, XXVIII.

University Grants Committee Report including Returns from Universities and Colleges in Receipt of Treasury Grant 1928-9, (London, 1930).

University of Oxford. Report of Commission of Inquiry (Franks Commission), 1966.

Periodicals:

Bedford College Magazine

Brown Book (Lady Margaret Hall)

The Cambridge Reporter

The Cambridge Review

Common Cause

Girton Review

Isis (Oxford University)

Journal of Education (1920-1930)

King's College Review

Newnham College Letter

Newnham College Roll

The Oxford Chronicle

The Oxford Magazine

The Oxford University Gazette

The RHC Letter

The Ship (St. Anne's College)

Somerville Students Association

St. Hilda's Chronicle (1934-5)

St. Hugh's Chronicle (1939-41)

Thersites (Newnham College)

Time and Tide

Times Higher Education Supplement (1920-1930)

The Universities Bulletin

University College Magazine

Woman's Leader

Calendars:

The University of Birmingham Calendar

The University of Bristol Calendar

Cambridge University Calendar

The University of Durham Calendar

University College of the Southwest of England Calendar, Exeter

University College of Hull Calendar

The University of Leeds Calendar

The University of Liverpool Calendar

University of London Calendar

Bedford College Calendar

Birkbeck College Calendar

East London College Calendar

The Imperial College of Science Calendar

King's College Calendar

The Calendar of the London School of Economics

Royal Holloway College Calendar

University College London Calendar

The Victoria University of Manchester Calendar

University of Paris Calendar

University College of Nottingham Calendar

The University of Reading Calendar

The University of Sheffield Calendar

University College Southampton Calendar

Registers, Directories and Annual Reports:

D. Carteret Bisson, Our Schools and Colleges, ii (1884)

Directory of Women Teachers (1913-1927)

The Education Annual (1889-91)

Girls' School Yearbook

Girton College Register

Hampton's Scholastic Directory (1894-1900)

King's College London. Annual Reports

Lady Margaret Hall Register

London School of Economics Register

Newnham College Register

Somerville College Register

St. Hilda's College Register

University Association of Women Teachers. Report on First Annual Meeting and First Year's Work of the Association, 1884.

University College London. Annual Reports

University Degrees for Women. Report of a Conference Convened by the Governors of Royal Holloway College and Held at the House of the Society of Arts on Saturday, 4 December 1897, 1898.

The Yearbook of the Universities of the Empire (1915-1930) (Later Commonwealth Universities Yearbook)

Primary Sources: Books and Articles

Countess of Aberdeen, ed. International Congress of Women of 1899. London, 1900.

[Ashton, Winifred] Dane, Clemence. Regiment of Women. London, 1917.

Atkinson, Mabel. The Economic Foundation of the Women's Movement. London, 1914.

Atkinson, M. `The Economic Relations of the Household,' in A. Ravenhill and C. Schiff, Household Administration. New York, 1911.

Bateson, Margaret. Professional Women Upon Their Professions. London, 1895.

Beale, Dorothea, Lucy H. M. Soulsby, and Jane Frances Dove. Work and Play in Girls' Schools. London, 1898.

Bird, M. Mostyn. Women at Work. London, 1911.

Brittain, Vera. The Dark Tide. London, 1923.

Brittain, Vera. Testament of Friendship. London, 1940.

Brittain, Vera. Testament of Youth. Wideview Books, 1980.

Brown, V.E.L. The Silver Cord. Privately Printed, 1952.

Buer, Mabel. Health, Wealth and Population in the Early Days of the Industrial Revolution. London, 1926.

Bulkeley, Mildred E. The Feeding of Schoolchildren. London, 1914.

Bulley, Agnes Amy, and Margaret Whitely. Women's Work. London, 1894.

Burstall, Sara A. English High Schools for Girls. London, 1907.

Burstall, Sara A. and M.A. Douglas, eds. Public Schools for Girls London, 1911.

Burstall, Sara A. Retrospect and Prospect: Sixty Years of Women's Education. London, 1933.

Butler, Eliza M. Paper Boats. London, 1959.

Clough, Blanche Athena. A Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough. London, 1897.

Collet, Clara E. Educated Working Women: Essays on the Economic Position of Women Workers in the Middle Classes. London, 1902.

Compton-Burnett, Ivy. Dolores. Edinburgh, 1911, reprinted 1971.

Compton-Burnett, Ivy. More Women than Men. London, 1933.

Courtney, Janet E. Recollected in Tranquillity. London, 1926.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston. Principles and Methods of University Reform. Oxford, 1909.

Davies, Emily. The Higher Education of Women, ed. Janet Howarth. London, 1988. First published 1866.

Ellis, Havelock. Studies in the Psychology of Sex, i. London, 1897.

Evans, Joan. Prelude and Fugue: An Autobiography. London, 1964.

Faithfull, Lilian. In the House of My Pilgrimage. London, 1924.

Farnell, Lewis R. An Oxonian Looks Back. London, 1934.

Fry, S. Margery. `Coeducation in University Life,' in Alice Woods, ed. Advance in Coeducation. London, 1919.

Fry, S. Margery. The Single Woman. London, 1953.

Gildersleeve, Virginia. Many a Good Crusade. New York, 1954.

Gordon, A.M., `The After-Careers of University-Educated Women,' Nineteenth Century, 337 (1895) 955-60.

Gray, Frances Ralph. And Gladly Wolde He Lerne and Gladly Teche. London, 1931.

Haire, Norman, ed. Sex Reform Congress. London, 1930.

Haldane, Charlotte. Motherhood and its Enemies. London, 1927.

Harrison, Jane Ellen. Alpha and Omega. London, 1915.

Harrison, Jane Ellen. Reminiscences of a Student's Life. London, 1925.

Hentsch, Alice. De la litterature didactique du Moyen Age s'addressant spécialement aux femmes. Cahors, 1903.

Hughes, M.V. A London Family. Oxford, 1946.

Hutton, Laura F. The Single Woman and her Emotional Problems. London, 1935.

Jones, Emily E.C. As I Remember. London, 1922.

Lehmann, Rosamond. Dusty Answer. London, 1978. (First published 1927).

Lloyd, Edyth M., ed. Anna Lloyd. London, 1928.

Lodge, E.C. (ed. Janet Spens). Terms and Vacations. Oxford, 1938.

Lumsden, Louisa Innes. Yellow Leaves: Memoirs of a Long Life. Edinburgh, 1933.

Marshall, Mary Paley. What I Remember. Cambridge, 1947.

W.R. Matthews. Memories and Meanings. London, 1969.

Moberly, C.A.E. and E.F. Jourdain. An Adventure. (ed. Joan Evans, first published 1911) London, 1955.

Morley, Edith J., ed. Women Workers in Seven Professions. London, 1914.

Murray, Margaret. My First Hundred Years. London, 1963.

Oakeley, Hilda. My Adventures in Education, London, 1939.

Peck, Winifred F. A Little Learning, or a Victorian Childhood. London, 1952.

Phillips, Ann, ed. A Newnham Anthology. Cambridge, 1979.

Power, Eileen. Medieval Women. (ed. M. Postan) Cambridge, 1975.

Reason, William, ed. University and Social Settlements. London, 1898.

Redlich, Monica. Cheap Return: a Portrait of an Educated Young Woman. London, 1934.

Rhondda, Viscountess, This Was My World. London, 1933.

Russell, Dora. Hypatia. London, 1925.

Russell, Dora. The Tamarisk Tree. London, 1975.

Sayers, Dorothy. Gaudy Night. London, 1987. First published 1935.

Sidgwick, A. and E.M. Henry Sidgwick. London, 1906.

Sidgwick, Ethel. Mrs. Henry Sidgwick, London, 1938.

Sidgwick, Eleanor. `An Adventure,' Proceedings of the Society of Psychical Research, 63 (June 1911) 353-60.

Sidgwick, Mrs. Henry. Health Statistics of Women Students at Cambridge and Oxford and of Their Sisters. Cambridge, 1890.

Stekel, Wilhelm. Frigidity in Woman in Relation to her Love Life, London, 1926.

Stocks, Mary D. My Commonplace Book. London, 1970.

Stratford, Esmé Wingfield. Before the Lamps Went Out. London, 1945.

Stronach, Alice. A Newnham Friendship. London, 1901.

Taylor, M.E.J `Service vs. Subjection,' National Union of Women's Suffrage Societes, 1913.

Thompson, Denys, ed. The Leavises: Recollections and Impressions. Cambridge, 1984.

Emily Townshend. Privately Published, 1926.

Toynbee, Arnold J. Acquaintances. London, 1967.

Ward, Mrs. Humphry. A Writer's Recollections, 2 vols. New York, 1918.

White, Rachel. `Women in Ptolemaic Eqypt,' Journal of Hellenic Studies, 18 (1898).

Woolf, Virginia. A Room of One's Own. London, 1959.

Wootton, Baroness Barbara. In a World I Never Made. London, 1967.

Elizabeth M. Wright, The Life of Joseph Wright, 2 vols., London, 1932.

Secondary Sources: Books

Abir-Am, Pnina G. and Dorinda Outram, eds. Uneasy Careers and Intimate Lives: Women in Science 1789-1979. London, 1987.

Abrams, Philip, The Origins of British Sociology. Chicago, 1968.

Adam, Ruth. A Woman's Place. London, 1975.

Albisetti, James C. Schooling German Girls and Women. Princeton, 1988.

Bailey, Gemma, ed. A Short History of Lady Margaret Hall. Privately Printed, 1923.

Bailey, Kenneth C. A History of Trinity College Dublin. Dublin, 1947.

Battiscombe, Georgina. Reluctant Pioneer: A Life of Elizabeth Wordsworth. London, 1978.

Bell, E. Moberly. Storming the Citadel: the Rise of the Woman Doctor. London, 1953.

Bellot, H. Hale. University College London. London, 1929.

Bellot, H. Hale. University of London. Victoria County History, 1969.

Bennett, Daphne. Emily Davies and the Liberation of Women. London, 1990.

Berdahl, R.O. British Universities and the State. London, 1959.

Bernard, Jessie. Academic Women. Pennsylvania, 1964.

Beveridge, Janet. An Epic of Clare Market: the Birth and Early Years of the London School of Economics. London, 1960.

Beveridge, Lord. The London School of Economics and its Problems. London, 1960.

Bingham, Caroline. The History of Royal Holloway College. London, 1987.

Borer, Mary Cathcart. Willingly to School. London, 1975.

Box, Muriel. Rebel Advocate: A Biography of Gerald Gardiner. London, 1983.

Boxer, M.J. and Jean H. Quataert, eds. Connecting Spheres. Oxford, 1987.

Bradbrook, M.C. `That Infidel Place': A Short History of Girton College. London, 1969.

Brittain, Vera. The Women at Oxford. London, 1960.

Bryant, Margaret. The London Experience of Secondary Education. London, 1986.

Bryant, Margaret. The Unexpected Revoltion. London, 1979.

Burman, Sandra, ed. Fit Work for Women. New York, 1979.

Burns, C.D. A Short History of Birkbeck College. London, 1924.

Burstyn, Joan N. Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood. London, 1980.

Burton, Hester. Barbara Bodichon. London, 1949.

Butler, Ruth F. and M. H. Prichard, eds. The Society of Oxford Home Students. Oxford, 1930, 2nd Ed., 2 vols. 1957.

Byrne, Muriel St. Clare and Catherine Hope Mansfield. Somerville College. Oxford, 1922.

Caine, Sir Sidney. The History of the Foundation of the London School of Economics and Political Science. London, 1963.

Carr-Saunders, A.M. and P.A. Wilson, The Professions. Oxford, 1933.

Carus-Wilson, Eleanora, ed. Westfield College, University of London. London, 1932.

Charrier, Edmée. L'Evolution intellectuale féminine. Paris, 1933.

Chester, Norman. Economics, Politics and Social Studies at Oxford. Oxford, 1984.

Clifford, Geraldine J., ed. Lone Voyagers: Academic Women in Coeducational Institutions. New York, 1989.

Cook, Thomas G., ed. Education and Professions. History of Education Society, 1973.

Copping, Alice M. The Story of College Hall. London, 1974.

Cottle, B. and J.W. Sherborne. The Life of a University. Bristol, 1959.

Crossick, Geoffrey, ed. The Lower Middle Class in Britain. London, 1977.

Curie, Eve. Madame Curie. London, 1939, reprinted 1958.

Delamont, Sara. Knowledgeable Women. London, 1989.

Delamont, Sara and Lorna Duffin, eds. The Nineteenth Century Woman. London, 1978.

Delp, W.E. Royal Holloway College. Egham, 1969.

Deneke, Helena. Grace Hadow. London, 1946.

Dingwall, R. and P. Lewis. Sociology of the Professions, London, 1985.

Duman, Daniel. The Judicial Bench in England. London, 1982.

Dunsheath, Percy and Margaret Miller. Convocation in the University of London. London, 1958.

Dyhouse, Carol. Girls Growing Up in Late Victoran and Edwardian England. London, 1981.

Elliott, Philip. The Sociology of the Professions. London, 1972.

Ellsworth, Edward W. Liberators of the Female Mind. Westport, Connecticut, 1979.

Engel, A.J. From Clergyman to Don. Oxford, 1983.

Faderman, Lillian. Surpassing the Love of Men. New York, 1981.

Farnell, Vera. A Somervillian Looks Back. Oxford, 1948.

Firth, Catherine B. Constance Louisa Maynard. London, 1949.

Firth, Sir Charles. Modern Languages at Oxford. London, 1929.

Fletcher, Sheila. Feminists and Bureaucrats. Cambridge, 1980.

Fogarty, Michael P., Rhona Rapoport and Robert N. Rapoport. Sex, Career and Family. London, 1971.

Forster, Margaret. Significant Sisters: The Grassroots of Active Feminism. London, 1986.

Foster, Jeannette. Sex Variant Women in Literature. London, 1958.

Glazer, Penina and Miriam Slater. Unequal Colleagues New Jersey, 1987.

Glendinning, Victoria. A Suppressed Cry. London, 1969.

Glynne-Grylls, R. Queen's College. London, 1948.

Gosden, P.H.J.H. The Evolution of a Profession. Oxford, 1972.

Goodson, I.F., ed. Social Histories of the Curriculum Subjects for Study. Lewes, 1985.

Grattan-Guiness, Ivor, ed. Society for Psychical Research. Wellingborough, 1982.

Griffin, Penny, ed. St. Hugh's. Basingstoke, 1986.

Haig, Alan. The Victorian Clergy. London, 1984.

Haines, George. Essays on German Influence upon English Education and Science. Connecticut, 1969.

Hall, Ruth. Dr. Marie Stopes. London, 1977.

Halsey, A.H. and M. Trow, The British Academics. London, 1971.

Hamilton, Mary. Newnham. London, 1936.

Harte, Negley. The Admission of Women to University College, London. London, 1979.

Harte, Negley. The University of London. London, 1986.

Hearnshaw, F.J.C. The Centenary History of King's College. London, 1929.

Heeney, Brian. A Different Kind of Gentleman: Parish Clergy as Professional Men. Hamden, Connecticut, 1976.

Heyck, Thomas W. The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England. London, 1982.

Holcombe, Lee. Victorian Ladies at Work. Newton Abbot, 1973.

Honey, J.R. de S. Tom Brown's Universe: The Development of the Victorian Public School. London, 1977.

Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz. Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges. New York, 1984.

Howarth, T.E.B. Cambridge between the Wars. London, 1978.

Howson, A.G. The History of Mathematics Education in England. Cambridge, 1982.

Huelin, Gordon. King's College, London. London, 1978.

Hummer, Patricia M. The Decade of Elusive Promise: Professional Women in the United States, 1920-30. Michigan, 1979.

Iremonger, Lucille. The Ghosts of Versailles. London, 1957.

Jalland, Pat. Women, Marriage, and Politics. Oxford, 1986.

Jarausch, Konrad, ed. The Transformation of the Higher Learning. Cologne, 1982.

Jeffreys, Sheila. The Spinster and her Enemies. London, 1985.

Jones, Enid Huws. Margery Fry. London, 1966.

Kamm, Josephine. How Different from Us: A Biography of Miss Buss and Miss Beale. London, 1958.

Kamm, Josephine. Indicative Past: A Hundred Years of the Girls Public Day School Trust. London, 1971.

Kaye, Elaine. A History of Queen's College, London. London, 1972.

Kelsall, R.K. Higher Civil Servants. London, 1955.

Kirk, Harry. Portrait of a Profession London, 1976.

Larson, Magali Sarfatti. The Rise of Professionalism. Berkeley, 1977.

Leonardi, Susan. Dangerous by Degrees. New Jersey, 1989.

Levine, Philippa. Feminist Lives in Victorian England. Oxford, 1990.
Levine, Philippa. Victorian Feminism. London, 1987.

Lewis, Jane. Women in England. Sussex, 1984.

London Feminist History Group, The Sexual Dynamics of History. London, 1983.

McCrone, Kathleen E. Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women. London, 1988.

McMurty, Jo. English Language, English Literture: The Creation of an Academic Discipline. Connecticut, 1985.

McWilliams-Tullberg, Rita. Women at Cambridge. London, 1975.

Mangan, J.A. Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School. Cambridge, 1981.

Manton, Jo. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson. London, 1965.

Marriott, Stuart. A Backstairs to a Degree: Demands for an Open University in Late Victorian England. Leeds, 1981.

Marsh, Neville. Queen Elizabeth College. London, 1986.

Masterman, Margaret. Life, Death, and Resurrection of the Academic Woman. The Fawcett Lecture, Bedford College, University of London (24 October 1974).

Mayeur, Françoise. L'enseignement secondaire des jeunes filles sous la Troiseme Republique, 1977.

Megson, Barbara and J. Lindsay, Girton College. Cambridge, 1961.

Millerson, Geoffrey. The Qualifying Assocations. London, 1964.

Minnich, Elizabeth, Jean O'Barr and Rachel Rosenfeld. Reconstructing the Academy. Chicago, 1988.

Mitchell, B.R. Abstracts of British Historical Statistics. Cambridge, 1962.

Oakeley, Ann and Juliet Mitchell, eds. What is Feminism? New York, 1986.

Oldfield, Sibyl. Spinsters of this Parish. London, 1984.

Olivier, Edith. Four Victorian Ladies of Wiltshire. London, 1945.

Palmer, David J. The Rise of English Studies. Oxford, 1965.

Partington, Geoffrey. Women Teachers in the Twentieth Century. , NFER Publishing, 1976.

Peacock, Sandra. Jane Ellen Harrison. New Haven, 1987.

Perkin, Harold. Key Profession: the History of the Association of University Teachers. London, 1969.

Peterson, M. Jeanne. The Medical Profession in Mid-Victorian London. Berkeley, 1978.

Powell, M.J., ed. The Royal Holloway College. Egham, 1937.

Price, Mary, and Nonita Glenday. Reluctant Revolutionaries: A Century of Headmistresses. London, 1974.

Prochaska, Frank K. Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England. Oxford, 1980.

Purvis, June, ed. The Education Of Girls and Women. Leicester, 1985.

Raikes, E. Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham. London, 1908.

Reader, W. J. Professional Men. New York, 1966.

Reeves, Marjorie. St. Anne's College, Oxford. Oxford, 1979.

Richardson, Joanna L. Enid Starkie. London, 1973.

Richter, D., ed. Women Scientists. London, 1982.

Richter, Melvin. The Politics of Conscience: T.H. Green and his Age. London, 1964.

Ringer, Fritz K. Education and Society in Modern Europe. London, 1979.

Roach, J. Public Examinations in England 1850-1900. Cambridge, 1971.

Roach, J., ed. The Victoria History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely, 3. London, 1959.

Rogers, Annie M.A.H. Degrees by Degrees. Oxford, 1938.

Rosenberg, Rosalind. Beyond Separate Spheres: the Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism. New Haven, 1982.

Rossiter, Margaret W. Women Scientists in America. Baltimore, 1982.

Rothblatt, Sheldon. The Revolution of the Dons. London, 1968.

Rubenstein, David. Before the Suffragettes. Sussex, 1986.

Sanderson, Michael. The Universities and British Industry. London, 1972

Sayers, Janet. Biological Politics. , 1983.

Sharp, Evelyn. Hertha Ayrton. London, 1926.

Simon, Brian. Does Education Matter? London, 1985.

Simpson, Renate. How the PhD Came to Britain. Guildford, 1983.

Slee, Peter R.H. Learning and a Liberal Education. Manchester, 1986.

Smith, Harold L. British Feminism in the Twentieth Century. Massachusetts, 1990.

Solomon, Barbara. In the Company of Educated Women. New Haven, 1985.

Sondheimer, Janet. Castle Adamant in Hampstead. London, 1983.

Sondheimer Janet. History of the British Federation of University Women. London, 1958.

Spurling, Hilary. The Secrets of a Woman's Heart. London, 1984.

Steadman, Florence Cecily. In the Days of Miss Beale. London, 1931.

Stephen, Barbara. Emily Davies and Girton College. London, 1927.

Stephen, Barbara. Girton College. Cambridge, 1932.

Stewart, Jessie. Jane Ellen Harrison. London, 1959.

Stone, Lawrence. The University in Society. Princeton, 1974.

Strachey, Ray, The Cause. London, 1978.

Taylor, David. The Godless Students of Gower Street. London, 1968.

Thompson, F.M.L., ed. The University of London and the World of Learning. (London, 1990).

Tropp, Asher. The Schoolteachers. London, 1957.

Tuke, Margaret J. A History of Bedford College for Women. London, 1939.

Tylecote Mabel. The Education of Women at Manchester University. Manchester, 1941.

University Women's Club, Conversation Piece. 2nd ed., London, 1985.

Vicinus, Martha, ed. A Widening Sphere. Bloomington, 1977.

Wallace, Stuart. War and the Image of Germany: British Academics. Edinburgh, 1988.

Walsh, Mary Roth. `Doctors Wanted: No Women Need Apply.' New Haven, 1977.

Walton, Ronald G. Women in Social Work. London, 1975.

Ward, W.R. Victorian Oxford. London, 1965.

Watson, James D. The Double Helix. London, 1968.

Weisz, George. The Emergence of Modern Universities in France. Princeton, 1983.

Welch, Edwin. The Peripatetic University. Cambridge, 1973.

Whiting, C.E. The University of Durham. Durham, 1933.

Williams, J. Gwynn. The University College of North Wales. Cardiff, 1985.

Wilson, Francesca. Rebel Daughter of a Country House: the Life of Eglantyne Jebb. London, 1967.

Women in a Changing World. London, 1966.

Wrigley, E.A., ed. Nineteenth Century Society : Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data. Cambridge, 1972.

Secondary Sources: Articles

Albisetti, James. `Could Separate be Equal? Helen Lange and Women's Education in Imperial Germany,' History of Education Quarterly, 22 (Fall 1982): 301-317.

Anderson, M. `The Social Position of Spinsters in Mid-Victorian Britain.' Journal of Family History, 9 (Winter 1984): 377-93.

Anderson, R.D. `Scottish University Professors,' Scottish Economic and Social History, 7 (1987): 27-54.

Annan, N.G. `The Intellectual Aristocracy,' in J.H. Plumb, ed. Studies in Social History. London, 1955.

Blackstone, Tessa, `The Scarce Academics,' The Times Higher Educational Supplement (16 March 1973).

Davin, Anna. `Imperialism and Motherhood,' History Workshop, 5 (Spring, 1978): 9-65.

Dubois, Ellen, Mari Jo Buhle et. al. `Politics and Culture in Women's History,' Feminist Studies, 6 (1980).

Edwards, Elizabeth.`Education Institutions or Extended Families? The Reconstruction of Gender in Women's Colleges in the Late Nineteenth and Earlier Twentieth Centuries,' Gender and Education, 2 (1990): 17-35.

Elston, Mary Ann. `Women's Access to Medical Education in Great Britain,' The Society for the Social History of Medicine, 4 (December 1987): 51-53.

Evans, Joan. `An End to An Adventure,' Encounter (1976).

Ferguson, Neal A. `Woman's Work,' Albion, 7 (Spring 1975).

Freedman, Estelle. `Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building,' Feminist Studies 5 (1979): 512-29.

Freeman, R. and P. Klaus. `Blessed or Not? the New Spinster in England and the U.S. in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,' Journal of Family History, 9 (Winter 1984): 394-414.

Goldstein, Doris S. `The Professionalization of History in Britain in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries, Hist. Historiographie, 3 (1983).

Gourvish, T.R. `The Rise of the Professions,' in T.R. Gourvish and A. O'Day. Late Victorian Britain. London, 1988.

Harrison, Brian, `Miss Butler's Oxford Survey,' in A.H. Halsey, ed. Traditions of Social Policy. Oxford, 1976.

Harrison, Brian. `Women in a Men's House,' Historical Journal, 29 (September 1986): 623-54.

Howarth, Janet and Mark Curthoys. `Gender, Curriculum and Career,' History of Education Society Occasional Publication, 8 (1987).

Howarth, Janet and Mark Curthoys. `The Political Economy of Women's Higher Education in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Britain,' Historical Research (1987).

Howarth, Janet. `Public Schools, Safety-Nets and Educational Ladders: the Classification of Girls' Secondary Schools,' Oxford Review of Education, 2 (1985): 59-71.

Howarth, Janet. `Science Education in Late Victorian Oxford,' English Historical Review, 102 (1987): 334-70.

Kerber, Linda K. `Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place,' The Journal of American History, 75 (June 1988).

Levine, Philippa. `Love, Friendship and Feminism in Later Nineteenth Century England,' Women's Studies International Forum, 13 (1990): 63-78.

Light, Donald, Jr. `The Structure of the Academic Profession,' Sociology of Education, 47 (1974), 2-28.

Love, Rosaleen. `Alice in Eugenics Land,' Annals of Science, 36 (1979): 145-50.

McCrone, Kathleen E. `Play Up! Play Up and Play the Game,' The Journal of British Studies, 23 (Spring 1984) 106-

McCrone, Kathleen E. `The Lady Blue,' British Journal of Sports History, 3 (September 1986).

McIntyre, Jill. `Women and the Professions in Germany,' in Erich Matthias and A.J. Nicholls, eds. German Democracy and the Triumph of Hitler, 1971.

MacLeod, Ray and Russell Moseley, `Fathers and Daughters,' History of Education, 8 (1979): 321-333.

McWilliams-Tullberg, Rita. `Women and Degrees at Cambridge,' in M. Vicinus, ed. A Widening Sphere. Indiana, 1977.

Marks, Pauline. `Feminity in the Classroom,' in J. Mitchell and A. Oakeley, eds. The Rights and Wrongs of Women. London, 1976.

Mason, Tim. `Women in Nazi Germany,' History Workshop, 1 (Spring 1976): 74-113.

Offen, Karen. `The Second Sex and the Baccalauréat in Republican France,' French Historical Studies, 13 (Fall 1983): 252-86.

Palmieri, Patricia. `Here Was Fellowship,' History of Education Quarterly, 23 (1983).

Pedersen, Joyce Senders. `Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses,' Journal of British Studies, 15 (1975): 135-62.

Pedersen, Joyce Senders. `Some Victorian Headmistresses,' Victorian Studies, 24 (Summer 1981): 463-88.

Peterson, M. Jeanne. `The Victorian Governess,' in M. Vicinus., ed. Suffer and be Still. Indiana, 1975.

Purvis, June. `The Double Burden of Class and Gender in the Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Nineteenth Century England,' in L. Barton and S. Walker, eds. Schools, Teachers and Teaching. London, 1981.

Rendel, Margherita. `How Many Women Academics,' in Rosemary Deem, ed. Schooling for Women's Work. London, 1980.

Ringer, Fritz K. `Higher Education in Germany in the Nineteenth Century,' Journal of Contemporary History, 2 (1967): 233-38.

Rosenberg, Carroll Smith. `The Female World of Love and Ritual,' Signs (Autumn 1975).

Rossiter, Margaret. `Doctorates and American Women,' History of Education Quarterly, 22 (1982).

Rupp, Leila J. `Imagine My Surprise,' Frontiers, 5 (1980): 61-70.

Sahli, Nancy. `Smashing: Women's Relationships before the Fall,' Chrysalis, 8 (1979): 17-27.

Scott, Joan W. `Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,' American Historical Review (December 1986).

Stanley, Liz. `Feminism and Friendship in England from 1825 to 1938,' Studies in Sexual Politics, 8 (Dept. of Sociology, University of Manchester, 1985-6).

Stephenson, Jill. `Girls' Higher Education in Germany in the 1930s,' Journal of Contemporary History, 1 (1975).

Stites, Richard. `Women and the Russian Intelligentsia,' in D. Atkinson, A. Dallin and G. W. Lapidus, eds., Women in Russia. Sussex, 1977.

Summerfield, Penny. `Women and the Professional Labour Market 1900-1950,' History of Education Society Occasional Publication, 8 (1987): 37-51.

Sutherland, Gillian. `The Social Location of the Movement for Women's Higher Education,' in P.J. Waller, ed. Politics and Social Change. Sussex, 1987.

Thomas, J.B. `University College, Bristol,' History of Education, 17 (1988): 55-70.

Tomlinson, Leila. `Oxford University and the Training of Teachers,' British Journal of Educational Studies, 16 (October 1968).

Vicinus, Martha. `One Life to Stand beside Me,' Feminist Studies, 8 (Fall 1982): 603-28.

Walkowitz, Daniel J., `The Making of a Feminine Professional Identity, American Historical Review (October 1990).

Watkins, S.C. `Spinsters,' Journal of Family History, 9 (Winter 1984): 310-25.

Weigley, Emma Seifrit. `It Might Have Been Euthenics,' American Quarterly, 26 (1974): 79-96.

Wein, Roberta. `Women's Colleges and Domesticity,' History of Education Quarterly, (Spring 1974): 31-47.

Zimmeck, Meta. `Strategies for the Employment of Women in the British Civil Service 1919-1939,' The Historical Journal, 27 (1984): 901-924.

Unpublished Secondary Sources:

Auchmuty, Rosemary. `Victorian Spinsters.' PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1975.

Berg, Maxine. `The First Women Economic Historians.' Unpublished paper presented to the Economic History Society, 1988.

Blakestad, Nancy L. `The Place of Domestic Subjects in the Curriculum of Girls' Secondary Schools.' Unpublished M.Phil Thesis, Oxford University, 1988.

Curthoys, Mark. `The Collegiate Pattern in the New Era,' Draft Chapter, Vol.vii, History of the University of Oxford.

Elston, Mary Ann C. `Women Doctors in the British Health Service.' Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Leeds University, 1986.

Muncy, Robyn, `Gender and Origins of the U.S. Welfare State,' Unpublished paper presented to the Women in the Welfare State Conference, University of Wisconsin (19-22 June 1989).

Sommerkorn, Ingrid. `On the Position of Women in the University Teaching Profession in England.' Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1967.

Stubbs, Joan. `Anne Jemima Clough.' Unpublished M.Ed. Dissertation, Liverpool University, 1982.

Sutherland, L.S. `Women in Oxford.' Unpublished paper given to T.H. Aston's Seminar in 1973 in History of the University Office.

Whiteman, Anne, et al. `Women in Oxford Since 1945.' Seminar at Nuffield College, Oxford, 11 March 1986.