

**WOMEN STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL:  
THEIR ACADEMIC CAREERS AND POSTGRADUATE LIVES  
1883 TO 1937**

**Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the  
University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by  
Lynn Patricia Edwards.**

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## **Abstract**

### **Women Students At The University Of Liverpool: Their Academic Careers and Postgraduate Lives 1883 to 1937**

**Lynn Patricia Edwards.**

This thesis focuses upon the academic and social activities of women who were students at the civic University College, later the University of Liverpool, between the years 1883 to 1937. It also examines their postgraduate lives, and the problems which they encountered in professional life. The thesis provides evidence of the students' previous schools, social class and academic success, and of the reasons to account for the withdrawal of students before the completion of their degree courses. It shows how the University served the interests of its women students in many different ways, and argues that women both made progress in academic terms, and enjoyed a harmonious relationship with their male colleagues in their social activities. From an examination of the founding of University Hall, it is argued that the women involved in this venture created a sphere of influence within the University itself, which they used to good effect to promote the interests of both women students and women members of the academic staff. From a follow up of the postgraduate activities of women students', it is clear that the profession which the majority entered was teaching; and that women in professional life encountered a significant number of obstacles which were the direct result of their sex. These problems and the ways in which women sought to overcome them are discussed.

The admission of women into higher education in Britain was not achieved without opposition, and even after their admission had become possible historians have argued that they continued to encounter hostility and discrimination because of their sex. This thesis considers this argument with a comparison of the attitudes towards the admission of women into Owens College Manchester and University College Liverpool at the end of the Nineteenth Century; and towards women students and staff in the University of Liverpool in the first half of the Twentieth Century. While there is strong evidence that at Liverpool women students' felt liberated, and believed the University to be: '...perhaps the only one in the world - of fully enfranchised women...', the few women staff felt isolated and discriminated against. This analysis of the experiences of women students' from the University of Liverpool contributes to the growing body of evidence on women's higher education and subsequent experiences in professional life.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

BA	Bachelor of Arts
B Arch	Bachelor of Architecture
BDS	Bachelor of Dental Surgery
BM	Bachelor of Medicine
BS	Bachelor of Surgery
BSc	Bachelor of Science
BVMS	Bachelor of Veterinary Medicine and Surgery
ChB	Bachelor of Surgery
CPH	Certificate in Public Health
DCH	Diploma in Child Health
DM	Doctor of Medicine
DEd	Diploma in Education
DPH	Diploma in Public Health
DTM	Diploma in Tropical Medicine
FRCA	Fellow of the Royal College of Anaesthetists
FRCS	Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons
LLB	Bachelor of Laws
LLD	Doctor of Laws
MA	Master of Arts
MRCOG	Member of the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists
MRCS	Member of the Royal College of Surgeons

MRCVS	Member of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons
MSc	Master of Science
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy

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I wish to dedicate this thesis to the memory of my father Samuel Richard Parry who passed away in July 1996.



# Chapter One

## Introduction and methodology

Before commencing the research for this thesis a literature review was undertaken of books which related to the founding of residential colleges for women at Oxford and Cambridge and the admission of women students into civic universities. The literature which focused upon the women's colleges of Oxford and Cambridge indicated that the women at these colleges were subjected to strict rules concerning their behaviour, and that they were the subjects of male hostility from both the male students and the authorities of both universities. The admission of women into these universities was not achieved without adversity. In fact, women at Oxford and Cambridge were forced to wait until well into the twentieth century before they could graduate with the degrees of either university.<sup>1</sup>

I then focused my attention upon the histories of the various civic universities, to survey the ways in which they were founded and their attitudes towards the admission of women students. I found that, with the exception of those histories written by Kelly and Fiddes on Liverpool and Manchester respectively, the admission of women was given very little

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<sup>1</sup> Cockburn E.O, Letters From Newnham College 1889-1892, Catherine Durning Holt, Newnham College Press, 1987. Gardner A, A Short History Of Newnham College Cambridge, Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes Ltd, 1921. Griffin P, St Hughes's One Hundred Years Of Women's Education In Oxford, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986. Hamilton M.A, Newnham: An Informal Biography, London: Faber & Faber Ltd, 1936. Harrison J.E, Reminiscences of a Student's Life, London: Hogarth Press, 1925. McWilliams-Tullberg R, Women At Cambridge: A Men's University Though Of A Mixed Type, London: Gollancz, 1975. Rogers A.M.A.H, Degrees By Degrees, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938. Stephen B, Emily Davies and Girton College, London: Constable & Co Ltd, 1927. Stubbs J, Miss Anne Jemima Clough (1820-1892): A Reconsideration Of Her Work In The Field Of Women's Education, M.Ed. Thesis, University Of Liverpool, 1982.

attention: usually only their date of admission and the first women to graduate from each of the various faculties were indicated.<sup>2</sup>

Only two authors, Tylecote and Gibert, have focused specifically upon the entry of women into civic universities, and from a review of their work, a number of facts have become evident.<sup>3</sup> Tylecote surveyed the admission of women into Owens College Manchester, which was the forerunner of Manchester University. The evidence contained in this survey suggested that there were a number of obstacles which initially prevented the entry of women into the college; and even when they were removed, *the situation for women* students at Manchester was similar to that which existed at the women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. Gibert, unlike Tylecote, examined the entry of women into a number of civic universities, namely Birmingham, Bristol, Liverpool, Leeds, Manchester and Sheffield. In fact, she concentrated upon the universities of Manchester, Birmingham and Bristol, giving much less attention to the other universities listed. From this research she has produced, 'a composite picture of women at all six civics'.<sup>4</sup> Her decision to focus essentially upon just three of the civics is explained as follows: 'Manchester was the oldest of the civics, Birmingham [was chosen] because it dominated the intellectual life of the Midlands as Manchester did that in the North and Bristol because it was the youngest and least

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<sup>2</sup> Anderson R.D, Universities and Elites In Britain Since 1800, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Armytage W.H.G, Civic Universities: Aspects Of A British Tradition, London: Benn, 1955. Chapman A, The Story of a Modern University: A History of The University of Sheffield, Oxford University Press, 1955. Fiddes E, Chapters in the History of Owens College and of Manchester University 1851-1914, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1937. Jones D.R, The Origins of Civic Universities: Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool, London: Routledge, 1988. Kelly T, For Advancement of Learning: The University of Liverpool, 1881-1981, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1981.

<sup>3</sup> Tylecote M, The Education of Women at Manchester University, 1883-1933, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1941. Gibert J.S, Women at the English Civic Universities, 1880-1920, Ph.D. Thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1988.

<sup>4</sup> ibid p15.

prosperous of the red bricks.’<sup>5</sup> From her research she provided evidence which implied that women attending civic universities were, in some respects, more fortunate than their colleagues at Oxford and Cambridge: ‘Whereas women at older universities formed communities largely separate from their male counterparts, women who attended civic universities became active participants in and an integral element of the general university community.’<sup>6</sup> From her research she concluded that: ‘Women at the civic universities enjoyed a freedom unknown at the women’s colleges, and they occupied a more visible, fully integrated position than their counterparts at collegiate universities’.<sup>7</sup>

In 1995, while the research for this thesis was on-going, Dyhouse widened still further our knowledge of women students and members of the academic staff, with her book surveying civic universities in England and Wales.<sup>8</sup> She not only provided evidence to suggest that women at civic universities were subjected to discrimination because of their sex; but went still further, and indicated that this discrimination was not overcome during the years in which her research was located, 1870-1939. Some areas examined by Dyhouse in relation to Liverpool, for example, the role of local women in the founding of University Hall, the problems experienced by women members of the academic staff, and the extent to which women students were involved in the social life of the University are examined in depth in this thesis.

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<sup>5</sup> *ibid* pp14,15.

<sup>6</sup> Gibert J.S, ‘Women Students and student life at England’s civic universities before the First World War’, *History of Education*, 1994, Vol. 23, No.4, p 405.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid*

<sup>8</sup> Dyhouse C, *No Distinction of Sex?: Women in British Universities 1870-1939*, London: University College London Press, 1995.

Quite clearly Gibert and Dyhouse have reached opposing points of view with regard to the experiences of women who attended civic universities, even though they have consulted almost the same sources, namely official university records, student publications and recollections from students which have been deposited in various university archives. Such diverse opinions between historians are, however, inevitable given the fact that each interprets the evidence obtained in a different way. This is clearly the situation with these two historians: Dyhouse has surveyed the evidence from a feminist theoretical perspective and Gibert from an empiricist viewpoint. This empirical non-feminist method of interpreting evidence is also to be found in Rogers.<sup>9</sup> In her thesis, Gibert acknowledges that at Manchester women students were discriminated against, but she argues that this was not due to male hostility but to circumstances which were in evidence at that particular time. In contrast, Dyhouse views such incidents as evidence of episodes of misogyny. Although these two historians have reached opposing conclusions from the use of almost the same evidence, it is interesting to observe that neither Gibert nor Dyhouse has incorporated oral evidence in their research: this evidence has been used in this thesis and an estimation of its value will be discussed. Gibert's viewpoint was so far removed from the general trends of evidence that initially I believed that she had been far too generous in her opinion; and I fully expected when I began my own research, which focuses upon a single civic university, that I would discover a similar situation to that described by Tylecote and Dyhouse

Civic universities were founded in different years, the methods by which they were founded were different, the attitudes of those who founded them were diverse, as were the

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<sup>9</sup> Rogers A.M.A.H, op.cit.

attitudes of those who were in authority within them towards the admission of women students. Factors such as the state of women's education at a secondary level, and the attitudes of society in general on the subject of women entering institutions of higher education had a determining effect upon the experiences of women students entering civic universities. With these thoughts in mind and an awareness of the arguments presented by Tylecote, Gibert and Dyhouse I began to consider the position of women students at the University of Liverpool.

Chapter Two of this thesis considers the founding of two civic university colleges: Owens College Manchester and University College Liverpool. The ways in which these civic universities were founded had a direct influence upon the admission of women and upon the attitudes of the authorities and students in both institutions. This chapter will argue that a number of obstacles delayed the admission of women into Owens College Manchester, and even when they had been overcome, women students were subjected to a number of restrictive rules and regulations. In contrast to the situation at Manchester, women students at University College Liverpool were admitted as soon as the College was founded and, as this chapter will indicate, the authorities of the College were determined that they should not be restricted or discriminated against because of their sex.

Chapter Three examines the academic careers of women at Liverpool. This survey focuses upon four time periods, which act as snap-shots or windows through which the progress of women can be indicated. It considers the composition of the student body, the evolution of the curriculum of the University, and the class background of the women

students who attended. This chapter also provides an indication of the previous schools women attended prior to their admission to Liverpool, their residence, average age of admission and the factors which encouraged women students to enter Liverpool and not another institution for higher education.

Chapter Four continues the survey of academic careers: from this it will become apparent that Liverpool served the interests of women in a number of ways. First, it enabled women from the wealthy classes to widen their educational and cultural interests. Second, Liverpool also acted as a spring-board for women who wished to complete their higher education at the more prestigious women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. Third, it enabled women to read for degrees which were initially conferred upon them by the University of London and the Victoria University; after 1903, when Liverpool became a University in its own right, women began to read for University of Liverpool degrees. Although wealthy women did not attend Liverpool to read for degrees they did enter political, philanthropic and educational spheres of activity in later life: an indication of these activities will be discussed. The chapter will then examine those women in each of the time periods under survey who entered Liverpool with the intention of reading for a degree, only to withdraw before completion. The factors to account for withdrawal will be discussed. It will be suggested that women who read for degrees in medicine, law, veterinary science and architecture came from a higher social class than their colleagues who read for degrees in arts and science. From a survey of women who read for certificates, diplomas and degrees in social science a number of facts can be drawn relating to their choice of degree course and class background. This chapter also includes an analysis of the number of graduating women and indicates which degree courses were the

most popular for women. The majority of women throughout the years under consideration had, prior to their entry into Liverpool, attended all-girls schools; this chapter will provide an insight into the attitudes of women who were students in the 1920s and 1930s, with particular reference to attending lectures with male students.

Chapter Five surveys the founding of University Hall, which was the first hall of residence for women students. It will indicate the women who played a significant role in its founding; and it will argue that Newnham College Cambridge was the model upon which University Hall was based. This chapter will also argue that the women involved in the founding of a hall of residence for women at Liverpool were able to create for themselves a sphere of influence within the University itself, and in so doing they were able to serve the interests of women students and women members of the academic staff. The role of hall wardens will also be discussed, and it will become apparent that they had a direct influence upon the women in their care. Finally, this chapter considers the role which University Hall played in the lives of women, not only while they were students, but also in their postgraduate lives.

Chapter Six surveys the extent to which the sexes integrated on a social level. It will discuss the evolution of student social life, the provision of accommodation by the authorities of the University to assist in the development of a collegiate spirit, and the attitudes of men and women students towards each other. It will argue that, apart from a few incidents of hostility, these students at Liverpool enjoyed a harmonious relationship and women themselves believed that they were fully integrated members of their University.

Chapter Seven provides a comparison of the postgraduate lives of women who proceeded from Liverpool to Newnham College Cambridge to complete their education, and those who remained at Liverpool. This chapter supports existing evidence that the dominant profession which the majority of women graduates entered was teaching. Although some women did seek other forms of employment, there were very few alternatives open to women before the First World War. From a survey of women who remained unmarried it became apparent that they often achieved senior positions within their chosen career, and that marriage for women, especially those in the teaching profession, normally brought their careers to an end. The survey will show that when the Second World War ended and the marriage bar was removed, married women began to combine household duties with part-time careers within the teaching profession. For medical women, marriage did not necessarily terminate their careers and the factors to account for this will be discussed.

Chapter Eight focuses upon women members of the academic staff at the University of Liverpool. It argues that, although Liverpool welcomed the presence of women students, it had a very different attitude towards the women members of its academic staff, especially when they married and wished to remain in employment. The evidence indicates that as early as 1907 a woman member of staff challenged this situation, but it was not until the 1930s that women academics really began to question the marriage bar which was in operation at Liverpool. This chapter also discusses the difficulties which women encountered when they began to seek entry into the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, and the actions taken by male members of the academic staff to rectify this situation. From an examination of books and articles which discuss this subject, and from



a survey of the entry of women into male-dominated societies and professions in this chapter, it becomes clear, that despite Parliamentary Acts and two World Wars, women remain under-represented in these professions.

Chapter Nine concludes the thesis with an overview of the research which has already been undertaken into the academic and social lives of women students who attended civic universities. Further consideration is given to the interpretation of historical evidence, and it will be argued that the use of oral evidence adds a further and important dimension to the current debate on the experience of women in universities during this period. From examples cited in this thesis, both from written and oral evidence, it will be argued that from the beginning Liverpool women students regarded themselves as fully-fledged members of University College, later the University of Liverpool, with very little evidence of any sense of discrimination. Empirical and feminist historians will view this evidence from different standpoints and different conclusions will be reached, but whichever approach is taken, the student experience at Liverpool contributes further towards widening our knowledge of this subject. The appendices of this thesis contain biographical notes relating to women who graduated from Liverpool during the years under survey, which may be of value to future researchers.

### **Methodology**

This thesis focuses upon women students who initially attended University College Liverpool and later, when a Royal Charter was granted in 1903, the University of Liverpool. The research involved has been highly problematic, particularly because details

such as students' names, dates of birth, previous schools attended and information relating to their parents' occupations were not easily accessible. Further difficulties arose when the research began to focus upon the postgraduate lives and careers of the students, because the majority of them did not remain in close contact with the University after graduating.

Gibert, in her study of women who attended civic university colleges before the First World War, made the following reference to the statistical data she used to indicate the social class of women students: 'No comparable figures are available for the Universities of Leeds, Liverpool and Sheffield, anecdotal evidence suggests a similar pattern of enrolment...'<sup>10</sup> She obtained data from the following sources: Mason College Register for 1892 to 1893, Birmingham University Archives; Manuscript Registers of Students for the session 1877 to 1878 and 1882 to 1883, Bristol University Archives; and the Women's Department Declaration Book for 1906 to 1907, Manchester University Archives.<sup>11</sup> With reference to Liverpool her statement is correct for the period 1883 to 1887. The Day Students Address Books which were examined for the period 1883 to 1887 contained sparse information, usually only the students' name and addresses. Occasionally an indication of the course of study to be taken was also made. Examples of such indications are: 'Studying for Cambridge Higher Locals', 'for St Andrews L.L.A.', 'For London B.A', and 'Preparing for a Girton Scholarship'. In order to obtain information relating to students' parents or guardians it was necessary to consult Gore's Directories. These directories were in use nation-wide, and they contained addresses and occupations of the head of household. Entries had to be paid for, and it is reasonable to suggest that if

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<sup>10</sup> Gibert J.S, op.cit 1994, p407.

<sup>11</sup> ibid

students' parents were found within them the students came from a reasonably wealthy background. The 1881 Census was also used, in the hope of revealing further details relating to the occupations of parents.<sup>12</sup> This proved to be a time-consuming exercise; each address had its own enumeration district and all the details relating to the census had been placed on microfilm. The condition of the microfilms themselves and the fact that each address had to be sought took a considerable number of hours. In some cases, even when an address was found, the result was disappointing, as the occupant residing at the house in question was not the same person as the occupant being sought during the 1883- 1887 period. This was obviously because in 1881, the student in question had not yet taken up residence at that address. Further information relating to individual parents was obtained from Biographical Notices of Liverpool Worthies, The Liverpool Legion of Honor and from obituary notices. All of these sources are held on micro-film in the Liverpool Public Library. From an examination of Jennings' List of School Board Managers 1870 - 1903 it was possible to indicate those parents who were members of school boards, and also those students who went on to become school board managers themselves. To determine those women who graduated with degrees conferred upon them by either the University of London or the Victoria University a survey of the University College Annual Reports and Calendars was undertaken.

For the period 1903 to 1907, the Register of Undergraduates, and the University of Liverpool Register of Day Students were used. The Register of Undergraduates indicated students' names, dates of birth, addresses and matriculation date. The University Register of Day Students was more comprehensive and, contrary to Gibert's claim, contains a comprehensive set of data relating to: date of admission, full name, residence while

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<sup>12</sup> The 1881 Named Index Census Returns, Ref, Liverpool Public Record Office, Microfilm Unit.

attending the University, previous school, names of parents or guardians, their occupations and their place of residence. Gibert's statement relating to the absence of data for the early 1900s, is therefore incorrect, with reference to Liverpool. Students registered for each session they attended, and it was therefore possible to determine those students who attended for a single session and those who attended for a full academic year. To ascertain those women who graduated with degrees from the University of London or the Victoria University, the Annual Reports and Calendars were again consulted. The University of Liverpool Degrees Conferred Books which are held in Senate House gave details of those women who graduated with degrees conferred upon them by the University. The registers and reports of the Day Training College were also consulted, and from these it was possible to indicate those women who had, prior to their admission, been employed as Pupil Teachers.

Information regarding women who were students during the 1923 to 1927 and the 1933 to 1937 periods was obtained from the Classification and Geographical Distribution of Students Registers. The registers contain details relating to students' names, dates of birth and residence. They do not reveal details regarding their parents or their occupations. Boxes of student dossiers are held in the archives of the University. They are not, however, complete, and in addition they are boxed alphabetically and not according to the year of admission. A number of boxes were consulted and were found to hold the dossiers of both sexes: the dates of admission varied from 1903 onwards. In all 75 boxes, it would have been a time-wasting exercise to consult every box, and as student dossiers had been placed on individual microfilm, I decided that the micro-films would enable me to focus on the women who were students during my years of research.

The microfilms are held in large safes in the Student and Examinations office in Senate House, and permission to examine them was kindly granted. This was by far the most time-consuming part of my research. The microfilms date from 1903 to the present day, and are indexed alphabetically and not by year of entry. Using the names which were obtained from the registers for the years under survey, each individual student's micro-film was removed and read. Despite the time-consuming nature of this research and the fact that not all students were accounted for, this was a most productive area of research.

The microfilms revealed a wealth of information. In addition to providing details relating to previous schools, parents' names and occupations and educational qualifications obtained, they also indicated those women who withdrew before completing a course of study, and in some cases the reason for doing so. They also indicated where a student transferred her studies to another university, and whether students were in receipt of an education grant or some other form of financial assistance. The follow up of postgraduate careers was also assisted because prospective employers contacted the University to obtain confirmation of degree success. In one instance an employer contacted the University because she was suspicious about the quality of the teaching being provided by a member of her staff; it appears that the woman in question had never completed her degree course. The Federation of University Women also contacted the University when a past student made an application for membership. In some cases membership of the Federation was denied because women had taken diploma courses and not actually graduated with degrees. Other researchers interested in particular students contacted the University for details relating to their early lives at Liverpool: this enabled me to make contact with them

for details relating to their postgraduate activities. Women who graduated with degrees in medicine and who married had to notify the Medical Register Office in London of their change of surname; the medical registrar in turn notified the University. This has been helpful in locating the actual field of medicine women entered. The Directory of Women Teachers, the Registers of the Law Society and The Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons were also consulted in an attempt to follow up the postgraduate lives of women graduates.

A number of the students' microfilms were not found: perhaps the dossiers had been destroyed before being microfilmed or their surnames were spelt differently on the microfilm. Another possible reason for the absence of some microfilms was that some women students had been registered under their married names. The study of women is made particularly difficult because of the practice of changing surnames on marriage. Professional registers and societies do not always provide the maiden names of married members. For example, The Institute of Personnel Management often published accounts of the activities of its members, stating that they graduated from Liverpool with a degree in social work, but without a maiden name it was difficult to place them.

In addition to the areas of research already identified, I have examined the University College Magazine, The Sphinx, The Chronicle, and The Guild Gazette. These sources contain valuable information concerning student activities, and often reference is made concerning the activities of women after graduation. The Letter Books of the Vice-Chancellor have also proved a valuable source: they contain testimonials written in support of students seeking employment, and they indicate that not all University staff were in agreement with the practice of the sexes attending the lectures together. The problems

which were encountered by women members of the academic staff who, once they married, were expected to resign from their posts were revealed in these Letter Books. The Letter Books of the Day Training College have also been used; they have assisted in the placing of women students who went on to enter the teaching profession. It was my intention to survey the Register of Letters for the period 1933 to 1937, but unfortunately they had been damaged by dry rot and destroyed.

One area which was a valuable source of evidence for this thesis came from the recollections of women who had been students at the University. In October 1994, a notice was placed in the Friends Newsletter asking for volunteers either to complete a questionnaire or allow themselves to be interviewed about their experiences of University life. The response was fair but not overwhelming. This was probably my fault, because I asked for women to contact me before the end of December; with hindsight I should have asked them to contact me immediately. I then contacted the Register of Alumni office and was provided with the names and graduation dates of women who were members. I compiled a questionnaire in which respondents were asked to fill in, with as much detail as possible, answers relating to their previous schools, degree courses, social lives whilst students, interaction with male students and postgraduate careers. The questionnaires were sent to women who were students in the 1920s and 1930s. The response was good and a great deal of information was obtained. Upon receipt of the returned questionnaires, it was necessary to take into account that the majority of respondents were elderly and to consider whether their memories were as reliable as they once were. I need not have worried about this to any great extent as the vast majority had clear and positive recollections of the past. In addition to the questionnaires, many respondents sent

accompanying letters, the contents of which confirmed that they were still taking an eager interest in everyday affairs.

I had the pleasure of interviewing Mrs Margaret Simey, the first woman to graduate from the University with a degree in social science. Mrs Simey has strong views about the women's movement and the role of women in society. This interview introduced new areas which were considered when writing this thesis: for example, Mrs Simey believed that the schools attended by women had a direct bearing upon the degree courses which they entered when they attended the University. I also had an opportunity to interview Miss Letta Jones, who was also a graduate of the University. My research has been greatly assisted by Ms Sharon Messenger, who has recently completed a Ph.D. in the Department of Economic and Social History at the University. Her research focused upon the social lives of middle class women who were young and single between the wars in Liverpool.<sup>13</sup> Her research has incorporated the social lives of women who were at the University during those years. Ms Messenger's research is heavily based upon oral interviews and she has kindly allowed me to have access to her transcripts for use in this thesis. Problems can be encountered when conducting oral interviews, as with questionnaires: it is difficult to know if a respondent is looking back upon the past through 'rose coloured' spectacles. It is often difficult to keep a respondent on a particular subject as some are unwilling to discuss subjects they feel are either too personal or they are unable to remember precise details about. In her thesis, Ms Messenger discusses the problems she encountered when conducting her oral interviews. The pitfalls are also

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<sup>13</sup> Messenger S, The Life-Styles of Young Middle-Class Women in Liverpool in the 1920s and 1930s, Ph.D, Thesis, University of Liverpool, 1999.



discussed in a number of books and articles.<sup>14</sup> Despite the difficulties associated with oral interviews, this method often fills in the gaps left by an absence of documentary evidence, which is an all too familiar problem for researchers interested in women's history.

There are a few exceptions to an absence of documentary evidence regarding women's history and these can be found at the women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. Compared with the absence of details relating to women students at Liverpool, the registers of a women's college such as Newnham College Cambridge contain a wealth of information. Each student's date of entry, full name, date of birth, residence and previous school, if any, are indicated. The names of students' parents or guardians and their professional occupations are also included. The courses of study entered, examination success, if any, and the students' subsequent spheres of activity are also documented. In addition to this information, if past students married, the names of their partners and their occupations are provided. In some cases a note is made of when a past student died. The registers contain the same information pertaining to members of the academic staff. Such comprehensive registers enable the researcher to progress onto a specific area of research. I have attempted to produce the same kind of information found in the Newnham registers for this research into women students attending Liverpool during the specific years, 1883 to 1887, 1903 to 1907, 1923 to 1927 and 1933 to 1937 (see appendix three). As already stated, however, the registers relating to students at Liverpool are not nearly as comprehensive as those of Newnham College; what is more, for each period researched the Liverpool registers contain different information.

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<sup>14</sup> Gluck S & Patai D, Eds, Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History, London, 1991.  
Roberts H, Doing Feminist Research, Routledge, London, 1990.

A number of factors could account for the comprehensiveness of the Newnham registers and the scant information held in the Liverpool registers. There were differences between the two institutions which, to some extent, explain the disparity of information. First, Newnham College Cambridge was founded in 1869 with the specific intention of providing higher education for women. During this period there was a great deal of debate about women's ability to undertake an education which equalled that already being given to men. Many who opposed higher education for women believed that it was not only morally wrong but also medically dangerous. Parents were often concerned that such an academic education would not only damage their daughters' health, but also their marriage prospects. The registers, so meticulously kept, not only appeased parents' worries, they also proved that higher education was in fact beneficial to women. Second, Newnham was a residential college, and it is entirely possible that women students generated shared experiences, and formed close and lasting friendships with each other and with members of the college staff and a loyalty towards their college which lasted a lifetime. Such close attachment encouraged women to remain in contact with the college and to reveal details about their lives, which were then documented.

University College Liverpool was founded in 1881, much later than Newnham. The debate surrounding the suitability of higher education for women had, by and large, moved away from the ability of women to undertake courses of academic study, to the rights and wrongs of the sexes attending the same lectures; the arguments relating to the dangers of academic study upon the health of women students did, however, continue. From the very beginning University College Liverpool was open to both sexes, only the Faculty of

Medicine remaining closed to women until 1903. There was no requirement to prove the benefits of higher education for women; and because students attending the College were not segregated according to their sex, there was no necessity to single women out as a special case to indicate the benefits of a higher education for them. Many of the wealthy citizens of Liverpool who assisted in the founding of the College were agreeable to their daughters attending mixed lectures; there was no requirement to provide evidence to prove that no harmful effects arose because of this practice. Another important factor which could account for the lack of information regarding women students at Liverpool must be that University College Liverpool was not residential. University Hall, a residence for women students, was not founded until 1898, and even after this date the majority of women continued to attend the College as day students. The opportunity to develop a corporate spirit was, therefore, more limited than at Newnham, and a significant number of women did not remain in contact with the College when their studies were over. When a hall of residence did become available a corporate spirit developed and many past students became members of the University Hall Association, through which they remained in contact with Liverpool, providing details which related to their postgraduate activities.

Apart from the difficulties relating to the absence of data for women at Liverpool further problems were encountered when an attempt was made to indicate the social class from which women students came. Gibert's thesis surveys the social class of women students' and in the thesis it is indicated that the criteria used to define the various classes are taken from Sanderson.<sup>15</sup> However, upon inspection it appears that the classifications have been changed, albeit slightly. For example, Sanderson places schoolmasters in the Professional

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<sup>15</sup> Sanderson M, The Universities and British Industry: 1850-1970, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1970, pp98,99.

class whereas Gibert places them in the semi-professional class. To overcome these slight differences I have followed Gibert's classifications; the decision to do so was based upon the fact that her research is focused upon women students at six civic universities including Liverpool. In order to include occupations which do not appear in Gibert's classifications I have consulted those used by the Registrar-Generals Office.<sup>16</sup> It has been necessary to base my data loosely around the classifications because the evidence which related to occupations was often very broadly defined. For example, a student would indicate her father's occupation as 'Bank of England' from which it is difficult to determine if he was in fact the Bank Manager or a cashier. Other sources had to be used, where possible, to attempt to deduce whether the student came from a reasonably affluent background.

Another area which proved to be problematic was an indication of the previous schools attended by women students at Liverpool. Howarth comments upon this subject and states:

Among the obstacles to the study of women's social mobility in the UK is the lack of a typology of girls' schools. For historical reasons no clear-cut distinction between 'public' and 'grammar' schools has been applied to girls' schools; yet they have differed in respect of both academic excellence and social selectivity, and there is a case for testing how far women's career prospects have been influenced by their schooling.<sup>17</sup>

The survey of previous schools from which women at Liverpool were drawn provides a comparison with Howarth's data, and indicates the number who came from the same schools as those women who entered Oxford. It also provides statistical data from which it becomes clear that the educational backgrounds of women at Liverpool were different from those at Oxford.

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<sup>16</sup> Lawton R, ed, The Census and Social Structure, London: Frank Cass & Co Ltd, 1978, pp 203-223.

<sup>17</sup> Howarth J, 'Public Schools, Safety-nets and Educational Ladders; the classification of girls' secondary schools, 1880-1914', Oxford Review of Education, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1985, p59.

In conclusion, this introductory chapter has argued that very little research into the admission of women into civic universities has been undertaken; and with regard to the research to date it is apparent that historians such as Gibert and Dyhouse have opposing viewpoints about the extent to which women students were in fact integrated members of their chosen university. The difference of opinion between the two historians has been discussed. The chapter has indicated the various avenues of research which have been undertaken in this thesis and the methodology which was employed during the research.

## Chapter Two

### The admission of women into Owens College Manchester and University College Liverpool

Owens College Manchester and University College Liverpool were founded in 1851 and 1881 respectively<sup>1</sup>. Although the two universities were founded in different years and by different methods, the reasons for their founding were similar. All similarities end and differences become evident, however, when the question of the admission of women into the two institutions is examined. Initially Owens College was prevented from admitting women, and even when it had the ability to do so it imposed a number of restrictions upon them. In contrast, University College Liverpool admitted women to all courses of study, with the exception of medicine, immediately. This chapter will consider the founding of the two colleges and will indicate the factors which could account for their differing attitudes towards the admission of women.

Before the admission of women can be discussed it is necessary to consider briefly the social and economic circumstances which played a substantial role in the founding of both colleges. During the Industrial Revolution the towns of Liverpool and Manchester experienced a rapid increase in population. Mathias indicates: 'Liverpool grew by 46 per-cent in the decade 1821-31 and Manchester by 40 per-cent'<sup>2</sup>. By this period both towns had become important centres of industry and commerce; population increase resulted from both natural growth and immigration from the rural areas. According to Belchem: 'By the end of the eighteenth

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<sup>1</sup> Bremner C.S, The Education of Girls and Women in Great Britain, London: Swan Sonnenschen & Co, 1897, pp.149,150.

<sup>2</sup> Mathias P, The First Industrial Nation, London: Routledge, Second Edition, 1983, p.178.

century, one third of the population [ i.e. of England ] was already urban<sup>3</sup>. The wealth generated in the two towns came from different types of business. With reference to Manchester, Rubinstein indicates:

Beside London, Manchester appears very much like the dog which did nothing in the night-time. Manchester will always remain a symbol and synonym for many things, from the doctrine of laissez-faire to the 'immization of the working-class', but its importance as a centre of British wealth is simply belied by the available facts. This may seem difficult to credit, but in the entire period between 1809 and 1914 only one Manchester cotton manufacturer left a millionaire estate, while only two others left fortunes in the half-millionaire class.<sup>4</sup>

In contrast to Manchester, Rubinstein states:

Liverpool, as the greatest of northern commercial cities, followed the London pattern in producing more wealth-holders than Manchester. Here only two of the local fortunes were earned in industry - both in soap manufacturing - and the bulk of Merseyside fortunes were earned by its foreign trade, ship owners and commodity merchants of various types.<sup>5</sup>

Although the wealth generated in both towns came from different business activities, both had within their societies a predominance of wealthy upper-middle-class nonconformists. Harrison suggests that: 'In some parts of the north nonconformity was the dominant form of religion'<sup>6</sup>. Certainly in Liverpool this was true with reference to the wealthy members of society. Kelly observes:

During the closing decades of the eighteenth century, Roscoe and a circle of like-minded friends - liberal and reformist in politics, Quaker and Unitarian for the most part in religion - formed the spearhead of Liverpool's cultural advance, taking a leading role in every kind of literary, artistic and scientific activity.<sup>7</sup>

It was against a background of increasing wealth and an expansion of cultural activities that Owens College Manchester and University College Liverpool were founded. The reasons to

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<sup>3</sup> Belchem J, Industrialisation and the Working Class, Scholar Press, 1991, p.37.

<sup>4</sup> Rubinstein W.D, Elites and the Wealthy in Modern British History, Harvester Press, 1987, p.28.

<sup>5</sup> ibid, p 29.

<sup>6</sup> Harrison J.F.C, Late Victorian Britain 1875 - 1901, Fontana Press, 1990, p.103.

<sup>7</sup> Kelly T, op cit, p.20.

account for the foundation of both colleges were similar. A number of obstacles prevented the admission of the sons of wealthy nonconformists into the established Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Both universities insisted upon religious declarations and tests as a condition of entry. Clearly, religious tests were abhorrent to nonconformists and, because of them, they had to seek a higher education either from the universities in Scotland or on the Continent. Even when religious tests were abolished and, as Kelly indicates: 'Nonconformists were allowed to graduate at Oxford from 1854 and at Cambridge from 1856; and all other religious tests, except for the divinity degree, were removed in 1871, further obstacles remained'<sup>8</sup>.

The insistence upon the residence of students was one such obstacle. Not only was this expensive, it was also a cause for parental concern. The Reverend Charles Beard, an influential Unitarian minister in Liverpool, said that attending a University away from home could lead to : 'The possibility of cultivating expensive habits, while the young man's mind might be taken out of the commercial groove.'<sup>9</sup> In Kelly's opinion a further obstacle was related to the curriculum, which was: 'Predominantly classical and (especially at Cambridge) mathematical, and little attention was given to the teaching of science or any modern subject'<sup>10</sup>. Initially the established universities were not accommodating the requirements of an industrial society. The Industrial Revolution had brought in its wake increasing occupational specialisation so that, by the end of the nineteenth century, professions such as the civil service, chemistry, architecture and engineering all required specific training and

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<sup>8</sup> *ibid*, p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 25 May 1878.

<sup>10</sup> Kelly, *op cit*, p.2.



examination success. Kelly suggested that a number of circumstances brought about the founding of University College Liverpool when he wrote:

Most important of these were, first, the growing extent of wealth, and civic consciousness of the great manufacturing and commercial centres- Birmingham, Leeds, and Liverpool all had populations in excess of 300,000 by 1881, and Liverpool had passed the half million mark - and second, the growing needs of industry, commerce, and the professions.<sup>11</sup>

It is possible to suggest that the university colleges of Manchester and Liverpool responded to the requirements of an industrial society.

A single enormous obstacle prevented the admission of women from all religious denominations into the established universities, and that was their sex. When Owens College was founded this was the case there, whereas when University College Liverpool was founded women were admitted immediately. The methods by which both University Colleges were founded will now be considered because, in many respects, these methods had a direct influence upon the admission of women .

It is somewhat puzzling that, although Liverpool was a much wealthier town than Manchester, it was Manchester which was the first town to have a University College. The circumstances of its founding explain why this was the case. Owens College Manchester had a single benefactor - John Owens. Owens was a wealthy merchant who, owing to ill health, took no active role in public life. He was, however, greatly interested in education and was opposed to all university tests. He died in 1846 and, as he had never married, after leaving bequests to relations, friends, various charities and servants he bequeathed the remainder of his fortune - £96,654 11s 6d - into the hands of trustees with instructions that the money be used to found a University College. The terminology of John Owens' bequest, as will be indicated later, made the admission of women into the College impossible until 1871.

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<sup>11</sup> ibid., p.9.

In contrast to the founding of Owens College, University College Liverpool lacked a single benefactor, and sectarian differences delayed its foundation until the early 1880s. It was then founded as a truly civic university:

The idea of an institution of University rank first became prominent in Liverpool in 1878 when a group of influential citizens called a town's meeting to approve their plans for a University College. There was no John Owens or Josiah Mason whose name can be singled out as the sole founder or even as the dominant leader of the group. The movement to establish a College enlisted the support of citizens of almost every shade of political and religious opinion. The City itself provided a site, business firms and private citizens contributed to an endowment fund; and in January 1882 the College began its work in a building which had previously been a lunatic asylum.<sup>12</sup>

Harrop provides an valuable insight into the factors which led to the founding of University College Liverpool in an as yet unpublished paper.<sup>13</sup> The founding of the College was an example of public spirit, a fact which was commented on in 1882 by G.H Rendall, the first Principal of the College, who said:

Never before has so much money been committed in Liverpool for an educational object, and on no similar occasion have the several varieties of political and religious thought in the city been able to agree on a platform sufficiently wide to prevent danger of conflict.<sup>14</sup>

There was, however, some opposition towards the founding of the College, notably from the Anglican vicar of St Georges, the Reverend James Kelly. In an article which appeared in the Liverpool Daily Post in 1881 he wrote:

Suffice it to say that from no gathering in alarm of pious churchmen or Non-Conformists has there sounded any protest about the undertaking which is now all but consummated; and the opening of the edifice I suppose will soon be inaugurated amidst shouts of mutual congratulation, although upon its portals will be practically inscribed the awful words, 'whoso confesseth God and His Christ shall not be among the professors here!'<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Mountford Sir J, 'Liverpool Jubilee of the Charter', Manchester Guardian, 2 May 1953.

<sup>13</sup> With grateful thanks to Dr Sylvia Harrop for allowing me access to: 'A Genuinely civic enterprise': The founding of a university college for Liverpool in the late nineteenth century.'

<sup>14</sup> Liverpool Daily Post, 16 January 1882, Ref ULA Press Cutting S2502, p.12.

<sup>15</sup> ibid, December 1881.

In reply, W.F Slater, a Wesleyan minister in Liverpool, wrote:

Mr Kelly's ideal college would doubtless be that which existed at Oxford and Cambridge before tests were abolished...Mr Kelly thinks he can read 'over the portals' of the new Liverpool College, 'whoso confesseth God and His Christ shall not be amongst the professors here'. But 'over the portals' at Oxford and Cambridge were written for centuries 'whoso confesseth God and His Christ, but is a Non-Conformist shall not be amongst the professors or the learners here'...<sup>16</sup>

Although there was opposition to the College because of its freedom from religious tests, interestingly there are no publicised accounts of any opposition towards the admission of women. To some extent this can be explained by a survey of the men who played a leading role in the founding of the College. The leaders were predominantly Unitarians, including William Rathbone, the Reverend Charles Beard and Alfred Holt. Unitarians in Liverpool had, for many years, supported the higher education of women. In 1866 Anne J Clough, the daughter of a Liverpool cotton merchant, founded the Liverpool Ladies' Education Association. It was her intention to improve the level of higher education for women, and she applied to the Royal Institution, which had been founded in 1814, for permission to rent its rooms to enable lectures to be given to women. Amongst the founder members of the Institution were William Rathbone the fourth, the Reverend John Yates and William Shepherd, all of whom were Unitarians<sup>17</sup>. Permission was readily given and, thereby, approval and support for the higher education of women in Liverpool was indicated. In 1867 Miss Clough, with support from Josephine Butler, founded the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women. William Rathbone attended the eighth meeting of the Council, which was held in Cambridge, and in a speech he : 'Assured the meeting that there was plenty of material and plenty of money in Liverpool, and that they only wanted the University [i.e. Cambridge] to take the lead'<sup>18</sup>. He was referring to Cambridge taking the lead

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<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Kelly, *op cit*, pp.18, 19.

<sup>18</sup> Lemoine S.C, The North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women 1867 to 1876, M.Ed Thesis, University of Manchester, 1968, p.304.

in providing University Extension Lectures in Liverpool. Along with other influential Unitarians, Rathbone was present at a Town's Meeting held in 1874 to establish a Society for the Promotion of Higher Education in Liverpool. This society, according to Kelly, was formed to sponsor University Extension Lectures and to make the financial arrangements necessary for the courses to be self-supporting. The meeting showed its concern for the higher education of women by raising £1,000 immediately towards clearing a debt on Girton College<sup>19</sup>.

There is little doubt that Unitarians facilitated the smooth admission of women into University College. Many Unitarians spoke on behalf of women: in 1878, the Reverend Charles Beard, drew attention to the fact that:

The Cambridge Local Extension Scheme has had large classes of young ladies in Liverpool; and without entering into the question as to how female education was to be conducted, he was sure that there were fathers at the meeting who know how much had been added to their daughters' happiness and to their best interests in life, by the continuance of refined and graceful, and sometimes masculine studies beyond the age at which they left school...<sup>20</sup>

In an article reflecting upon the opening of the College in 1882 the Liverpool Daily Post publicised a speech made by William Rathbone in which he said:

The presence of Lady Derby gave her sanction to the fact that the advantages of University College should not be confined to men, but should be extended to that sex to which she was so great an ornament and, for the benefit of which she was so perseveringly and constantly anxious. It was only right that the sex upon whom devolved the formation of character in its earliest stages should have extended to them every opportunity and the means of enjoying the pleasures of which science and literature offered to them.<sup>21</sup>

Apart from the influence of Unitarians on the higher education of women and their entry into University College, there were other factors which assisted their admission. Schools for girls which provided an education based upon academic subjects were established in Liverpool before the College itself was founded. The Liverpool Institute Blackburne House School for

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<sup>19</sup> Kelly, *op cit*, p.37.

<sup>20</sup> Liverpool Daily Post, 25 May 1878.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid*, p37.

Girls opened in 1844; followed by the Notre Dame High School in 1853, Liverpool College for Girls in Grove Street was founded in 1856; followed by Notre Dame Collegiate School in 1869 and the Liverpool High School for Girls in 1880<sup>22</sup>. Such schools enabled women to obtain the necessary academic standards which assisted them into the College. In addition to the establishment of such schools, the Liverpool Council of Education played a significant role in furthering the higher education of women. In 1879, at the distribution of scholarships and prizes made in connection with the Council of Education, the Reverend J.W Diggle explained that there were 21 scholarships for boys and added:

The scholarships for girls conferred now for the first time were nine in number, of which three would be awarded *in each year, after similar competitive examination. The latter scholarships connected the girls' department of the public elementary schools with the Liverpool College for Girls and the Blackburne House Girls' School.*<sup>23</sup>

The Reverend Canon Lightfoot was also present at the prize giving, and spoke of the work of the Education Council in connection with the movement to found a College in Liverpool. He also made reference to the attendance of women once the College was founded, and said:

I would refer to the extension of the privileges of an academic education to women. What ever objections may exist, against removing girls from the influences of home at the most critical time of their lives, that they may receive a University training elsewhere, none at all can be alleged against bringing this training to them in their homes as your local College will do. I might well dwell on the advantages of such a training to those, who in the years to come, as mothers will be the chief educators of the next generation of your citizens. But, besides this, it is clear that we are on the eve of a great development of high schools, and other educational institutions for girls, so that the scholastic profession will open out an ever widening career for women; and you would not contest that your daughters and sisters should be distanced in this honourable race.<sup>24</sup>

It is unclear if the words 'ever widening career' actually refer to the fact that an academic education would enable women to enter into careers and presumably paid employment, or to the fact that the development of high schools would create a career for women in the teaching profession. It is interesting that Cannon Lightfoot actually mentions careers at all, as the

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<sup>22</sup> Sadler M, Secondary Education in Liverpool, London, 1906, pp.48,52,53,55,56.

<sup>23</sup> Liverpool Daily Post, 17 January 1879.

<sup>24</sup> ibid

other speeches at the event dwelt upon the benefits such an education would have upon their future roles as wives and mothers. Nevertheless, all of the factors discussed so far explain why women were admitted into University College immediately. The situation in Manchester was rather different.

The terminology used in John Owens' bequest stated quite clearly that the money was to be used to: 'Found an institution for providing or aiding the means of instructing and improving young persons of the male sex'<sup>25</sup>. Clearly, these instructions were a barrier to the admission of women because the trustees of Owens' will could not deviate from them. Fiddes suggests:

When John Owens made his will in 1845 it is highly unlikely that he considered the inclusion of women in his college as a possibility. What he was anxious about was freedom from sectarian tests. This was very much a live issue in the fifties in Manchester. The question of women's education was not.<sup>26</sup>

By the late 1860s the issue of women's education had become very much a live issue. In addition to this, the wording of John Owens' will was not only acting as an obstacle to the admission of women, it was creating difficulties for the trustees and authorities of the College itself. By this period Owens College had gained a reputation for its advances in higher education. Its student numbers were rising and the College authorities were seeking to obtain University status. To achieve this the College had to expand to enable it to accommodate a larger number of students, widen its curriculum and increase the number of its academic staff. John Owens' will was preventing the advancement of the College but, to many people in Manchester, it was viewed as morally wrong to attempt to circumvent the wishes of a benefactor. To overcome this moral dilemma money was raised by public subscription and was used to build the Owens Extension College. An Act of Parliament in 1870 incorporated

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<sup>25</sup> Fiddes E in Tylecote M, *op cit*, p.1.

the new College, and a further Act in 1871 enabled the new College to incorporate the old and to take its name. Fiddes indicates: 'With a wave of the Parliamentary wand the old Owens College disappeared and hey-presto! a reconstituted and reformed Owens College took its place'<sup>27</sup>. Fiddes suggests that many of the subscribers to the new College were aware that the Parliamentary Acts would provide the authorities of Owens College with the power to admit women. In his opinion their generous donations were an indication that they approved and supported the admission of women<sup>28</sup>. This opinion can be confirmed by Simon who wrote: 'Thomas Ashton, educated at Heidleberg, became the second founder of the College by promoting a new location with impressive buildings on Oxford Road in 1880, opened three years later'.<sup>29</sup>

Despite these developments women were not admitted to the College immediately. Initially, the Charity Commissioners at Manchester insisted that women could only be admitted to the College after money had first been made available to male applicants. They also insisted that women should not attend the same lectures as men<sup>30</sup>. In 1875 a letter appeared in the Manchester Examiner asking that Owens College open its classes to women. It referred to the question of separating the sexes and suggested, whether ironically or seriously according to Fiddes: 'that the difficulty might be surmounted by erecting a barrier or lattice mid-way down the room'<sup>31</sup>. It is interesting that Fiddes reveals:

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<sup>26</sup> ibid, p.2.

<sup>27</sup> ibid, p.6.

<sup>28</sup> ibid, p.7.

<sup>29</sup> Simon B, In Search of a Grandfather: Henry Simon of Manchester 1835-1899, The Pendene Press, 1997, p.45.

<sup>30</sup> Tylecote, op cit, p.7.

<sup>31</sup> ibid, p.8.

The weight of arguments as well as numbers was in favour of the women, and the point of issue had shifted since the sixties. At that time many persons still believed it was unwise to give higher education to women at all. In the eighties no one cared frankly to support that view. The whole debate turned on the advisability of common education with men.<sup>32</sup>

It is important to consider why such a change in attitude had occurred. When Owens College was founded in 1851 girls' secondary education was almost totally based upon accomplishments and not academic subjects. Therefore, even if the College had admitted women from its founding, they would not have had the basic academic education to enable them to enter higher education. By 1867 the North of England Council had been founded in Liverpool, and it provided courses of lectures in the towns of Leeds, Sheffield and Manchester. The Manchester Association for Promoting the Higher Education of Women was in existence in 1867, and became constituted with the North of England Council in 1869. Not only did the Association organise University Extension Lectures, it began lectures in association with the Cambridge University local examinations. It was this activity which led to the founding of the Manchester High School for Girls in 1873. The Association began to apply pressure upon Owens College to take responsibility for the higher education of women. Although the authorities refused to do this it did allow members of staff to instruct women, but only on the condition that the women had a building which was suitable for use as classrooms. Women were not allowed to enter Owens College to attend lectures. To meet this requirement the Manchester and Salford College for Women was established in 1877.

Although initially Unitarians and other non-conformists lacked a direct influence in the founding of Owens College they were influential in raising funds to found a 'new' Owens College and in establishing schools and colleges for women in Manchester, which enabled them to gain the academic education necessary to enter Owens College when this became possible. Tylecote provides an example of this involvement when she states:

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<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, p.12.



The group of Manchester men and women who were mainly responsible for these developments and continued to support and manage the High School for Girls and the College for Women were persons of varying opinions and interests but united in their zeal for the education of women and alike distinguished by their public spirit. Different religious denominations were represented amongst them, and members of the ministerial and teaching professions shared with members of well known Manchester business houses place and influence on the governing bodies.<sup>33</sup>

Tylecote provides examples of the men and women who supported the entry of women into higher education in Manchester. They included H.J Roby and his wife Matilda. Mr Roby was a founder of Hitchin, the fore-runner of Girton College for Women in Cambridge. Matilda Roby was a member of the Manchester Association for Promoting the Higher Education of Women. Another supporter was the Bishop of Manchester, Dr Fraser, who was the patron of the Manchester Association for Promoting the Higher Education of Women and also the President of the Manchester and Salford College for Women. The Honorary Secretary of the College was Mrs C.P Scott. Prior to her marriage, Mrs Scott had been Rachel Cook, one of the first women to attend Hitchin College. Her husband owned the Manchester Guardian and, through the medium of his newspaper, actively supported his wife in her involvement in attempting to gain the admission of women into Owens College. Mrs Scott had valuable support in her venture from some of the staff at the College. On the Senate they included Professors R Adamson, A.S Wilkinson, H.E Roscoe (the grandson of William Roscoe of Liverpool) and A.W Ward who, as will be indicated later, was to have a great influence upon the advancement of women students at Manchester. On the Council R.D Derbyshire, in 1875, introduced a motion to the College for the admission of women. This motion was defeated and, as a result, Derbyshire resigned<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> ibid, p.21.

<sup>34</sup> ibid, pp.21,22.

As a result of pressure, the authorities of Owens College were forced to allow women to attend lectures at the College from 1877 onwards. It would appear that support for their admission came from those involved in improving women's secondary education. Barnes suggests that: 'As the oldest of the Civics it [i.e. Owens College] was the only one to undergo a prolonged debate over the issue of admitting women - the other provincial universities were founded as co-educational institutions.'<sup>35</sup>. It would appear that the authorities of Owens College followed the example set by University College London which, in the words of N Harte: 'Admitted women gradually and grudgingly.'<sup>36</sup>. The Slade School of Art, according to Harte, '...played a key part in the introduction of women to College Life.'<sup>37</sup> At this school men and women had been taught together and neither the students or their professors had any objections to this. Harte indicates: '...at first, the Women's classes took place off the College's premises; then they moved into College, but the Association [i.e London Ladies Educational Association] not the College was the responsible agent. Finally, it became too much trouble to hold classes separately...'<sup>38</sup>

Women attending lectures at Owens College were subject to a number of restrictions. They were chaperoned to and from lectures; they were not allowed to enter the library (any books which they required were obtained on their behalf by a maid of all work); when they eventually obtained a common room it was situated in an attic; and they were not allowed any contact with male students. It would appear also that women students were ridiculed by their male counterparts for their lack of confidence. Tylecote provides an example of this when she discusses the attitude of women attending lectures with male students:

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<sup>35</sup> Barnes S.V, 'Crossing the Invisible Line: Establishing Co-Education at the University of Manchester and North Western University', History of Education, Vol 23,1994, p.38.

<sup>36</sup> Harte N.B, The Admission of Women to University College London, Centenary Lecture, London, 1979.

<sup>37</sup> Harte N.B, North J, The World of University College London: 1828-1978, Grosvenor Press, 1978, p.76.

<sup>38</sup> ibid.

They sat together in their own particular (usually front) rows of seats in classrooms, and their male colleagues upbraided them for their confusion when one of their seats was accidentally occupied by a man, or for their failure to ask openly for notes of a certain lecture at which no women were present instead of adopting circumlocutory methods of approach to a male student who could supply them.<sup>39</sup>

Tylecote indicates that women at Manchester did begin to develop a bolder attitude when, as she explains:

It was only after the stimulus of a visit to Liverpool, where much greater freedom prevailed, that the women plucked up the courage to remove their 'hats and jackets', a feat upon which they were congratulated by Professor Wilkins.<sup>40</sup>

Women students at Liverpool were aware of the difficulties their female colleagues at Manchester faced. A female student at Liverpool reported:

Degree Day at Victoria University was, this year, particularly interesting to members of University College...four ladies from the College also presented themselves for their degrees; three for that of BA and one for that of BSc. As it is the first time that the Victoria University has conferred the degree of BSc on a woman, it makes it all the more credible that University College should be the first to claim the distinction. Owens College offers, no doubt, very superior facilities for the study of science, but has so far not seen its way to throwing open these advantages to women as the younger Colleges of the University have done. It is satisfactory to note that a leading Manchester paper 'regrets' that Owens College does not offer scientific training to women. It will be very unlike Manchester people if they are to go on 'regretting' a matter the remedy of which lies entirely in their own hands...<sup>41</sup>

It is important to consider why women at Manchester lacked confidence and yet Liverpool women were, it would appear, bolder and more confident. It must be understood that, although Liverpool women attended the same lectures as their male colleagues, they did not associate socially with them and once their lectures were finished they were subject to chaperonage. According to Dr Margery Knight, who was a Senior Lecturer in Botany and a warden of University Hall for Women in Liverpool:

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<sup>39</sup> Tylecote, *op cit*, p.33.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>41</sup> Melhuish S, 'Victoria Degree Day' in *University College Magazine*, Vol 3, 1888, p.185.

Even at a much later date (1908) women students in the University were not allowed to put a foot in the Victoria Hall. They were allowed in at the front door and had to step discreetly up and down the main staircase to their common room on the Gallery ( now occupied by the Finance Office ) where their behaviour was supervised (theoretically) by an old lady, Miss Field, who sat permanently (rumour had it she slept there) in a corner of the common room. For a woman to be seen talking to a man, or worse still to walk unchaperoned with him down Brownlow Hill, was regarded as 'fast'.<sup>42</sup>

With regard to chaperonage and social segregation, if we consider this in a historical context it is clear that parents were ever anxious to protect their daughters and to avoid any scandal. Parents who allowed their daughters to attend University College, whether it be to obtain a degree to enable them to enter into paid employment or for the enjoyment of study, expected the College to supervise their daughters' behaviour. The College was hardly in a position, even if it had wished to, to defy the wishes of parents or to circumvent guidelines as defined by society with regard to what was considered to be acceptable behaviour. In this respect the position at Manchester and Liverpool was the same. It is the attitudes of the Principals of the two Colleges towards the admission of women which, to some extent, explain why women at Manchester lacked confidence and why the reverse was evident at Liverpool.

The Principal of Owens College from 1857 until 1890, Greenwood, was conservative in his attitudes towards women students. Tylecote called him a 'nervous reformer.'<sup>43</sup> Robertson questions this assessment of Greenwood, and indicates that in many respects he approved of the higher education of women; he did not approve of both sexes being taught in the same classroom. Robertson takes a favourable view of Greenwood, citing his support for the founding of the Manchester High School for Girls when he stated : '... Manchester would award degrees to women from private colleges, who in all respects would be taught and

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<sup>42</sup> Knight M, 'A Seed Which Grew and the Tree Into Which it Developed', University Hall Fiftieth Anniversary, University Hall Association, 1952, p.16.

<sup>43</sup> Tylecote, op cit, p.24.

examined like the male students.’<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, the Principal’s reservations upon the admission of women students must have been common knowledge, not only to his staff but also to the students, hence the caustic comments made by male students and the passive demeanours of female students. Women at Manchester continually had to conform to the wishes of the College or else be at risk of being prevented from continuing their studies. Fiddes clearly indicates the attitude of Principal Greenwood when he states:

It was said the arms of the College showing the snake rearing into the sun with the motto *Ardus ad Salem*, in which the sun had some resemblance to a face looking over the battlement was intended to represent Greenwood watching the advance of the snake woman across the Oxford Road.<sup>45</sup>

In contrast, Principal Rendall of University College Liverpool was a firm supporter of women's higher education. In a report in 1882 he spoke upon this subject and said:

It may be said that the higher education of women has not yet passed the experimental stage. Yet in so far as it has been tried, even those who instinctively distrust it cannot allege failure. Therefore, the unanimous sense of the directors of this moment willed that students of either sex should find here equal favour, and that our infant College should not close her doors on those whom the ancient Universities are already giving access...<sup>46</sup>

His reference to the ancient Universities must be understood to mean that Oxford and Cambridge, by this date, were allowing women to take their examinations, though neither university conferred degrees upon women until well into the twentieth Century. Women at Liverpool were full members of the College from the day it was founded; though even Liverpool did not immediately admit women to study medicine, and the reasons to account for this will be considered later in this chapter. Unlike their colleagues at Manchester, they had no need to feel that they were attending the College subject to satisfactory behaviour. At

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<sup>44</sup> Robertson A B, ‘ Manchester, Owens College And The Higher Education Of Women : ‘ A Large Hole For The Cat and a Small One For the Kitten.’ Bulletin John Rylands University Library of Manchester, Vol. 77, No.1 Spring, 1995, p.219.

<sup>45</sup> Fiddes E, op cit, p.39.

<sup>46</sup> The Liverpool Mercury, 16 January 1882.

Manchester, women did not become full members until 1883. By that date the University Colleges of Liverpool and Leeds had become constituent members of the Victoria University, which had been in existence since 1880 with Owens College being then the sole member.

Principal Rendall's wife also played an important role in furthering the cause of women attending the College. In 1895 an interview with a female journalist revealed her attitude. She stated:

Write only about the College. You will be interested to know that our College admits women precisely on the same conditions as the male students. There has never been the slightest difference or disqualification made on the grounds of sex. The College was started on this principle and I feel very proud that, from its foundation, it has taken this broad and liberal approach with regard to women.

The journalist enquired if the system worked well, to which Mrs Rendall replied:

Most admirably. The students of both sexes work side by side in the classrooms, take their examinations together and are eligible for the same honours. There has never been any reason to regret starting the College on this basis of equality.

The journalist then proposed that Mrs Rendall's influence was the reason for the success of the College. She wrote:

I heard it from another source that the reason why the College had worked so harmoniously upon co-educational lines was largely due to the tact shown by the Principal's wife. There were prejudices felt by many parents at first with regard to young men and girls sitting side by side in the classes, but through Mrs Rendall's influence the greater part of this opposition had died down; she had been so wisely discreet in dealing with opponents, considering their prejudices rather than running violently to counter them. The Principal himself is, of course, as fully in favour of co-education as his wife, and has exercised great influence in maintaining it in the College but I have dwelt largely on Mrs Rendall's attitude as a lady can do so much in a matter of this kind outside the College, by moulding local social opinion. Such is the estimation in which the Principal's wife is held that mothers would feel that their daughters might safely follow a course of education of which she, in her quiet womanly manner, approved. There is nothing in Mrs Rendall's personality to raise up the modern bogey of 'advanced' or 'new woman' although her views are very progressive.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Tooley S.A, 'Ladies of Liverpool in Two Papers', Woman at Home 1895, Paper 1, p. 8.

As this interview implies, Mrs Rendall was clearly an educated and refined woman whom other women in society admired. Mrs Rendall managed to combine progressive ideas with 'womanly' demeanour, and to dispel fears that parents might have had about the effects a higher education might have upon their daughters. The role of influential women from within Liverpool's society is an important issue which will be discussed in a later chapter of this thesis.

Although the authorities of University College were liberal towards the admission of women, it appears that one Professor was very opposed to the idea of the sexes being taught in the same classrooms. At a Faculty of Arts meeting in June 1904 it was proposed by Professor Strong that Latin lectures should be divided according to sex. The then Vice-Chancellor, A.W.W Dale, was deeply concerned about this, and in a letter to Dr Davies (Dean of the Faculty of Arts) he wrote:

In the minutes of the Faculty there is one (6) that opens up possibilities of trouble. I would like to know the exact terms in which Strong gave notice of this resolution on separation of classes according to sex. It is obvious that a big principle is involved, and the proposal is sure to meet with opposition.<sup>48</sup>

In a series of letters to Professor Strong the Vice-Chancellor notified him of his viewpoint:

The registrar tells me that it is proposed to divide the Latin lecture by sex. As I pointed out in January, this departure seems to me so important that it should hardly be taken without discussion in the Senate. You expressed your agreement, and gave notice of the motion which you subsequently withdrew. If change is to be made, I feel it should be after not before resolution of Senate. I am sure you will agree with me...<sup>49</sup>

Apparently Strong did not agree, and a further letter from the Vice-Chancellor states:

The change that has now been made seems to me open to objection. I understand that the intermediate lecture has now been divided into two parts; that one part composed exclusively

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<sup>48</sup> Vice-Chancellors Letter Book Jan 1904 - Oct 1904, 17 June 1904, p.702.

<sup>49</sup> ibid, 4 Oct 1904, p.16.

of women, chosen because they are women. This step, if not challenged now, is sure to be quoted afterwards as a precedent by those who wish to separate the classes.<sup>50</sup>

Clearly the Vice-Chancellor was determined to keep the practice of mixed classes, and eventually the Latin lecturers reverted back. Feminist historians will argue that here is a case of pervasive misogyny, however, Professor Strong, in an article in the Sphinx, explained the reasons behind his decision:

First and foremost, I do not believe in what is called dual education, if by that term we are to understand that the girls and boys are to be left in College all day without any sort of chaperonage. It would be far better, if possible, to have a woman's wing of the College, to which the girl students should be obliged to retire after their classes. I think, too, that it would be better from an educational point of view to separate the two sexes, and not to teach the men and women in the same class. The present system renders the two sexes shy of making mistakes before each other, and the teacher cannot get the best work out of the class. I think that the girls like the present system better than the men, but I do not think it good for the girls' character to enter into emulation with the men, nor do I think it good for the men that they should feel themselves surpassed by the girls. Girls, in my experience, are far quicker than boys in mastering a language, and this fact has a tendency to discourage the men. Of course the whole question is a difficult one...I only give my opinion for what it is worth.<sup>51</sup>

Clearly this Professor was not opposed to the higher education of women, but he held a similar view to Principal Greenwood about the suitability of the sexes mixing and he felt that men were being disadvantaged by it. Interestingly, throughout the research for this thesis only this professor was prepared to attempt to separate the sexes. The principle of mixed classes was strictly adhered to at Liverpool.

In 1898, in her survey of the admission of women to universities, Zimmern had this to say about Owens College Manchester and University College Liverpool:

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<sup>50</sup> ibid, 7 October 1904, p.23.

<sup>51</sup> The Sphinx, June 1913.



The first of these has been in existence as a men's college some years before the establishment of the University, and it has not seemed anxious to make changes in its original constitution. It became necessary to organise a special department for women, in connection with which they still receive some of their instruction. But the teaching for the higher examinations, i.e. those beyond the Victoria Preliminary, is received in the ordinary college classes... Owens still follows the old plan, now almost everywhere discarded, of offering special certificates to women on easier terms; but for these there is little demand. Since University College Liverpool was not incorporated till 1881, i.e. after the constitution of the University, it was natural that it should follow its lead in the recognition of women, but this was not yet full and ungrudging. The charter says: 'female students may be admitted to attend any of the courses of instruction established in the college, subject to such restrictions and regulations as statutes of the College may from time to time prescribe.' A present the regulations stand thus: 'Female students may be admitted to the classes of the College, except those of the Medical School,...' In theory, therefore, University is a men's college that admits women. In fact, with the exception of the medical classes, the two are pretty much on an equality. Men and women are admitted on the same terms to the day and evening classes; throughout the regulations the words 'his or her' are used. Rules apply to both sexes alike.<sup>52</sup>

Zimmern clearly believed that University College Liverpool was more liberal than Owens College Manchester, and that although in theory it was a men's college which admitted women in fact with the exception of medicine the two sexes were equal. Another important commentator upon this subject was Sara Burstall, who in 1913 wrote:

The Archbishop of York recently stated that when the history of the past twenty years came to be written, it would be seen that few social phenomena were of greater national importance than the rise of the new Universities. As women enjoy in all these an equality with men as to degrees, scholarships, and fellowships, appointments to staffs, access to teaching,... laboratories, libraries, &c., and almost universally participate in government through Court, Senate, Convocation, and similar bodies, the new Universities must, *a fortiori*, be of great importance and value in girls' education.<sup>53</sup>

In one area however, Manchester was ahead of Liverpool, and that was with regard to the entry of women to study for degrees in medicine. In Manchester they entered in 1899; according to Tylecote their admission was, to a great extent, facilitated by Dr Ward who: 'Argued it was the policy of the College to admit women to any course whenever there was a

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<sup>52</sup> Zimmern A, The Renaissance of Girls Education in England, London, 1898, pp 136, 137.

<sup>53</sup> Burstall S.A, 'Review of the Year', The Directory of Women Teachers, London, 1913, pp3,4.

prospect that good advantage would be taken of the opportunities offered.<sup>54</sup> By this time Dr Ward had become Principal of the College. He had long been a supporter of women's admission, and was one of the four members of Senate who had supported the motion that women should be admitted in 1875. He had also been a lecturer to women attending the Manchester and Salford College. Clearly, once he became Principal he was in a position to further the interests of women. Nevertheless, although women were able to study for degrees in medicine, they were handicapped after they qualified because they were not admitted as residents to the Manchester Royal Infirmary and were thereby debarred from gaining valuable experience<sup>55</sup>. Dyhouse confirms this point:

The pattern is blurred further by arrangements for instruction in medicine: almost everywhere it was opposition from faculty in the medical schools, and their links with senior staff and managers of local hospitals and infirmaries, that delayed the universities' formal provision for the full acceptance of women students to classes and examinations.<sup>56</sup>

In Liverpool the entry of women to read for medical degrees did not take place until 1903. The prospect of their admission into that profession had, however, been debated with vigour since 1874. In that year the first paper was read upon the subject of 'The Right of Women to Admission to Medical Degrees and Diplomas'. A later chapter of this thesis will indicate that the Medical Debating Society continued to consider the subject of women entering the medical profession after women students began to read for degrees from Liverpool. The motion for their admission was defeated. It is interesting to note, however, that Dr Caton, who later became a Professor at University College, stated:

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<sup>54</sup> Tylecote, op.cit, p.50.

<sup>55</sup> ibid, p.135.

<sup>56</sup> Dyhouse, op.cit, p.13.

He did not think that the movement [i.e. to allow women to enter into the medical profession] was ever likely to come to anything. In many of the Continental Universities women were allowed to graduate and yet extremely few had availed themselves of the privilege...He felt quite sure that if women gained admission the Professions would place no obstacles in their way but strive harmoniously with them.<sup>57</sup>

At least three factors delayed the admission of women to medical degree courses at Liverpool. Kelly suggests that their exclusion was : ‘ Due partly to male prejudice and partly due to a genuine desire to protect women from the rigours and unpleasantness of medical training, and especially from the horrors of the dissecting room and the operating theatre.’<sup>58</sup> Another reason for the delay in their admission appears to have been that the College lacked the space to accommodate them. This fact is borne out from two sources. In 1903, in reply to a letter from a past woman student who wished to study for a medical degree, the Vice-Chancellor said:

Professor Hebblethwaite is away, and I am taking his letters. Until I got to the end of your note I had no idea it came from you. Why did you not give us a little news of yourself? It is always a pleasure when our students show that they have not forgotten us by assuming that we have not forgotten them. And now to your questions, if we become a University, as I hope we shall, women would be admitted to the medical school as soon as the new buildings now in progress provide the necessary accommodation; at the same time I feel to build plans on the basis of uncertainties would be a mistake. Women are now admitted to lectures here on all subjects for the first MB examination. But, medical students usually begin their study of anatomy during their first year though that subject is not included in their first MB examination. I have given instructions that a medical prospectus should be sent to you. I shall enquire by what Universities a year’s study here is admitted as an equivalent to the first year of their own course, the names shall be added at the foot.<sup>59</sup>

The Universities noted at the foot of the letter were Edinburgh and London. The same situation applied to dentistry, where a lack accommodation for women was also identified as a cause for their late admission. In a letter to the School of Dentistry in 1906: ‘A letter was read from Mr Latache applying for pupilage at the hospital for his daughter. The warden was

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<sup>57</sup> Medical School Debating Society.

<sup>58</sup> Kelly, *op.cit.*, p.58.

instructed to reply there was no room'. A further letter was received from Mr Latache, requesting that his daughter's name be placed on a list of applicants for entry as a pupil. The warden was instructed to write in reply saying a new building was in contemplation and that accommodation would probably be provided for lady students but that, at present, there was no suitable accommodation in the present building.<sup>60</sup> When accommodation was made available for women they obtained their medical degrees and had no difficulty obtaining practical experience at the Liverpool Infirmary. The first successful woman to graduate from Liverpool with a medical degree was Phoebe Mildred Powell, who graduated in 1911.

In conclusion, the evidence has shown that both Owens College Manchester and University College Liverpool, although founded in different ways and by different methods, were founded for the same reasons. The admission of women into Owens College was not achieved without adversity. The terminology of John Owens will made the entry of women impossible but, as already discussed, once this barrier was removed their admission was achieved albeit very slowly. Gibert upon this subject maintains: 'This gradual progress reflected the influence of both national and local trends and opinions.'<sup>61</sup> The main reason for this hesitancy was the Principal of the College, who was a cautious reformer. Even when their entry was secured women were subjected to a number of restrictions which their colleagues at University College Liverpool were aware of. Women at Liverpool were fortunate to have direct admission to their College upon its founding. The Principal of the College and his wife were firm supporters of the higher education of women and they were

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<sup>59</sup> Vice-Chancellors Letter Book 1st Aug 1902 - Feb 1903 pp.453, 454.

<sup>60</sup> Cuthbert Woods E, Liverpool School of Dental Surgery, Vol II, Chapter 3, pp.74, 75.

determined that the principle of mixed classes was maintained, as the episode discussed above has shown. It is possible to suggest that Owens College Manchester could afford not to admit women students; it was wealthy enough to sustain itself without the revenue from their fees. In contrast, University College had no single benefactor, it could not rely upon continuous public subscriptions and therefore the revenue generated from women students fees must have been most welcome. Alternatively, it could be argued that the lack of a single benefactor and the dependence upon public subscriptions to enable University College to be founded did actually benefit women, as those who subscribed funds were showing their support for the higher education of both sexes. With regard to the admission of women to medical degrees the evidence has shown that Manchester was the first to do so. The reasons for the delay at Liverpool have already been discussed and although it is possible to argue that Liverpool was perhaps dragging her heels in this area, it is clear that once accommodation for women became available they were admitted. The evidence contained in this chapter supports the argument that both the authorities and the students of University College Liverpool believed that there was no distinction of sex there.

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<sup>61</sup> Gibert J.S, PhD Thesis, op.cit, p53.

## Chapter Three

### **The academic careers of university women : background and admission**

In 1907 Ramsey Muir, a past student at University College and, by this date, a Professor of History, published a series of papers. Muir indicated:

It will be the object of these papers to draw a picture of the University at the moment of its semi-jubilee, the end of the first stage of its development; its students, their numbers, where they come from, what they study and what they do when they leave...<sup>1</sup>

Using the evidence contained in Muir's papers and other sources, this chapter will likewise draw a picture of women who were registered students at the University of Liverpool during specific years. First, it will indicate the sources which were consulted to provide the statistical data contained in this chapter and the ways in which the data have been used. Second, it will evaluate the statistics and consider the composition of the student body during specific years. Third, it will argue that as the years progressed the University began to attract an increasing number of women students, the majority entering the University Day Training department. The other areas under review in this chapter include a survey of the social class of women attending Liverpool. From this survey, it will become apparent that Liverpool followed the trend which was evident at other civic universities with reference to the clientele it attracted. An indication of the previous schools, and average age of admission of women students, and the way in which the University began to change its matriculation regulations will also be made. Finally, as this chapter progresses, it will become apparent that the majority of the women throughout the periods

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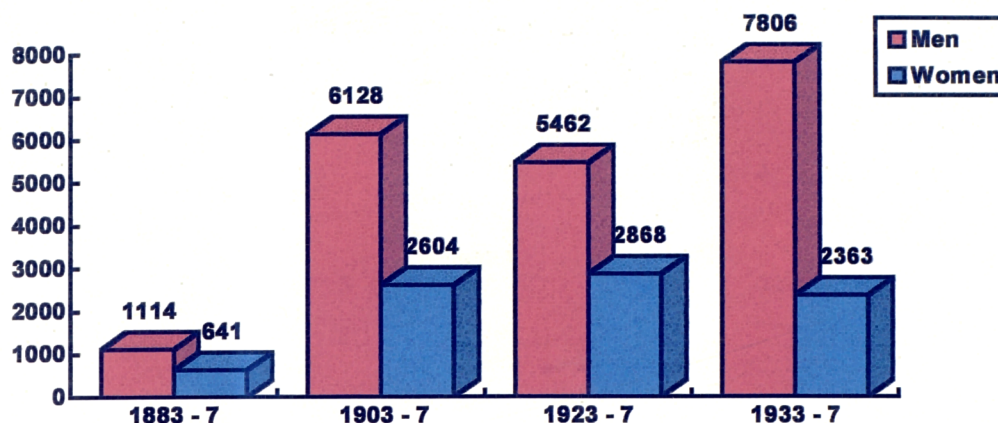
<sup>1</sup> Muir R, The University of Liverpool: Its Present State, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1907,p.7.

concerned attended the University as day students, and the reasons to account for this will be discussed.

All the women who were registered during the periods 1883 to 1887 and 1903 to 1907 were surveyed. For the periods 1923 to 1927 and 1933 to 1937, however, only those women who were first year undergraduates were considered. It was necessary to be more selective when surveying these periods, because student numbers had risen rapidly and student dossiers were placed on individual microfilm. The collection of data for these years was a time-consuming exercise: each individual microfilm had to be found and then read, taking many months. If the search had included all women who were students during the years under review, the time span for this thesis would have required extension. The decision to confine the research to first-year students for the 1923 to 1927 and 1933 to 1937 only has not detracted from the validity of this survey; in fact, it enabled further research to be undertaken which considers the various spheres of activity which women entered after their higher education at Liverpool came to an end.

This chapter will take a thematic approach: the most logical place to begin, therefore, is with a survey of the number of women who entered the University of Liverpool, and their composition in relation to their male colleagues.

## UNIVERSITY STATISTICS OF FULL AND PART-TIME STUDENTS



Source: 1883 to 1887 and 1903 to 1907; University of Liverpool Annual Reports Ref. ULA, C4, 1923 to 1927 and 1933 to 1937; University of Liverpool Registration Statistics, Ref. ULA Box 5097 and Box 5098, Part 1 and 2.

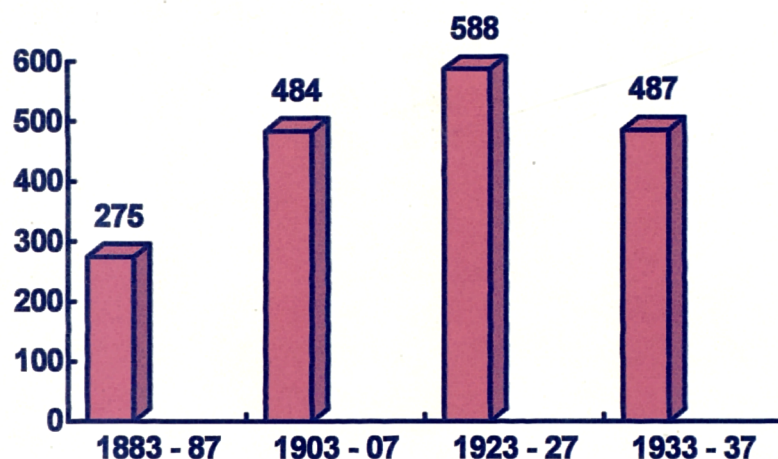
The official University statistics refer to all students who registered during these years. The figures reveal, unsurprisingly, that throughout the years under survey, male students outnumbered their female colleagues. From 1903 to 1937, whereas women student numbers remained fairly consistent, it is apparent that male student numbers fluctuated. It is interesting that during the period 1923 to 1927 the number of male students declined, but by the 1933 to 1937 period they had risen rapidly, with a corresponding drop in women student numbers. The reasons for the decline in the numbers of full-time women students from 588 in the 1923 to 1927 period to 487 in the 1933 to 1937 period can be identified. The years 1933 to 1937 were years of economic depression and perhaps, therefore, parents were more willing to support their sons' higher education than their daughters'. Morse has suggested that women students at civic universities : '...were more profoundly affected by the scarcity of jobs, especially in the teaching profession'.<sup>2</sup> The development of employment opportunities for women in careers such as nursing and the

<sup>2</sup> Morse EJ, 'English Civic Universities', History of Universities, Vol.XI, 1992, p195.



civil service which did not require a higher education may also have led to a decline in the number of women students entering Liverpool.

### REGISTERED FULL-TIME WOMEN STUDENTS



Source: 1883 to 1887, Day Student Address Books  
1903 to 1907, University of Liverpool, Register of Day Students  
1923 to 1927 and 1933 to 1937, Classification and General Statistics of Students.

Unlike the official statistics, which count students every year they are enrolled at the University, the figures above count women students only once during their three-year degree course. It must also be remembered that for the periods 1923 to 1927 and 1933 to 1937, only first year undergraduates were surveyed; the actual number of women students attending the University during these years was actually far higher. As the chart above shows, during the period 1883 to 1887, 275 women were students at University College. This number is in many respects misleading, as the evidence contained in the University College Council Reports for the year 1882 indicates: 'The first term closed with 543 students attending the day and evening classes. This number is exclusive of the Medical

Faculty and of 170 ladies who attended a course of lecturers organised by the Ladies Educational Association. Out of the 543, one-third were Ladies ...'<sup>3</sup> In addition to this statement, the Principal of the College reported: '... a popular lecture with experiments was conducted once a week during the Lent Term by Professor Lodge. This lecture was attended by 121 students, 113 of them were ladies ...'<sup>4</sup> From these sources it is clear that the number of women attending the College during these years was far higher than 275, but many were part-time or occasional students. The composition of the student body at University College began to change in 1887 when, according to the Principal:

The ratio of students between the sexes shows a marked but gradual change. Originally the numbers were approximately equal and once or twice showed a preponderance of female students; now male students are 2 to 1 independent of the medical Faculty who make the disproportion even larger. Among the female students are some of the most thorough of University students.<sup>5</sup>

The first part of this statement is confirmed from the following chart which reveals the number of students attending day classes at Liverpool:

**Students Attending Day Classes**

	Arts and Science	Autumn	Lent	Summer	Total
1883 to 1884	Men	41	54	58	153
	Women	49	61	52	162

Ref: University College Report, 1882.

During the period 1903 to 1907, registered women students numbered 484. Once again this full-time figure must be treated with caution, as in 1907 the Vice-Chancellor reported:

Figures cannot be regarded as complete. Our present system of registration is not as thorough as it should be. Figures do not include students engaged in research work in laboratories and take no account of those who attend special lecture courses not reckoned as University courses though given within our walls by our staff.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> University College Council Reports, 1882, Ref, ULA, C4, p.4.

<sup>4</sup> ibid, p.7.

<sup>5</sup> ibid, 1887, p.16.

<sup>6</sup> ibid, 1907, p.18.

By this period, in addition, the University Day Training College had been opened to women. From 1900, the minute books of the Training College indicate that the admission of women had been under discussion. In March 1900, they revealed that Senate was asked: ‘... to consider favourably the establishment of a Day Training College for Women ...’<sup>7</sup> In July of that year, the minute books disclosed that the Board of Education had given its permission for the College to increase the number of Day Training College students from: ‘... 60 men, to 60 men and 60 women. The Committee has authorised the Principal to take steps for advertising the Training College as a Training College for women, open on the same basis as for men.’<sup>8</sup> The admission of women into the Day Training College was economically viable for the University because many of the women who entered were in receipt of loans or scholarships: they therefore provided the College with a guaranteed income. The teacher training colleges of Edge Hill and Mount Pleasant were affiliated to the University, and their student teachers attended the College for their degree courses. The admission of women into the Day Training College and the attendance of women from local teacher training colleges meant that an increasing number of women were encouraged to attend the University to read for degrees which would enable them to enter the teaching profession. In addition to these factors, by 1903 the University had opened the Medical Faculty to women students. Before 1903, as indicated in Chapter Two, women could only take their first MB examinations at Liverpool, and then they were

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<sup>7</sup> University Day Training College Minute Book, Ref, Educ.Lib, DTC/MB/1890-1909, p.153.

<sup>8</sup> ibid, p.156.

compelled to proceed to the Universities of Edinburgh or London to complete their training.

The composition of the student body by 1907 had once more changed, as the University reports for that year indicate:

The figures show a slight decrease in the number of men and a large increase in the number of women - partly but not wholly - due to the enlargement of The Day Training College. There is no reason to anticipate that the relative proportions of the sexes will be permanently affected and that the men will in due course be outnumbered by the women. The variation as far as can be foreseen is temporary and another season may restore the balance.<sup>9</sup>

In the same year, the report of the Faculty of Arts stated:

72% [313] of students are women, only 28% [120] are men. While the Faculty welcomes the presence of both elementary teachers and women students, it must be recognised that the proportion of both these groups is unduly high, we ought to consider why we are failing to attract a sufficiently large proportion of men students preparing for other callings besides teaching ...<sup>10</sup>

Clearly, the fact that women were beginning to outnumber their male colleagues in this Faculty was a cause for concern to the authorities of the University. This situation, however, was not a temporary one. In a recent publication celebrating the Centenary of that Faculty, the following information was revealed :

**1915** Save in the case of students taking professional courses, the preponderance of women students in the Faculty had, by Session 1914-15, so far prevented any excessive decline in student numbers in consequence of the war. Of the total of 357, 257 (79 men and 178 women) were students reading for degrees.

**1925** The Faculty of Arts, alone among the Faculties, showed a considerable increase in the number of students in the Session 1924-25 as compared with the previous Session. The Vice-Chancellor noted that this increase was in women students and was to be correlated to a remarkable increase in the number of students who were taking the Diploma in Education course. 'Obviously the decisions of the Burnham Committee and the improved stipends of women teachers have...made teaching a desirable profession for women'.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> University of Liverpool Council Reports, 1907, p.4.

<sup>10</sup> ibid, p.31.

<sup>11</sup> Hair, P.E.H. [Ed], Arts Letters Society: A Miscellany, Liverpool University Press, 1996, p. 239.

Until 1887 women students in total occasionally out-numbered their male colleagues, but this was unusual; throughout the period 1883 to 1937, apart from a brief period in 1907, men students consistently out-numbered women students. During the inter-war years the numbers of women students fell markedly. From 1923 to 1927 there were 588 first-year women undergraduates: by the period 1933 to 1937, their number had declined to 487.

With regard to the social class of women students attending the University during the half-century of this survey, the evidence indicates that this changed. An evaluation of the status of the parents of women students makes it apparent that after 1903 the University followed the trend which was evident at other civic universities with reference to the clientele it was attracting. In her study Gibert states:

The civic universities differed from older institutions not only in their organisation, but also in their clientele. Though biographical data on Civic University students are extremely scanty, it is possible to draw some conclusions and comparisons which suggest that Civic University students differed from Oxbridge and London students in their social and economic origins. An analysis of the few surviving records which listed students' fathers' occupations suggests that the civic universities were less likely than Oxbridge or London to draw students from the upper or professional classes, and correspondingly more likely to attract women whose backgrounds were in less prosperous and prestigious social groups.<sup>12</sup>

In her thesis Gibert compared the social class of women attending civic universities and those who attended the more prestigious women's colleges. For this comparison Gibert used the research which had been undertaken by Howarth and Curthoys.<sup>13</sup> The result of Gibert's work clearly revealed that women attending civic universities came from lower social classes than their colleagues at Oxbridge and London. She consulted student registers belonging to the Universities of Birmingham, Bristol and Manchester. In order to classify the occupations of fathers, a model similar to that used by Sanderson was

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<sup>12</sup> Gibert, J. S. 1994, *op.cit.*, p. 407

<sup>13</sup> Howarth J & Curthoys M, 'The Political Economy of Women's Higher Education in late 19th and early 20th Century Britain', *Historical Research*, 60, 1987, p208-231.

followed.<sup>14</sup> As discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, the models used by Gibert and Sanderson are different, albeit ever so slightly. To obtain continuity and to enable a comparison with Gibert’s survey, the survey of the occupations of the parents of women students at Liverpool has also followed Gibert’s model. Unlike Gibert’s survey, however, the assessment includes those women students who indicated their mothers or themselves as being next of kin, and working mothers are also included in the statistics. In addition, it also includes those fathers who were retired, invalid or unemployed.<sup>15</sup>

**Status of Parents of Women Students**

<b>Status</b>	<b>1883 - 7</b>	<b>1903 - 7</b>	<b>1923 - 7</b>	<b>1933 - 7</b>
Professional	97 (35.3%)	153 (31.6%)	168 (28.5%)	147 (30.2%)
Semi-Professional	12 (4.4%)	97 (20.05%)	182 (31%)	118 (24.2%)
Manufacturers/ Merchants	99 (36%)	53 (11%)	65 (11.1%)	55 (11.3%)
Trades/Special Skill	7 (2.5%)	64 (13.2%)	94 (16%)	63 (13%)
Working class	0	20 (4.1%)	42 (7.1%)	23 (4.7%)
Invalid				
Unemployed	0	0	0	2 (0.4%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>215 (78.2%)</b>	<b>387 (79.95%)</b>	<b>551(93.7%)</b>	<b>408 (83.8%)</b>
Number in Sample	275	484	588	487
Not Known	60 (21.8%)	97 (20.05%)	37 (6.3%)	79 (16.2%)

This evidence indicates that the social composition of women students changed over time. Gibert’s claim that civic universities attracted a different clientele than the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London is true of Liverpool after 1903. To this extent, therefore, Liverpool followed the trend which was evident at other civic universities. But, as the evidence shows, during the period 1883 to 1887 University College Liverpool attracted a

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<sup>14</sup> Sanderson M. *op cit* pp 98, 99.

significant number of women students from the professional upper class. This fact is confirmed by an article which appeared in a local newspaper in 1882 which stated: ‘...nearly all the female students belonged to the higher ranks of society.’<sup>16</sup> In fact, they were second in number only to those women from the merchant and manufacturing class. The fact that 99 out of the known total of women came from the commercial class does leave open to question Pederson’s statement that: ‘One is left with the distinct impression that only professional men were interested in better educating their daughters, and that commercial men positively preferred their daughters ignorant.’<sup>17</sup> It should be noted that Liverpool was a centre for trade and commerce, that commercial classes were dominant, and that they had a high regard for education as a means of self-improvement. Kelly confirms this fact when he states:

During the closing decades of the eighteenth century, Roscoe and a circle of like-minded friends -liberal and reformist in politics, Quaker or Unitarian for the most part in religion - formed the spearhead of Liverpool’s cultural advance, taking the leading role in every kind of literary, artistic, and scientific activity.<sup>18</sup>

During the 1883 to 1887 period, a significant number of these early women students had fathers who had been actively involved in the founding of the College. These included members of the Rathbone, Beard, Campbell-Brown, Jones, Melly, Muspratt, Bright and Holt families.<sup>19</sup> Many mothers of women students were actively involved in the philanthropic and educational arenas within Liverpool society. For example, Mrs William Rathbone [nee Emily Acheson Lyle of Dublin], whose daughter Eleanor attended the College from 1887 to 1888 before going to Oxford was, according to obituary notices:

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<sup>15</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>16</sup> The Liverpool Daily Post, May, 1882.

<sup>17</sup> Pederson, J. S, The Reform of Secondary and Higher Education In Victorian England, Garland Publishing Inc, 1987, p78.

<sup>18</sup> Kelly, T op cit, p20.

<sup>19</sup> Student Register 1881-1894.

...closely involved with her husband in setting up the Queen Victoria District Nursing Association of which she was the Superintendent. She was a liberal and suffragist and took a keen interest in the work of her daughter Eleanor - the first and only lady member of the City Council.<sup>20</sup>

Mrs J. Hope-Simpson [nee Margaret Swan of Birmingham], whose husband was the Manager of the Bank of Liverpool, held a place on the Ladies Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association.<sup>21</sup> Her daughter Elizabeth attended the College from 1886 to 1887. Mrs Meade-King [nee Marion Higgin] was the wife of Henry Meade-King, a trading merchant and, according to the Liverpool Legion of Honour, was; 'an active member of the female Liberation movement and on the Committee of the Liverpool School of Cookery'.<sup>22</sup> Miss Meade-King was a student from 1886 to 1889. Finally, Mrs T. D. Easton, the wife of Thomas Easton, a sugar refiner, was a School Manager.<sup>23</sup> Miss Easton was a student from 1883 to 1884. This information suggests that such parents actively supported higher education for women and, therefore, encouraged their daughters' attendance at the College.

From the survey of the status of parents, it is evident that during the years under scrutiny the number of women students whose mothers were themselves in paid employment increased as the years progressed. As far as can be ascertained, in the period 1883 to 1887, only two mothers were in paid employment. One of these was the mother of Elizabeth Beckett, one of the first four women students from Liverpool to qualify with a degree from the Victoria University in 1888. From the evidence obtained from Mrs

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<sup>20</sup> Worthies of Liverpool, Microfilm Unit, 330q.

<sup>21</sup> Liverpool Legion of Honour.

<sup>22</sup> ibid, p498.

<sup>23</sup> Jennings, List of School Managers.



Elizabeth Marion Smith, who was the daughter of Elizabeth Beckett [later Mrs Kerr], it would appear that Elizabeth Beckett's mother was:

Headmistress of a Private School in Liverpool - Windsor High School, 264 Upper Parliament Street. She started the school when she became a widow. The school later transferred to Wavertree where it flourished under my Aunt Miss Mary Beckett, who become its second headmistress.<sup>24</sup>

The other working mother was Mrs Birt, whose two daughters Ethel and Lilian were students from 1883 to 1884. In an interview with Mrs Birt in 1896, Tooley reported:

Mrs Birt comes of a Scottish family. It is about twenty years since she started the Sheltering Home and previous to that, she helped her sister Miss Macpherson, whose emigration work is so well known ... Mrs Birt, having lost her husband, and being desirous of settling in a definite sphere of activity, conceived the idea that Liverpool was the place for establishing an Emigration home for destitute children ...<sup>25</sup>

It is noticeable that this article comments on Mrs Birt being: 'desirous of settling on a definite sphere of activity'; perhaps Mrs Birt was a woman of wealth who had no need to earn a living and was in fact interested in philanthropic work. By the years 1903 to 1907, the numbers of mothers in paid employment had risen to eleven. They stated their employment thus: five teachers, two grocers, one certified teacher, one housekeeper, one stationer and one confectioner. In 1923 to 1927, 17 were employed: eight teachers, two dressmakers, one nurse, one property owner, one doctor, one sub-postmistress, one manageress, one shop-keeper and one handicraft worker. By 1933 to 1937, 19 were in paid occupations: eight teachers, three principals of schools, two shop manageresses, two laundry proprietors, two companion house-keepers, one florist and one health visitor. It could be argued that property ownership and laundry proprietor are not technically employment, but they are businesses. From this evidence, the dominant occupation for working mothers was teaching; nevertheless, it is clear that over time the range of occupations for women had widened.

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<sup>24</sup> Return from Questionnaire.

<sup>25</sup> Tooley, S. A. op cit, p171.

With regard to the status of the parents of women students at Liverpool it is clear that the professional upper class remained consistent throughout the years observed. In fact, during the 1933 to 7 period when the number of women entering the university fell, the number from this class actually rose. One reason to account for this rise may have been that parents decided to send their daughters to a local university instead of one further away from home in an attempt to reduce the cost of a higher education. The period 1903 to 7 was the one which revealed the most changes in terms of the status of parents. The professional upper class declined slightly, whereas the number from the semi-professional group rose sharply. The number from the merchant and manufacturing class declined and then remained at the same percentage, more or less, throughout the remaining time period. The numbers in both the trades/special skill and the working classes rose until the 1933 to 7 period and then declined. Both, it would appear, were affected by the changing economic circumstances which were evident at that time.

Another important indicator of class and educational level is provided by data on the previous education of women students and their age of admission. During the course of her research Gibert considered the educational background of women students and stated:

In general, civic university women were educated at local publicly funded secondary institutions. Most came to University from grammar, higher grade and high schools. A significant proportion ( approximately 20% ) came from State supported Pupil Teacher Centres which catered primarily to the lower middle-class students. Few were educated at boarding schools or by private tutors at home.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Gibert J, Thesis, 1998, p98.

She also discusses the problems which are encountered when attempting to categorise girls' schools and states: ' It is possible, however, to establish that few civic university students attended the academically and socially elite schools which produced Oxbridge students.'<sup>27</sup> To test this statement, an examination of Howarth's survey of schools which sent students regularly to the Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges was carried out in relation to women students who had attended Liverpool.<sup>28</sup>

**Academically Elite Schools**

	1903-7	1923-7	1933-7	Total
Bedford High School	0	1	0	1
Belvedere High School (GPDST)	8	28	14	50
Birkenhead High School (GPDST)	3	4	14	21
Bolton High School	1	0	0	1
Bradford Girls Grammar School	0	0	1	1
Cheltenham Ladies' College	8	1	11	20
Christ's Hospital, Hertford	1	0	0	1
Edgbaston High School	0	0	1	1
East Liverpool High School (GPDST) <sup>29</sup>	6	0	0	6
Harrogate College	0	3	1	4
Howell's school, Denbigh	0	5	9	14
King Edward VI, Birmingham	0	1	1	2
Liverpool College, Huyton	3	5	15	23
Manchester High School	0	2	4	6
North London Collegiate	0	1	0	1
Orme Girls' School, Newcastle.	1	2	0	3
Polam Hall, Darlington	0	2	0	2
Roedean School	0	1	0	1
Sheffield High School (GPDST)	0	0	2	2
St Leonard's St Andrew's	5	2	3	10
St Paul's, London	0	3	0	3
St Winifred's, Eastbourne	2	0	0	2
The Mount School, York	3	2	0	5
Total	42 (8.67%)	63 (10.71%)	76(15.6%)	
Sample	484	588	487	

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, p99.

<sup>28</sup> Howarth J. op.cit. pp70,71

<sup>29</sup> Opened 1880, renamed the Belvedere School in 1912. Ref, Kamm J, Indicative Past, George Allen& Unwin, London, 1971, p72.

The results clearly showed that only a small percentage of women students had attended schools which were identified by Howarth as being the schools from which a high percentage of women had come prior to entering Oxford. However, the number of women entering the university from those schools did increase over time in both real and percentage terms, as shown in the table above. The majority came from local schools, the largest number being from Belvedere High School, Liverpool, Birkenhead High School, (GPDST), Wirral and Liverpool College, Huyton. The exception to this was Cheltenham Ladies College: 20 women students over the years observed had attended the college before entering Liverpool. Mrs Margaret Simey, in Chapter Four of this thesis, comments upon the nature of these schools and the great influence they had upon the students who attended them. With regard to these schools the following table indicates the various courses of study which were taken by women from the four schools previously referred to. The table clearly shows that the most popular degree course was the BA, though a significant proportion of women from Belvedere High School and Liverpool College Huyton read for medical degrees. The Certificate in Social Science also attracted women from all four schools.

**The courses of study taken by women who had previously attended academically elite schools**

	Belvedere School <sup>30</sup>	High Birkenhead GPDST	Liverpool College, Huyton	Cheltenham Ladies College
BA	9	4	4	3
BA Hons	9	3	2	1
B Arch	1	0	1	0
Dip Arch	0	0	1	1
Dip Education	1 <sup>31</sup>	0	0	0
Cert Education	1	0	0	0
Cert Social Sci	5 <sup>32</sup>	1	3	2 <sup>33</sup>
BVSc	1	0	0	0
MB.ChB	8 <sup>34</sup>	0	7	3
LLB	2	0	1 (LLB Hons)	0
BSc	5	3	1	0
BSc Hons	0	0	1	0
LDS	1	1	0	0
London Conjoint	0	1	0	0
BM.BS.	0	0	0	1
Transfers	1	0	0	1
Withdrawals	12	9	2	8
Total	56	21	23	20

<sup>30</sup> Includes the 1903 East Liverpool High School Figures.

<sup>31</sup> A postgraduate student who had graduated with a BSc from the University of London.

<sup>32</sup> One student was a postgraduate from Oxford with Honours in English Language and Literature.

<sup>33</sup> One student was a postgraduate from Oxford.

<sup>34</sup> One student had attended Newnham College Cambridge, entering Liverpool with a Natural Science Tripos.

From a study of those women who withdrew, it is interesting to note that had they completed their chosen courses the degrees awarded would have been as shown in the table below.

**The degrees which would have been awarded if withdrawal had not taken place.**

	Belvedere High School GPDST	Birkenhead High School GPDST	Liverpool College, Huyton	Cheltenham Ladies College
BA	6	5	0	5
B Arch	1	0	1	1
MB. ChB	4	0	1	1
BSc	1	3	0	0
Cert Social Sci	0	1	0	0
Dip Arch	0	0	0	1
Total	12	9	2	8

The table below provides an indication of the various schools which were attended by women students before their admission to Liverpool. A full list of these schools can be found in Appendix 2.

**Previous schools attended by Liverpool women students**

	1903-7	1923-7	1933-7
1. Public, Independent, GPDST, Boarding Schools	68	97	104
2. High and Grammar Schools	106	245	227
3. Higher Grade, Council Secondary Schools, Technical Schools	35	133	71
4. Pupil Teacher Colleges	141	0	0
5. Private Schools, Study Abroad, private tuition	52	54	39
6. Universities	36	2	4
Total	438	531	445
Number in Sample	484	588	487
Not Known	46	57	42

The research on the schools attended by women before their admission to Liverpool clearly supported Gibert's view that the majority of women who attended civic universities

were educated locally at publicly funded grammar, higher grade and high schools; and that a significant proportion, as the data shows, came from pupil-teacher centres during the 1903 to 1907 period. From the evidence contained in the Day Student Address Books for 1883 to 1887 it appears that only 14 women attended schools at all: four attended Bedford College London, three Grove Street, two Blackburne House, two Belvedere High School, one Cloughton College, Birkenhead, one Tranmere High School and one Cambridge House. The majority of students, therefore, were probably educated at smaller private schools or at home. After this period, the evidence indicates that an increasing number of women students had attended schools before entering the University. In the period 1903 to 1907, 122 women who registered during those years had previously attended Pupil-Teacher Colleges. This evidence is confirmed by Muir, who stated in 1907: ‘They come principally from middle-class schools, and a large proportion of them have been previously at the elementary schools. There is a large group from the Pupil Teachers’ Colleges, especially the City College at Clarence Street ...’<sup>35</sup> By the years 1923 to 1927 the number of women from Pupil Teacher Colleges had dropped to zero because such colleges had ceased to exist. The highest number of women students entering the University came from grammar schools, and the second highest from secondary schools.

There is no evidence in the Day Student Address Books to indicate the age of women students during the years 1883 to 1887, but there are indications that some of them were attending the College in preparation for the Cambridge Higher Local Examinations, which could be taken at any age. As the figures below indicate, during the 1903 to 1907 period most women were found to be in the age range 21 to 30. By the 1920s the majority of women were entering the University directly from school.

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<sup>35</sup> Muir, R., op.cit. p13.

### Age of Admission

AGE	1903 - 7	1923 - 7	1933 - 7
14 - 16	2	3	5
17	17	34	65
18	75	230	174
19	101	196	152
20	87	54	32
21 - 30	149	34	35
31 - 40	10	6	9
41 - 50	3	3	2
51 - 55	2	0	0
Total	446	560	474
Number in Sample	484	588	487
Not Known	38	28	13

This change in the student body was recognised in the new regulations which were drawn up when Liverpool became a university in its own right in 1903. In 1907 Muir commented:

Up to 1903 students were allowed to count a year's work for the matriculation examination towards the three years required for the degree, and the classes provided for this purpose, in which the work was practical school work, were amongst the largest in the College. This system had been permitted and, indeed required, by the regulations of the Victoria University, of which Liverpool was a part. But when that University was dissolved a clause was inserted in the Charter of all the new Universities forbidding them to allow pre-matriculation work to count towards the degree, and allowing for a period of transition to enable the new regulation to be brought into operation. At the earliest possible date - earlier than its sister Universities - Liverpool ceased to provide courses for students preparing for matriculation, thus bringing to an end all school work within the walls of the University. Manchester still provides such courses, and though, of course, they are not counted towards the degree, they are very numerous and attended. If, therefore, Liverpool had continued to do school work - if she had not proclaimed that, whatever the condition of secondary education, she would make no preparation for the training of students for the matriculation - it is fair to assume that the number of her students would by this time have been much larger ...<sup>36</sup>

In addition to forbidding the entry of would-be degree students until they had matriculated, the University then began to tighten up regulations with reference to the length of time a student was to be allowed to study. This subject is highlighted in the

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<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 9,10.



Vice-Chancellor's Letter-Books. In 1905 in a letter to Alderman Bowring he described an interesting case of a student who attempted to evade these regulations:

You asked me to give you as a member of University Council, a statement relating to Miss Broadhurst's case. Ordinance V1.3 Calendar P3 - when a period of study of a student or undergraduate has extended over seven sessions no further course of study may be entered upon, unless an application to extend the period of study shall have received the approval of Senate. For purposes of this clause any session during which a student has been in attendance upon courses in the University College shall reckon as part of the seven sessions.

Miss Broadhurst has been a student for more than 7 sessions; a record in my hand shows 13 sessions, and I believe it might be carried further. It is clear that she was subject to the provisions of the ordinance which come into force in 1904. At first Miss Broadhurst tried to evade making an application to be allowed to continue her course of study; then under pressure she applied. The Senate on Nov.9<sup>th</sup>,1904 decided by an almost unanimous vote - application should not be granted.

This decision came before the council on 6th December 1904. At a subsequent meeting of Council - I cannot give the date - having heard that Miss Broadhurst had called upon individual members of Council [Mr Crosfield and Mr Snape] I made a statement explaining what had occurred. Again no motion occurred. On 23rd June 1905 Senate decided that the resolution of 9th November 1904 included class libraries and that an individual Professor could not admit a person who Senate had excluded. This minute came before Council on 24th July 1905 - again no motion was made. Senate has acted on powers definitely given to them by an ordinance which was passed with the express intention of enabling them to deal with cases of this kind.<sup>37</sup>

By 1904, therefore, pre-matriculation was no longer allowed to take place within the University; all degree students had to have matriculated prior to their admission, which would account for almost all students entering the University being over 16 years of age. In the period 1903 to 1907 the largest cohort of students was aged 21 to 30 years, indicating perhaps that these women had been pupil teachers; after this period most entered aged 18 years. The number of students aged 21 and over also declined as the years progressed. In 1903 to 1907 they numbered 164; in 1923 to 1927 the number had fallen to 43; but by the period 1933 to 1937 there was a slight increase to 46. Interestingly, the mature students who entered Liverpool during the 1920s and 1930s had, in many cases, already graduated with degrees and intended to gain educational

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<sup>37</sup> Vice-Chancellor's Letter Book, 3 July 1905 - 29th May 1906, Ref. ULA, S329, p387,388,389.

qualifications in social science which would enable them to further their careers in social work.

In addition to this, the University began to attract women who did not reside within its immediate vicinity.

### The Residences of Women Attending The University of Liverpool

	Parental Home	University Hall	Edge Hill	Mount Pleasant	Other
1883 - 87	270 [98]%	0 [ 0 ]%	0 [ 0]%	0 [ 0]%	5 [02]%
1903 - 07	324 [67]%	45 [ 09]%	84 [17]%	13 [03]%	16 [04]%
1923 - 27	353 [60]%	117 [ 20]%	18 [03]%	58 [10]%	42 [07]%
1933 - 37	331 [68]%	86 [18]%	0 [ 0]%	34 [07]%	36 [07]%

The evidence clearly indicates that the majority of women students during the period 1883 to 1887 lived within the parental home and attended the College as day students. One student was in lodgings at the Governess Institute, and one, Miss H. Schmeddito resided in the home of her employer, who was Alfred Holt, a wealthy shipowner. According to the Address Books Miss Schmeddito was employed as a companion to Alfred Holt's daughter Jane and she accompanied Miss Holt to college.<sup>38</sup> Two women students were themselves principals of schools in Liverpool and Birkenhead.<sup>39</sup> Five women students were married. They included Mrs Conway, the wife of Martin Conway, a Liverpool artist; Mrs Frances Holt, the wife of Alfred Holt; Mrs Sprunt, the wife of David Sprunt, a manager; Mrs Thomas, the wife of John T N Thomas, a merchant; and Mrs Punshon.

<sup>38</sup> Day Student Address Book 1886 - 7 op.cit.

<sup>39</sup> ibid., Miss Alice Lushington, Principal, Pupil Teacher College, Birkenhead.  
Mrs Frances Christian, Ladies School, Bedford Street.

From 1903 onwards, although the majority of women still resided at home, the University was attracting women whose homes were not in its immediate vicinity. As indicated in Chapter Five these women lived either in University Hall, a residence for women which had been founded in 1898, or within the teacher training colleges of Edge Hill or Mount Pleasant. A small number resided in those lodgings which had been approved by the University as being suitable for its students.

From the evidence obtained from questionnaires completed by past students of the University relating to the 1920s and 1930s, it would appear that travelling to the University on a daily basis did not create problems for them. Mrs Elizabeth Smith [nee Kerr - BA Hons 1926] who lived on the Wirral indicated that her journey included: 'a bicycle ride, a tram and ferry boat'.<sup>40</sup> Mrs Florence Huxley [nee Edwards BSc Hons 1931] stated: 'Travelling caused no problems, trains ran every five minutes from Waterloo to Liverpool Exchange Station - fare 7d.'<sup>41</sup> Miss Vera Hughes [BA Hons 1940, Dip.Ed. 1941, MA 1952, PhD 1989] indicated: 'I was very fortunate in being able to travel by train. Dependants of railwaymen had the privilege of reduced fares'.<sup>42</sup> Miss Leta Jones, who originally attended the University as a General Student preparing for admission to Newnham College, travelled from her home in Wrexham, North Wales. Upon the subject of travel, Miss Jones said:

I caught a train at 7 o'clock in the morning, all the vets were going in with Share-Jones [Professor]. I knew some of them but I was so shy, I used to get on the train when they weren't there, they were all laughing and talking. My Father said "I was going to buy you a first class ticket so that you could work on the train, but you've become a little snob in Cheltenham [Miss Jones' previous school] and you've got to learn to live and move with people." He then said "I've bought you a third class ticket and I want you to promise me that you will speak to a stranger every day". That is not a thing you would

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<sup>40</sup> Return from Questionnaire.

<sup>41</sup> ibid.

<sup>42</sup> ibid.

tell a child today. I used to invent, at seventeen, such stories, in one I said I had six children! I had a lot of fun and it has stood me in tremendous stead. I've been able to talk to people ever since.<sup>43</sup>

Clearly Miss Jones enjoyed the experience of travel, and it did bring her into contact with a variety of people from across the social spectrum. Such contact must have benefited her in her postgraduate life as a social worker.

Although improved public transport enabled women to attend the University on a daily basis, evidence does suggest that other factors encouraged women who were within the geographical location of the University to attend there and not a University away from their homes. Mrs Victoria de Courtheil Creighton Ducker [nee Tillemant-Thomason ] who read for the degree of BV.Sc. in 1935, indicates there was: 'No need, London was off - I loathed the city life, Edinburgh was too far to travel although I saw much of my practice in Dundee ...'<sup>44</sup> Mrs Una Barrett-Lennard [nee Burn Dip. Soc.Science 1934] chose to attend: 'Because Liverpool offered the best Social Science and Public Administration course available, i.e. it was a fairly new subject, most people thought it was Domestic Science'.<sup>45</sup> Mrs Edith Metford [nee Donald BA Hons 1938, Dip.Ed. 1939] also attended Liverpool because: 'It was the best for my subjects'<sup>46</sup> Miss Josephine Fitz-Patrick [BA Hons 1928, Cert.Ed.1929] stated: 'Liverpool University had a good reputation - one of the latest of the so-called 'red-brick' Universities and I preferred to be at home'.<sup>47</sup> Mrs Gladys Nainby [nee Macketing BA 1932] did contemplate entering a University away from home, but indicated that she was:

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<sup>43</sup> ibid.

<sup>44</sup> ibid.

<sup>45</sup> ibid.

<sup>46</sup> ibid.

<sup>47</sup> ibid.

...perfectly happy at home. I had friends from school and Liverpool University had an excellent reputation. Liverpool itself had much to offer - libraries, museums, art galleries, music and drama. It was also a good centre for walking holidays in North Wales, the Lake District and in Derbyshire and Yorkshire'.<sup>48</sup>

From these statements it is clear that the courses of study and the good reputation of the University were determining factors which encouraged women from the locality to attend their local University. One student, Mrs Ellis, stated

I didn't want to go to University: I couldn't be bothered, and I argued solidly with my father for a whole year and then I thought "Oh blow it, I'll go to the University". All I wanted to do was have a good time, it didn't occur to be to make any special efforts to get a good degree, because I had no intention of teaching at all. So having lost the argument about ballet, I went up to Liverpool, father wanted me to go to Somerville, but I said "No, it's a waste of money", so I didn't go, and I must say, that all I was set on was having a good time, and I had a very good time.<sup>49</sup>

In other cases the increased cost of a University education far away from home was an important consideration. Mrs Joyce M. K. Morgan [nee Melhuish BSc 1935, Dip.Ed.1936] indicates: 'I was accepted at Birmingham and offered a place at Newnham but, without scholarships or grants and four younger members of the family, it was not possible to stay at school for another year in order to try and collect them'.<sup>50</sup> Mrs Elizabeth Hall [nee Colquhoun BA Hons 1940] likewise stated: 'I was offered St. Hilda's, Oxford, I did not take it up for financial reasons - there were not the grants available then that there are today'.<sup>51</sup> Miss Constance E.M. Miller [BA Hons 1930, Dip.Ed.1931] indicates that she also considered entering a University away from home, but was prevented from doing so because of: 'Financial problems, a time of great depression - no grants available'.<sup>52</sup> Miss Noreen Bennett-Jones [BA Hons 1931, MA 1934] stated: 'My parents had to work hard to pay for their children's' education. Two

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<sup>48</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Messenger, S., Taped interview with Mrs Ellis.

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *ibid.*

children had reduced fees because father was a lecturer'.<sup>53</sup> Miss Leta Jones who, as previously indicated, attended the University as a general student while preparing to take the entrance examination for Newnham College, had this to say about her interview at Cambridge:

My Presbyterian soul was shocked to be interviewed at ten o'clock on a Sunday night. The totally deaf tutor, Miss Ellis, insisted my name was not Jones and that I had kept her waiting for over four hours. We crossed swords; I had never used the measuring instruments she spoke of, essential to the study of Geography. Next morning I was given a load of rusty chains for a survey but I could not get my tight-lipped competitors to tell me what to do with them. The written examination on aeroplane routes was another unexplored mystery. The Principal, Miss Strachey, must have known I was a complete flop. She commented on my liking for unfashionable poets - such as Kipling. Despite a relaxed demeanour, body language was on full throttle, as her hands were flexed as claws. I was told I was too young, and that I should try for entrance next year. I knew then what I wanted; not the boredom of physical geography but the mind-widening lectures from geomorphology to politics which were available at Liverpool.

On her return from her disastrous interview, Miss Jones approached Professor Roxby to enquire about admission into the School of Geography. According to Miss Jones, the Professor replied: '...Miss Jones, it's one thing getting into Cambridge but you'll find it more difficult to get into Liverpool'.<sup>54</sup> Miss Jones indicated that the Professor had 36 applicants for admission but he only accepted nine of them and that he would never take anyone who would fail.

From the evidence provided so far, it is clear that the majority of Liverpool's women students resided within the parental home. The factors to account for this have been indicated: it is apparent that the financial cost of a University education away from home was too high for many parents, and even where this was not an issue, many parents preferred their daughters to remain at home. In fact, the cost of a University education,

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<sup>53</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> Taped interview with Miss Jones.

even at home, often proved to be beyond the financial means of some parents, a fact confirmed by the Vice-Chancellor in 1907, when he reported:

The applications for help from the Special Fund reserved for the aid of poor students were far more numerous than in any previous year. In some cases they come from children of parents earning less than 30s. per week, who are willing at any cost to secure for their sons and daughters the education that had been denied to them. No help, however generous, could do away with the necessity of sacrifice; but they were ready to face the struggle and do their part. No grant from the fund is made without a personal interview at which it is possible to learn much more about the character and circumstances of the applicants than could be learnt from correspondence. The expenditure of time and thought that this method entails is amply repaid. A few persons seek help to which they are not entitled, but in most cases the need is genuine.<sup>55</sup>

Muir, in the same year, stated:

A large majority of students are comparatively poor men and women, who would not have been able to bear the cost of a University education but for the foundation of the University of Liverpool ... Students whose parents have small means often experience considerable difficulty in bearing the burden of University courses. The University of Liverpool has only a number of endowed scholarships to aid them; it is very ill supplied in comparison with the Scottish Universities. The most valuable scholarships are those awarded by the City Council. Every holder of these Scholarships, besides receiving a grant from the City, is admitted to courses in the University without fee. But, after all, scholarships are competitive, and the winners are not always those who stand in most need of aid. Hence an immense boon has been conferred upon poor students by the provision under which at least £1000 per annum has been set aside for grants in aid to deserving students whose parents are rate payers. These grants are administered with the utmost care, and no student is eligible for them who has not proved his competence. But, without their aid many a good student would have lost the chance of a University education, or only attained it with severe hardship.<sup>56</sup>

From 1903 onwards, as the evidence regarding the status of the parents of women students indicates increasing numbers of parents were willing to allow their daughters to enter higher education. This had not always been the situation. In the 1860s, when higher education for women became a subject for debate, parents were concerned about the effect such an education would have upon their daughters' health and marriage prospects. Society in general was divided upon the subject. By 1903, however, parents were beginning to accept the prospect of their daughters entering higher education, and by the 1920s more parents fully expected their daughters to do so. For example, the attitudes of

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<sup>55</sup> The University of Liverpool Annual Report, 1907, p5.

<sup>56</sup> Muir, R, op. cit., p13.

parents towards the admission of their daughters was recollected by Miss E. A. Buller, a Warden of University Hall from 1931 to 1942, as follows:

Freshers arrived with their parents - how enlightening that first interview was - not so much about the student, for her relation and reaction to her parents and life in general was gradually revealed as the year wore on, but the parents gave the hint of many things to come. Sometimes my visitors appeared as three friends all having granted freedom to one another and in particular to the daughter, whose plunge into a new world delighted them and one knew at once that the daughter would return eager to share with them her new life and interests. In these most happy interviews the daughter rightly did the talking. At other times it was the mother who dominated the situation; saying "Of course my daughter will do this and that and my husband agrees with me, and we hope she will remain loyal to her home and not be too grand now she is at the University". Or the father who had both mother and daughter on a lead and was glad that his daughter should have the opportunities he had never had, and that naturally she was reading science, because that was what he had always wanted to do, etc. There were many good and bad reasons which appeared to have determined the course the student was to pursue, but none quite so disastrous as fulfilling fathers' frustrated wish.<sup>57</sup>

Miss Buller was of the opinion that there were three distinct types of parents. First, there were those who supported their daughters and presumably left the choice of degree course and eventual occupation up to them. Second, there were the domineering mothers who, although proud of their daughters' entry, were eager to interfere as much as possible; and finally, there were the fathers who were attempting to re-live their lives vicariously through their daughters. The returns from questionnaires give specific evidence of the attitudes of parents, and what actually determined individual students to enter their particular degree courses. Miss Vera Hughes, upon the subject of her parents' attitude, maintains: 'My parents were both pleased and supportive. From my babyhood, my father was determined that I should enjoy as much education as I could take and he could afford. My mother took an interest in what I was doing and I could discuss it with her'. Miss Hughes graduated with a BA[Hons] and indicated: 'English and History were my favourite subjects at school. At the time, 1936 to 1940, there was a glut of History

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<sup>57</sup> Buller, E. A, 'University Hall, 1931 - 1942', University Hall Fiftieth Anniversary, University Hall Association, 1952, p38.



graduates and I was advised to take an English course in preparation for teaching'.<sup>58</sup> Mrs Muriel Matthews stated of her parents: 'They were delighted that I was "good enough" to be accepted'. Mrs Matthews graduated with a BSc, and of her choice of course indicated: 'On interview with my headmaster, he asked what subjects I would study? Did I prefer to a) describe situations in words or b) work out situations by logic. I chose b) and studied Maths and Physics'.<sup>59</sup> Mrs Una Barrett-Lennard graduated in Social Science, and of her choice she said: 'My high school headmistress received the Liverpool University brochure re. Social Science and Public Administration and said it was "just me"'. Of her parents' attitude she stated: 'They were happy to go along with my headmistresses' recommendation for me'.<sup>60</sup> Mrs Elizabeth Hall indicates that her parents were: 'Supportive, they always expected me to go to University'. Mrs Hall graduated with a BA[Hons] in French and said that: 'Interest and ability had determined my course of study'.<sup>61</sup> Mrs Huxley stated: 'My father, I think, was a little envious. My mother at first a little astonished as she was born in 1874 and had a "young ladies" education in a private school, but finished with a year at Merchant Taylors' which opened in 1888'. Mrs Huxley studied for a BSc. and said she had: 'A great liking for Chemistry and Maths. It was exciting to be at the cutting edge of a subject like Chemistry when vitamins etc., were being discovered and investigated'.<sup>62</sup> Mrs E. Stubbs graduated with a BSc in Biology, taking this degree because: 'I found many aspects interesting, for example, heredity, evolution and Darwin'. Of her parents she indicated: 'My father was especially proud of me'.<sup>63</sup> Mrs Kathleen Young, BVSc chose this degree because: 'I was very keen on

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<sup>58</sup> Return from Questionnaire.

<sup>59</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *ibid.*

animals. I wanted to be a farmer really, but my parents thought I should not be able to learn a living as such'. Mrs Young intimated that her parents were: 'Very pleased, rather nervous I expect'.<sup>64</sup> Mrs Nainby, a BA graduate, chose English because she had: 'A love of English literature and somewhat vague literary aspirations'. She also indicated that her parents were: 'Very supportive as they believed in higher education for women and hoped that I might have a profession that gave security and freedom from the goodwill of men! In my father's office, the men were attentive to young women but not to older women'.<sup>65</sup> Miss Fitz-Patrick, BA[Hons] History said: 'My mother was very keen on education for girls. My mother always said girls should be economically independent. My father said to do what we liked'.<sup>66</sup> Mrs Margaret Simey - the first woman to graduate with a degree in Social Science - with reference to her chosen career said:

I entered the University at 18. I studied with the famous Professor Roxby, the leading Geographer, who was born in China of missionary parents. I started out with him because I liked geography. He taught us all about post-war Europe.... Then in the Spring of my first term, I read in the paper about this new course - the study of Society and I never even asked my parents and the poor things, they had to pay; off I went and said "I've come" and they said "Oh, but the course hasn't begun yet" and I said "Never mind here I am". It caused immense trouble - not allowed to change courses. But I was hell-bent on the study of society. It was the first degree ever in Social Science. They were only just inventing training for social work. It was new.<sup>67</sup>

When asked about the attitudes of her parents towards her entering higher education, Mrs Simey stated:

My father assumed that as a woman I would go to University. My mother was well educated for her day - she went to Glasgow Grammar School and was taught French, so as things went she would be an educated woman. She never, never questioned my going to University. She did want me to get married, but, it didn't enter her head that you wouldn't be educated. Being a Scot you see, you had all to be educated, it was your duty to be educated.

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<sup>64</sup> ibid.

<sup>65</sup> ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Taped interview with Mrs Margaret Simey, 8th August 1994.

<sup>67</sup> ibid.

From the evidence obtained from questionnaires, interviews and other sources the main influences on a student's choice of degree were natural ability, the influence of teachers and parents and the realisation of childhood aspirations. By the 1920s onwards, it is clear that a higher education had become acceptable, and many parents encouraged their daughters and, indeed, expected them to take up a paid occupation if they wished to do so. This, in itself, was a change from the late nineteenth century when women on the whole were expected to marry and become economically dependent on men, even if they had received a University education. As the questionnaires have indicated, a number of parents wanted their daughters to be economically independent of men, and many mothers of women students were just as eager as their husbands for their daughters to be educated. The following chapter will discuss further the academic lives of women students at Liverpool.

## Chapter Four

### **The academic careers of university women: the university experience.**

The previous chapter has surveyed the number of women who entered higher education at Liverpool, and has provided an insight into their class background, previous schools and area of residence; the reasons to account for their attending Liverpool; and the attitudes of parents towards their daughters entering higher education. This chapter will consider the functions of the University for female students and examine further the reasons why women entered higher education. A survey will also be made of those women who entered the University of Liverpool intending to read for a degree, but who withdrew before completing their course. The reasons to account for their withdrawal will be discussed. This analysis will also consider the attitudes of women students towards attending mixed classes, as the majority had attended girls' schools prior to their admission. An indication of the number of women who graduated during the years under review, the degree courses which were the most popular and the number who after graduation went on to a further course of study will be discussed. It will be suggested that those women who took degree courses which would in later life enable them to become doctors, dentists, veterinary surgeons and lawyers were from a higher social class than their colleagues who were destined for the teaching profession.

During the years 1883 to 1887 and 1903 to 1907 Liverpool was a multi-purpose institution for female students. It acted as a springboard for women seeking admission to the women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. Miss Edith Mary Baugh attended the

college from 1883 to 1886, and after gaining an external scholarship proceeded to Girton College Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> She passed the Classical Tripos in 1889 and entered the teaching profession.<sup>2</sup> After passing the Cambridge Higher local examinations, Miss Mary Atherton, a student at the College from 1885 to 1887, attended Newnham College and passed Part One of the Mathematical Tripos in 1890.<sup>3</sup> Miss Grace Palethorpe also went to Newnham from Liverpool in 1887, passing both parts of the Classical Tripos in 1891.<sup>4</sup>

During the early years University College Liverpool attracted a significant number of women from wealthy families within Liverpool and the immediate vicinity. They clearly had no need to read for a degree or to seek paid employment, therefore they attended the College to widen their educational horizons. Although such women did not intend to take up paid employment, many of them did enter various spheres of activity within local society. A few examples of such work will now be indicated.

During the period 1883 to 1887, the two daughters [Julia and Nessie] of E. K. Muspratt, a wealthy chemical manufacturer and member of the Council of the University College, were students. Nessie Muspratt married Mr Edgerton Stewart-Brown, who was active in local politics. In 1896, Tooley interviewed Mrs Stewart-Brown and reported:

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<sup>1</sup> University College Council Reports, 1886-7, p.12.

<sup>2</sup> Girton College Register, 1869-1946, Cambridge, 1948, p36. Baugh, Edith Mary: 2<sup>nd</sup> Mistress Jersey High School 1890-94; Assistant Mistress King Edward's School, Birmingham, 1897-1905; and Second Mistress 1905-23? Died 15<sup>th</sup> February, 1926.

<sup>3</sup> Newnham College Register, Vol.1,p.91.

<sup>4</sup> ibid, p. 93.

The next best thing to seeing a lady in her own home is to visit her in the house where she was born, especially when it is such a charming old place as Seaforth Hall. It was here I saw Mrs Edgerton Stewart-Brown during a visit she was paying to her Mother, Mrs Muspratt. The Muspratts are one of the old Liverpool families ..... Mrs Stewart-Brown is a lady for whom the word 'advanced' had no terrors. She has nailed her colours to the mast, and stands by them with intense satisfaction. She attributes her fearlessness to the splendid home-training which she has had. Her father, a staunch Liberal and non-conformist, encouraged his daughters when they were quite girls, to read newspapers and to take an interest in the questions of the day, and impressed upon them never to be ashamed of stating an honest conviction because it is not popular. "I was", she told me "taught never to fear being in a minority if I had conscientious reasons". She studied for some years at the Liverpool College and spoke to me with great appreciation of Professor McCunn's lectures on philosophy and literature. "It is my own regret," she said, "in giving so much time to public work, that I get so little leisure for reading books ...". It is hardly necessary to explain that Mrs Stewart-Brown is a liberal in politics... "It was when my husband was standing for the Town Council. I made my first speech twelve years ago. A vote of thanks was passed to me in a public meeting, and instead of my husband replying for me, I responded myself. That was how I broke the ice..."

"You will excuse the question, I know, Mrs Stewart-Brown, but what have you to say in defence of political and advanced women, to those critics who accuse them of neglecting their homes and their babies?" "I think if those people wish to draw up an indictment against any class of women for this kind of neglect, let them attack the butterfly women. The private lives of our advanced women will bear the utmost scrutiny. But look at the silly women who lead objectless lives. They think there is no harm in idling away the morning, spending all the afternoon in society calls; returning home to dress, and then out again the whole evening. I should say that that was neglect of one's home, decidedly. But if one of our advanced women spends the afternoon at a committee, having a useful object and goes out again for a couple of hours to address a meeting in the evening, our critics at once raise the cry - 'What dreadful neglect of the home'. I advise them to turn their attention to the reformation of those silly, objectless butterfly women. One would really think that the greatest crime was for a woman to try to be useful"..."<sup>5</sup>

From this article it is clear that Mrs Stewart-Brown's father had a significant influence on his daughter's future activities. It is also possible to argue that her attendance at University College not only widened her educational horizons, it also provided her with the opportunity to envision a life which was not confined to the home, and gave her the confidence to play an active role in politics and women's suffrage. It is interesting that she believed that women should be 'useful' in society and that the 'butterfly' woman who spent her time in pursuit of leisure was to be despised.

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<sup>5</sup> Tooley, S. A, *op.cit*,p.173,174.

Miss Emma Holt was also a student at University College, along with her cousins, Misses Jane Holt and Eva and Florence Melly. Only Jane Holt read for a degree and yet all of these women played an active role in society. After graduating, Jane Holt married Professor Herdman, a lecturer in Natural History at the College. Their daughter Catherine Herdman, who was educated at the South Liverpool School for Girls and from there went to Newnham College, had this to say about her mother and her aunts, Emma Holt and Eva Melly:

Above the High Table at University Hall, hang three portraits, and probably every student, during her first meal in Hall gazes up at them and wonders who these women were and why their portraits are there. If she dares to ask one of her seniors, she probably receives an answer something like this: ... "Oh. Those? They are some of our 'founders and benefactors' - the ones the different parts of hall are called after - you know - 'Holt' and 'Melly' and 'Herdman' - but that was a long time ago and they're all dead now"...

I have been asked, as one who knew them all intimately, to bring those portraits to life for the younger generations who never met them. The central figure is Miss Emma Holt, and that is her rightful place, for University Hall was the beloved child of her endeavours and, during the first years of its existence, she guided its career with the gentle hand of a wise parent. She spent her life, with selfless devotion, in the care of her widowed mother, and the assistance in countless ways of her fellow citizens, but, with true humility, she clearly felt, in all her benefactions, that she was privileged to be able to help ... At her right hand [to our left] sits her cousin, Miss Eva Melly, and this portrait is the least satisfactory of the three, for though of course it bears a superficial likeness, it conveys an impression of a kind but rather woolly old lady. Anything less woolly than Miss Melly, with her shrewd common sense, her rather hasty temper, and her gay flashes of wit, it would be hard to imagine ... The Mellys are a family with strong military traditions, and if Eva had been a man, she might well have been a General. Her purposes were clearly defined, her methods swift and direct, and though she did not go out of her way to find trouble, yet, should trouble come, she was a born fighter and not averse to a row ... The third portrait that of my mother - is the most natural of the three ... She was also a cousin of Miss Holt - this time on her father's side - being the daughter of Alfred Holt, the ship-owner - and her genuine thirst for knowledge and her quick clear cut intellect led her to University College as a science student. Physics and Mathematics were her favourite subjects, and in Oliver Lodge's class, she was the best of a keen group of young men and women. She was also really interested in Biology but was unwilling to take this subject because "Professor Herdman was such a horrid man". The Dean, however, insisted upon Biology, but it annoyed her considerably, when she finished the year at the top of the Biology class, and only second in Physics. Worse was to follow, for she married the horrid Professor, and thus ended a very promising academic career ...<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Herdman, C., 'Portraits', University Hall Association Fiftieth Anniversary, University Hall Association, 1955, p.27, 28.

The next chapter shows how instrumental these three women were in the founding of University Hall. After completing her years at Newnham Catherine Herdman returned to Liverpool, where she became an honorary lecturer in Zoology, a life member of the University Council and secretary of the University Hall sub-committee after the death of her mother. Misses Emma Holt, Eva Melly and Florence Melly, along with other women who had been students at University College, became involved in various spheres of activity within Liverpool society. For example, Jennings indicates that from 1874 the Liverpool School Board encouraged ladies to become managers of schools which had been established for working-class children.<sup>7</sup> The Board believed that: 'Ladies were likely to advance the interests of the school' and: 'that the absence of lady managers was a drawback to the efficiency of Managers'.<sup>8</sup> Miss Florence Thorburn, after leaving University College, became a Poor Law Guardian.<sup>9</sup> Hollis believes that the women who entered public spheres of activity came from the wealthy classes in society; they had the support of their families and the education to enable them to be successful. Thus, even though many women during these early years left the college without an educational qualification, clearly their attendance provided them with the confidence to enter public spheres of activity on a voluntary basis.

Women students were also able to study for a Certificate of Proficiency for Women. This fact was commented upon in the 1886 edition of the University College Magazine:

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<sup>7</sup> Jennings, R. H., The Role of School Managers under the Liverpool School Board, 1870 - 1903, M.Ed. Thesis University of Liverpool, 1986, p. 86.

<sup>8</sup> ibid, p. 90.

<sup>9</sup> Hollis, P., Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government 1865 - 1914. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987, p. 216.



As it appears that the Ladies engaged in the profession of teaching and others, have some doubts as to the possibility of their being able to carry out the exigencies of the provisions necessary for a Victoria Degree, it has been thought advisable to call their attention to the existing provisions under which they are enabled, by passing a two years curriculum, to obtain a certificate in proficiency.<sup>10</sup>

In 1891, the University College Council Reports indicated: ‘three women during this period have entered, and with success, for the Certificate of Proficiency for Women granted by the Victoria University upon the examination for BA or BSc degrees’.<sup>11</sup> The three women were Misses Georgina Crosfield (Greek and Modern History), Maria Davies (Italian) and Rachel W Henderson (German, Logic and Philosophy).

During the years 1903-1907 it is apparent that women were still attending the University to widen their educational horizons. In 1907, Muir confirmed this fact when he wrote:

Lastly, the thousand students include a small number of persons taking only two or three courses. Some of these are young men or young women who have had their full school course, but who, while they do not wish to spend the three years required for taking a degree, are anxious to obtain some further culture. Others are cultivated, professional or businessmen, or leisured ladies, who take the advantage of the opportunities which the University affords for widening their intellectual interests.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to widening the educational horizons of wealthy women, Liverpool enabled women to study initially for the degrees of the University of London and the Victoria University and, after 1903 when Liverpool became a University in its own right, for University of Liverpool degrees. By the 1920s, the University was offering a far wider curriculum than in the early periods of 1883 to 1887 and 1903 to 1907, of which women took full advantage. In addition to reading for degrees and diplomas in Arts, Science and Medicine, women were also entering for degrees in Law, Veterinary Science, Dentistry, Commerce, Social Science, Engineering and Architecture. By this period the functions of

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<sup>10</sup> University College Magazine, Ref, ULA, Vol I, 1886, p.230.

<sup>11</sup> University College Council Report, 1891, p.15.

<sup>12</sup> Muir, R, op.cit. p. 12.

the University had changed significantly. It would appear that it was no longer a multipurpose institution which offered women the opportunity to widen their educational horizons, or to progress in significant numbers to the more prestigious colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. Although this facility did remain available to them, by this date women from the wealthy classes were bypassing the University, and entering the women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge directly from their secondary schools. The majority of women attending Liverpool did so to graduate with degrees or to pass diplomas and certificates which would enhance their prospects of paid employment. It would appear that by the 1920s the 'dual market' for education which had been in existence in the earlier years had almost come to an end.

From an examination of those women students who entered the University with the intention of reading for a degree, a number of facts emerge, as the following table shows.

**Women Students**

	No. Entering	No. of Degrees	Difference
1883 - 7	275	16	259
1903 - 7	484	262	222
1923 - 7	588	497	91
1933 - 7	487	388	99

While it is impossible to account fully for the reasons women students did not complete their degrees over the half century, it is clear that during the early years women entered the University for many different purposes. The situation changed in the first half of the twentieth century.

From 1903 onwards, increasing numbers of women entering higher education at Liverpool did so with the intention of reading for a degree. By this date the University was also

attracting pre-registration, general and research students. Pre-registered students entered the University in order to take matriculation examinations which, if they were successful, would enable them to read for a degree. General students attended to read subjects which were of interest to them and not to take a degree; and research students were those who had already graduated either from Liverpool or some other university, and were attending the University to read for higher degrees.

**Women Students 1903-1937**

	1903 - 07	1923 - 7	1933 - 7
Pre-Registered	23	6	7
General	85	61	55
Research	9	11	7

The register of women students for the period 1903 to 1907 included those entered as pre-registration, general and research students. These students were subtracted from the original figure of 484, leaving a total of 367 full-time students for this period. The same practice was also used for the 1920s and the 1930s. Successful graduates were subtracted from the total number of registered students throughout these years. It became apparent that a significant number of women abandoned their studies before completing their degree course, as the following figures indicate:

**Women who withdrew before completing their chosen course of study**

	1903 - 7	1923 - 7	1933 - 7
Registered Students	386	588	487
Graduates	286	483	387
No. of Withdrawals	82	105	100

As the chart below indicates, some of them did pass their intermediate examinations at the end of their first year; and those who failed at the end of their second year obtained certificates to enable them to enter the teaching profession.

**Women who passed some part of their course before withdrawing**

	1903 - 7	1923 - 7	1933 - 7
Withdrawals	82	105	87
Some Qualification	36	40	12
<b>Failure</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>75</b>

Using the withdrawal figures for each of the years under survey from the beginning of the century to the late 1930s, and those which indicate failure in examinations, the following chart provides an indication of the factors which led to the withdrawal of students.

**Reasons for withdrawal for the periods  
1903 to 1907, 1923 to 1927, 1933 to 1937**

Failure in examinations	186
Ill Health	58
Death of a Parent	9
Financial Difficulty	6
Transfer to other University	5
Alternative career choice	3
Left of own accord	3
Expulsion	2
Death	2
<b>Total withdrawals</b>	<b>274</b>

These factors will be considered in turn. The dominant reason for the withdrawal of women students was failure in examinations. In the period 1903 to 1907 eleven women failed at various stages of their degree course; in 1923 to 1927 the number was forty one; and in 1933 to 1937 forty-one. Two women died during their degree courses, and two women who failed their examinations returned to the University to complete them some

years later. Miss Mary Joyce Griffin entered the University in 1926; after failing her intermediate BA she withdrew and returned to the University in 1933, graduating with a BA Honours in General Studies in 1936. Miss Brenda Eileen Sheehan entered the University in 1936, failed her final year BA examination in 1940 and withdrew. In 1957 she re-entered and graduated with a BA in 1958.

When the first women's colleges were founded in the 1860s, the opponents of higher education warned that academic study would result in a breakdown in the mental and physical health of women. The supporters of higher education, while not knowing themselves the effect an academic education would have upon women, went to great lengths to ensure they remained as healthy as possible. Emily Davies and Anne Clough both promoted their respective colleges, Girton and Newnham, as institutions where academic study would stimulate the mind and physical exercise would keep the body healthy. Thus, the health of women entering higher education remained a high priority, and in this the authorities of Liverpool were no different from any other higher education institution. It is important to consider the actions taken by various institutions towards this issue, and to indicate whether ill-health was a dominant factor which led to the withdrawal from academic study.

From a survey of letters sent by Catherine Durning Holt to her parents while she was a student at Newnham College, Cambridge, it becomes evident that the authorities of the college did all in their power to keep their students in good health. In 1889, Catherine wrote: 'I am feeling rather done up, after a bad headache yesterday. Everybody is most kind; Miss Pease filled my hot bottle, and Miss Chamberlain got my supper and Miss B A

Clough offered to do anything under the sun'.<sup>13</sup> In 1890, Mrs Henry Sidgwick produced the results of a survey of the health of women students at Oxford and Cambridge. In her conclusion, she indicated: 'We may, I think, say in confidence that there is nothing in a University Education at all specifically injurious to the constitution of women, or involving any greater strain than they can ordinarily bear without injury'.<sup>14</sup> Despite evidence of this kind, it would appear that some institutions providing higher education for women insisted that their students provided documentary evidence that they were healthy enough to undertake an academic education. Tylecote indicates that the authorities of Owens College were alarmed when: 'Anne Eastwood, a clever and popular student, died of tuberculosis before she completed her degree course'. According to Tylecote, Miss Eastwood's doctor: '... was prepared to see an association between tuberculosis and "over education"'. This opinion was brought into question by a Doctor Cullingworth who '... maintained that women suffered more harm from having nothing to do than they did from overwork'. Despite this opinion, the authorities of the College:

Showed a natural anxiety on the subject and from 1884 until 1903, women students [at first only those taking a degree course, but later all following a "regular course of study"] were required to furnish a written statement from a parent or guardian that "such course of study may be entered upon without the prospect of injury to her health".<sup>15</sup>

Those women who applied for admission to the Day Training College at Liverpool were required to produce a medical document from their doctors. In addition to this, at their interviews with the college staff their appearance was often commented upon. From a survey of women who applied in October 1907, such comments included: 'Looks delicate, Doctor doubtful' and 'Appearance common looking, looks stupid, very ordinary

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<sup>13</sup> Cockburn, E.O, *op.cit*, p.8.

<sup>14</sup> Sidgwick, H, *The Health Statistics of Women Students*, Cambridge University Press, 1890, p. 91.

<sup>15</sup> Tylecote M, *op.cit*, p.31.

elementary type - health - looks strong'.<sup>16</sup> It would appear that Doctor's Certificates were the determining factor which led to a student's admission or refusal; other factors such as academic ability, although important, were secondary to good health. The authorities of the University were concerned about this issue. The daughter of Miss Elizabeth Beckett, who was one of the first women to graduate with a Victoria BA from University College Liverpool in 1888, made the following comment about her mother's health: 'Elizabeth Beckett suffered from asthma. Sympathetic support from University authorities in allowing her, it is believed, to sit some of her examinations at home, when suffering from an asthma attack'.<sup>17</sup> In 1897 Tooley, in an interview with Mrs Rendall, the wife of Principal Rendall, reported:

One of the old pupils had told me that she considered that women students had exercised a most beneficent influence upon the young men by stimulating them to greater industry, and some remarks by the Principal seemed to bear out this statement. He told me that women students distinguished themselves more creditably in the classes and in the examinations; in fact, they are, on the whole, more assiduous workers than the men. Being imbued with a greater spirit of reverence for that august person, the "Professor", they work with almost unnecessary zeal, and frequently to the detriment of their health. "If a young man does not like the subject", explained the Principal, "he will not trouble himself about it, but the women students are more sensitive, they do not like to lose credit with the professors, and often attempt more than they have the physical strength to carry through. I do not, for this reason consider that women are able to endure the strain of University education so well as men".

Tooley accompanied the Principal and his wife to a reception being held by women students. Tooley indicated:

This afforded an excellent opportunity for studying the ladies academic. The two distinguished students, who did the honours of the evening and are among the oldest students of the college, did not present any outward signs of decaying health. In fact, a brighter, fresher looking face than that of the young lady with whom I first shook hands, it would be difficult to find. And as between the intervals of introductions, I wandered amongst the festive crowd, nowhere were there visible the sallow cheeks and sunken eyes which tell of undue burning of midnight oil. The pince-nez was not in frequent use either, and appeared to be affected more by the male students than by the ladies ...<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Students, Dudley W. M. and Stowell E. C, Ref. Educ Lib. DTC/ASW/1907.

<sup>17</sup> Return of Questionnaire completed by Mrs E Smith (nee Kerr).

<sup>18</sup> Tooley, S. A., op.cit., p. 9.

The interview with Mrs Rendall suggests that women did place unnecessary strain upon themselves. The Principal clearly believed this extra effort was to please their professors, but it could be argued that women believed they were in direct competition with their male colleagues and they were determined to succeed in their chosen degree course. The Vice-Chancellor's Letter Books reveal that even those women who were successful in their studies often put their health at risk. In 1902, a letter from the Vice-Chancellor was sent to the Reverend E. T. Carrier, whose daughter Edith was a student at the College, stating:

I was on the point of writing to you to ask if Miss Carrier is taking proper care of herself. Her eyes are not strong - a most serious obstacle to success in Chemistry, but she reads, so I am told, in poor light and though not strong, she is said to cut lunch too often.<sup>19</sup>

Further letters were sent to the father of this student, informing him:

I have no doubt that you are right in your impression that there is nothing fundamentally wrong, but at the same time I am convinced that if your daughter goes on working as she has worked recently, and under the same stress and strain, the end will be a complete collapse of the nervous system. When I last saw her, she could not keep her hands still for five seconds together and twisted her shoulders perpetually. Your remedy of a complete holiday during the coming summer is not only prudent, but essential. I say this after more than twenty years experience of dealing with cases of this kind. As I warned you in December, your daughter does not know how to look after herself and you will have to take care of her.<sup>20</sup>

These letters do suggest that women attending Liverpool were kept under observation for signs of stress that would lead to a breakdown in health. In a study of Westfield College, London, Sondheimer discusses the subject of women students and their health, and she indicates:

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<sup>19</sup> Vice Chancellor's Letter Book, August 1902 - February 1903, Ref. ULA, S2324, p. 326.

<sup>20</sup> ibid., p.377.



Illness, whether of the student or a relative, was an all too frequent cause of withdrawal. Opponents of higher education for women were apt to dwell on the damage it might do to women's health and physique. College authorities, and Miss Maynard [Principal] was certainly no exception, were therefore particularly sensitive on this issue. From such incidental accounts as we have of student illness at Westfield, it seems unlikely that the stress of academic work was in itself the prime cause, although it may well have been an exacerbating factor. One suspects that students who had to leave on health grounds [poor eye sight was often the problem] were already ailing when they arrived, so that if the college was at fault it was for having admitted them in the first place. The same is probably true of the one or two recorded instances of severe mental illness. Against the illness or death of a near relative, no precautions could be taken; at a time when daughters were expected to place 'home duties' above their own interests, the death of a mother could bring a college career to an abrupt end.<sup>21</sup>

At Liverpool, a number of students withdrew on the grounds of ill-health, the dominant illnesses being breakdown, stress and nervous debility. In addition to these, anaemia and chest problems were also indicated. Only one student's parent actually blamed the University for his daughter's breakdown in health. In a letter to the University he wrote:

Owing to the conditions under which these studies are taken [that is having to change about from one place to another and having numerous flights of stairs to climb] has resulted in my daughter having a series of colds which have made a complete breakdown in her health, and her doctor has definitely forbidden her to resume her studies during the present year.<sup>22</sup>

This student entered the University in 1923, intending to read for a degree in Veterinary Science. Apart from this letter, it would appear that Sondheimer was correct when she said that those who withdrew on grounds of ill-health were already ailing before entering higher education, and academic study probably exacerbated these problems. She was also correct when she indicated that the death of a parent could result in the withdrawal of a student. Evidence contained in student dossiers for the years 1923 to 1927 and 1933 to 1937 indicates that at least nine women withdrew because of the death of a parent. Even in the 1930s women were still, it would appear, expected to put home duties before their own interests.

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<sup>21</sup> Sondheimer, J., Castle Adamant: A History of Westfield College 1882 - 1982, Westfield College, University of London, 1983, p. 34.

<sup>22</sup> Student Dossier, Butterworth D., Senate House.

The last six reasons for withdrawal were less common than the above. Five women during the 1920s and 1930s years transferred to other universities and colleges: two went on to the Royal Veterinary College in London, one to the University of London, one to Reading University and one to Newnham.<sup>23</sup> At least five women decided to withdraw of their own accord. Two of these left to be married,<sup>24</sup> two decided to seek paid employment, one with Bon Marche in Liverpool, and the other left a medical degree to take up beauty culture.<sup>25</sup> At least six women suffered from financial difficulties and problems at home. Two women were expelled, one in the period 1903 to 1907 and one in the period 1923 to 1927. In both cases they were found guilty of stealing from their fellow students. A number of women passed the first part of their degrees, only to withdraw soon after. One such student was Miss Marjorie Phillips. Miss Phillips was a medical student, and in a letter to the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, her father stated: 'My daughter Marjorie has decided to give up medicine, she feels she cannot carry on with it. Naturally I am very disappointed'. The Dean, in his letter of reply, stated that he was also disappointed by this decision as: '... there doesn't appear to be any reason for withdrawal'.<sup>26</sup> From this survey of withdrawals, the dominant factor was failure in examinations: whether these failures were related to problems of health, or to family circumstances or simply a lack of academic ability, it is impossible to discover. It is possible that some women discovered that the work involved for a degree was simply too heavy, and this could have been a reason for withdrawal or for failure.

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<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*, Pickering-Jones, Stewart, B. M., Greener A.W., Ludlam E., Hartley A. D.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*, Holroyd S. C., Leece M.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, Phillips A. M., Clark N.

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, Phillips, M.

To test the importance of this factor, questionnaires which were completed by women who were students in the University during the 1920s and 1930s contained the following question : ‘Did you ever feel the pressure from your workload was unreasonable?’. The responses to this question were as follows. Miss Elizabeth Mary Harper, a student in 1937 who graduated M.B.ChB in 1942, stated: ‘ It was hard and required constant application, but it was not unreasonable - there was a lot to be learned’.<sup>27</sup> Mrs Garry-Gibbons, who was also a graduate in Medicine, replied: ‘I would not say the workload was unreasonable, rather that as I had not studied Physics or Chemistry at school as the other girls had, I was struggling to keep up. I also found Anatomy particularly difficult.’<sup>28</sup> Mrs Massey, a Veterinary Science graduate indicated: ‘Not really, I wasn’t a good student and left revising until just before the exams. Any stress was my own fault!’<sup>29</sup> Mrs Jean Talbot Little (nee Byford), a student in 1934 who graduated with a B.Arch. in 1940 wrote:

Yes. Fifth year was traditionally devoted to one’s thesis design, but because our year was considered immature at design we were given many projects in the first term. Although I completed all my written and oral exams I did not present my thesis until the following year. Several others did the same.<sup>30</sup>

The majority of women who responded to the questionnaires, 30 in total, did not feel that their workload was unreasonable, and those who did, were reading for degrees in Medicine, Architecture and Veterinary Science. Of course these respondents were successful graduates: it is entirely possible that those who withdrew because they failed their examinations did find their workload unreasonable.

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<sup>27</sup> Return from Questionnaire.

<sup>28</sup> ibid.

<sup>29</sup> ibid.

<sup>30</sup> ibid.

It is important to remember that for the majority of women who entered the University throughout the years under survey, this was the first time that they had attended lectures with male students, as most had attended all-girls' schools. From the returns of questionnaires completed by women students who attended the University during the 1920s and 1930s, it would appear that women had no difficulty with attending mixed classes. In fact, the evidence suggests that the majority of women enjoyed the experience. When questioned about mixed classes, Mrs K M Young, a Veterinary Science graduate, indicated: 'I had no problems, young daps [young men?] were much better behaved in those days!' When asked to comment about studying in an overwhelmingly male environment, she stated: 'I thought it was a bit of all right! As I said before, boys were much better behaved. Quite meek and mild really'.<sup>31</sup> Mrs Creighton-Ducker, who was also a graduate in Veterinary Science, said that she had no problems taking part in mixed classes, stating: 'The male students were serious, and like we three women students, were there of their own choice, to work whatever the conditions. Our lecturers were most helpful, and wanted us women to succeed'.<sup>32</sup> When asked if she ever felt her views were not taken seriously, because she was a women, Mrs Ducker replied: 'No. We were encouraged to express ourselves if we hung back - but actually, my special companion was a golfer, like I was a tennis player, and we were not shy and could stand up to any of the larkers and use our voices'. When asked for her views about studying in a male environment, she replied: 'No problem, I think we were particularly lucky, and today when I meet students from the mid-1930s, we find each other so easy immediately. The men were never jokey about sex or misshapen parts of the anatomy, just matter of fact - I think we were lucky, and the same people, now in their 80s are just as pleasant and easy talking

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<sup>31</sup> Return from Questionnaire.

<sup>32</sup> ibid.

as I remember them 60 years ago!’ Mrs Rampling, (MBChB 1937), had this to say about mixed classes: ‘I enjoyed this, there were very few women doing medicine at that time, and we all attended the same lectures, demonstrations and so on’. When asked about her views not being taken seriously, she replied: ‘We were rather patronised at times, and I suppose we felt challenged to show that we could do the work as well as the men’.<sup>33</sup> Mrs Garry-Gibbons, also a medical graduate, indicated that she found it difficult to adjust to mixed classes, because: ‘I had attended an all-girls convent, not to mention the fact that I had no brothers, so apart from my father, my household was mainly female. However, I soon settled down to studying in mixed classes’.<sup>34</sup> Mrs Huxley, (BSc Hons 1931)said: ‘I enjoyed it, apart from the fact that the “men” were very young [one only 16] and naive and much more interested in furthering their careers than getting to know girls’. She did believe her views were taken seriously because: ‘On the whole, women were older than the men and on committees it was not difficult to express one’s ideas’. Upon the subject of studying in an overwhelmingly male environment, she said: ‘It didn’t bother us much. This was a time of depression, and no one had any serious thoughts of settling with a partner, but we all enjoyed the few “affairs” that surfaced and the few women [5] in our year endlessly discussed what constituted “it” and one felt it was probably a desirable attribute’.<sup>35</sup> Miss Fitz-Patrick, (BA Hons History1928) indicates: ‘The men were kind, polite, but slightly gauche - women ditto and more shy. The men were most friendly and clapped when we entered the lectures’.<sup>36</sup> MrsHall (BA Hons 1940) when asked about her

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<sup>33</sup> ibid.

<sup>34</sup> ibid.

<sup>35</sup> ibid.

<sup>36</sup> ibid.

reaction to taking part in mixed classes, stated: ‘Why should I react at all? Like everybody else, we took it for granted we should be in mixed classes. Anyway, in my year in French, we had seven women students and one man!’<sup>37</sup> Mrs J M KMorgan (BSc 1935) stated: ‘In 1932, only 26 in first year chemistry - only two women. We were treated exactly equally, and although I and the other woman had been at single sex-schools, we both had brothers and found no difficulty in working with the opposite sex’.<sup>38</sup> Mrs Jean Talbot Little (nee Byford, B Arch 1940) indicated:

I was brought up in a predominantly female background. On leaving school I was chosen as a member of the School Girls tour to the Melbourne Centenary celebrations and so met “mixed company” on board ship and in the families who hosted me. I took “Mixed Classes” as a matter of course. The man whose drawing board was next to mine blushed when I said good morning the first time!<sup>39</sup>

Mrs Kathleen Mary Hodge (nee Lucas, BA1925) indicated that she enjoyed taking part in mixed classes. Upon the subject of studying in an overwhelmingly male environment she stated: ‘That is partly why I went! I was the eldest of three girls, I had been to a girls school only, it was an adventure.’<sup>40</sup> These recollections reveal that women students enjoyed the experience of attending mixed classes. The evidence indicates that they believed their views were taken seriously and there is no suggestion that they felt disadvantaged because of their gender. When considering those women who graduated, the evidence clearly reveals that the majority graduated with Arts degrees.

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<sup>37</sup> ibid.

<sup>38</sup> ibid.

<sup>39</sup> ibid.

<sup>40</sup> ibid.

### Graduates

	1883 - 7	1903 - 7	1923 - 7	1933 - 7
BA	14	209	186	118
BA [Hons]		9	138	82
Certificate - Social Science			15	45
Diploma - Social Science			2	
B.Arch.			2	6
B.Arch. [Hons]			1	2
Dip.Arch			1	3
Certificate - Civic Design				
B. Comm			3	5
B.Comm [Hons]			1	
Dip.Comm.				
BSc.	2	61	49	37
BSc [Hons]	1	5	62	20
MB		1[Lond]	5	18
MBChB		1	4	18
MBChB [Hons]			1	
London Conjoint			1	2
BMBS				13
BMBS [Hons]				1
MCRS.LRCP			1	3
LLM			1	
LDS			5	4
BDS				1
BVS			1	2
MRCVS				3
LLB			4	1
LLB [Hons]				2

### Further Study

	1883 - 7	1903 - 7	1923 - 7	1933 - 7
Diploma Educ.		28	235	130
Certificate Educ.			17	11
MA		26	28	11
MSc		2	12	
Dip.Soc. Studies			3	1
Cert Soc.Studies			7	
PhD			3	1

Although women showed a clear interest in science, (it was indicated earlier in Chapter Three that a significant number of women attended science lectures provided by both University College and the Ladies Educational Association,) it is evident that the number of women who actually graduated with a Science degree was far lower than those

graduating in Arts throughout the years being studied. The most likely explanation for this situation was that in the early years the provision of science teaching at secondary level was not adequate enough to enable women to progress to a science degree course. By the 1920s, however, many schools had introduced science teaching and had installed laboratories to enable practical experience to be obtained. While the number of women reading for science degrees did then increase, there is evidence to indicate that in some cases women were forced to take extra tuition in science subjects. One student who found herself in this situation was Mrs Connie Arregger (nee Richards). Mrs Arregger attended the University in the 1920s; prior to her admission she had attended Blackburne House Girls' School in Liverpool. In her recollections she indicated:

I went to a Girls' School, Blackburne House, Liverpool, where the Science coverage was one years' General Science in the third form followed by Botany, exclusively, in all the senior classes. However, the Mathematics teaching was very good and the maths teacher advised me to take Physics at the University, after I had won a Senior City Scholarship. I had never learned any Chemistry. Luckily, before going to the University, I had met Mr Welch on a holiday in the Isle of Man, and he invited me to go to the physics lab during the vacation where he showed me how to do various elementary experiments which was a great help...<sup>42</sup>

Mrs Arregger became the first woman to graduate with a First Class honours degree in Physics and the first to gain the Oliver Lodge Prize and Fellowship. She was also the first woman at the University to gain an MSc in that subject. From an analysis of those women who were successful in graduating with degrees in science and medicine it would appear that schools such as Belvedere GPDST, Birkenhead High School GPDST, Aigburth Vale High School and Oulton High School were providing a comprehensive science education which allowed women to make progress in science and medicine at degree level. In addition to these high schools, it is evident that as the years progressed, other secondary

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<sup>42</sup> The Recollections of Mrs C Arregger, kindly supplied to me by Dr David Edwards, Oliver Lodge Building, the University of Liverpool.



schools also began to provide a science-based education for their students. By the 1920s and 1930s the improvement in science teaching at secondary level enabled the number of women reading for science and medical degrees to increase. It also becomes apparent that after gaining a first degree, an increasing number of women continued with a further course of study, the most popular being the Diploma in Education. It is interesting to note that 235 women passed the Diploma in Education in the 1923 to 7 period, whereas in the 1933 to 7 period the number had dropped to 130. The fall corresponds with the general fall in the number of women actually entering the University during the 1930s. Morse indicates possible reasons for this situation:

In this period, economic depression and high unemployment, together with fears for the future of Liberal democracy combined to create widespread dissatisfaction with the guardians of liberal culture, including the universities...More detailed study of this period suggests that, while students at the ancient universities became involved with politics, particularly on the Left, those at the civic universities were more profoundly affected by the scarcity of jobs, especially in the teaching profession.<sup>43</sup>

With regard to the cost of a university education, details relating to scholarships and grants will now be discussed. It must be noted that scholarships and grants were awarded for a period not longer than three years, and that they tended to direct women into the teaching profession. Evidence contained in the Vice-Chancellor's Letter Books confirms this fact. In September 1907 Miss Lodge was eligible for the Gilchrist Scholarship, which the Vice-Chancellor indicated: '...is a scholarship for those intending to teach, although from your letter I infer that you are looking for work of another kind'.<sup>44</sup> With reference to the subject of grants, Mrs Hodge (BA 1928), stated: 'I had to sign a declaration that I would teach for five years to get funding for University.'<sup>45</sup> Until 1918 there were no medical scholarships for women, therefore those whose parents were not wealthy were unable to

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<sup>43</sup> Morse E.J. *op cit*, p 195.

<sup>44</sup> Vice-Chancellors Letter Books, March 1907 - February 1908., Ref. ULA, S2331, p. 733.

<sup>45</sup> ibid.

study for a degree in Medicine, even though they had the ambition to do so. In 1903, Miss Nellie Wall entered the University on a scholarship from Liverpool City Council. She graduated with a B.Sc. in 1906. Three years later, she wrote to the Vice-Chancellor to enquire if funds could be provided which would enable her to take a medical course. To this enquiry the Vice-Chancellor replied: 'the prospect is remote, the amount at our disposal is limited'.<sup>46</sup> In 1918, a local newspaper reported:

The fund for raising a memorial to Dr. Mary Birrell Davies has now closed, and the sum of £2,400 handed over to the University of Liverpool. With the income that this will provide it is proposed to establish two open scholarships for women students of £60 each for four years, to be called the Mary Birrell Davies Scholarship. So far there have been no scholarships available for women medical students at Liverpool, and both Sir Alfred Dale, the Vice-Chancellor, and the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine have indicated their gratification of the great help which the Scholarships will furnish. The training for this noble profession is such a long one that many promising students are prevented from entering it for lack of funds; and these two scholarships will provide the much needed assistance in such cases, besides perpetuating the memory of one who rendered self-sacrificing service to her profession.<sup>47</sup>

Miss Mary Birrell Davies was born in Liverpool in 1869. She was educated privately and at the Ladies College in Jersey; she then entered Edinburgh University, taking the diplomas LRCP and LRCS. In the University of Glasgow she gained the LFPS, after which she returned to Liverpool and practised as a doctor until her death.<sup>48</sup> Even though these medical scholarships were founded for women, the majority of women who entered degree courses such as Medicine, Veterinary Science and Law were from a higher social class than their colleagues, who read for degrees to enable them to become teachers. This general finding is confirmed by the evidence from Liverpool. Interestingly, of the women who were reading for medical degrees, ten out of a total of 79 who entered the University during the years 1923 to 1927 and 1933 to 1937 had fathers who were doctors, and one

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<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*, Ref. S2332, p. 759

<sup>47</sup> *Liverpool Courier*, 19th March 1918, Ref, PRO, University News Paper Cuttings 1911935,Hq.09. p1.

<sup>48</sup> Pike, W. T., *Biographical Notices*, Ref. LPR0. Hq 920.1.Pik, p. 205.

student's mother was herself a doctor.<sup>49</sup> It is also interesting to observe the wide range of occupations in which the parents of medical women students were employed.

**Parental occupations of women medical students during the years 1923 to 1927 and 1933 to 1937**

Occupation	Number	Occupation	Number
Doctor	10	Mother	8
Retired	5	Engineer	4
Unknown	4	Bank Manager	3
Business Director	3	Chartered Accountant	3
Clerk in Holy Orders	3	Teacher	3
Manufacturing Chemist	2	Manufacturer	2
Minister of Religion	2	University Lecturer	2
Broker	1	Builder	1
Cashier	1	Chartered Patent Agent	1
Civil Servant	1	Clothier	1
Dental Surgeon	1	Furniture Dealer	1
Haulage /Garage Proprietor	1	Headmaster	1
House Furnisher	1	Horticulturist	1
Insurance Assessor	1	Ironmonger	1
Jeweller and Optician	1	Manager	1
Manufacturing Agent	1	Newsagent	1
Physiologist	1	Self-employed	1
School Mistress	1	Shopkeeper	1
Shop Manageress	1	Shop Owner	1
Veterinary Surgeon	1		

**Total : 79**

Although the degree courses which required more than three years' study included a significant number of women from the upper and middle-middle classes, there is evidence that by the 1920s financial assistance, in the form of scholarships and grants, was becoming available to women from these classes. Such financial assistance enabled an increasing number of women from the lower social classes to have the opportunity to read for degrees which had previously been denied to them. Fifteen women reading for medical degrees were in receipt of some form of financial assistance, including the Mary Birrell

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<sup>49</sup> Student Dossier, Deacon, Ariel Stewart Rainford.

Scholarships, the Lyon Jones Scholarship, the Birkenhead Scholarship, and the City Fund Grant; and two students were admitted on half-fees because their fathers were University lecturers. Two women reading for Diplomas in Dental Surgery were in receipt of grants from the Dental Board of the UK; they were Averil Winifred Garside and Miriam Grace Mills. Miss Garside's mother was a handicraft worker, Miss Mills' father was a school master.<sup>50</sup> Only one student reading for a Veterinary Science degree received a scholarship, her father's occupation being a wool sorter.<sup>51</sup> In the School of Architecture only one woman held a University studentship in this subject. From the observation of those degrees which required over three years' attendance it is obvious that, although an increasing number of women belonging to the lower social classes were beginning to read for these degrees, they were dominated by those women whose parents were willing and able financially to support their daughters' chosen degree course. It would appear that Law also remained the province of the wealthy; certainly within the Faculty of Law, no women received a scholarship or any other form of financial support during the years under survey.

From this study of graduating women students, it becomes apparent that by the 1920s women were reading a wider range of subjects than they had during the 1883 to 1887 and 1903 to 1907 periods. The Social Studies course which had been established by the University became a popular subject for women students. At first this subject appears to have been taken at Certificate and Diploma level, but by the 1920s the subject could be taken at degree level. In 1928, Mrs Margaret Simey [nee Todd] became the first woman to graduate with a BA Honours in this subject. In an interview with Mrs Simey, it became

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<sup>50</sup> *ibid*, Garside, Averil Winifred and Mills, Miriam Grace.

<sup>51</sup> *ibid*, Broadbent, Beatrice.

apparent that she believed many women were influenced by their previous schools into this subject and into a career in social work. In Mrs Simey's opinion:

A lot of the leading women in Liverpool around the 1900s had all been to Cheltenham Ladies' College. There is something there, they all came back with a right rampant social conscience. And it's noticeable, that and the Belvedere, what they did to those in their care. It does strike me, the power of schools ...

Mrs Simey, however, does not believe her own school, which was St. Paul's in London, had any direct influence upon her own involvement in social issues: 'Bar the good teaching I got there, I don't think they gave me a philosophy for living, they trained my mind'. She continued to explain the influences which directed her into her chosen subject when she indicated:

Mine, I recognise as being a blend of the Oxford women graduates. History, Geography and English were all taught by Oxford graduates. Brilliant young women and that, mixed with John Knox's moral foundation about your duty to the community, that accounts for me all right, as plain as a pike-staff.<sup>52</sup>

In an attempt to discover whether specific schools did direct their students into social studies courses, an analysis of students' previous schools was undertaken for the years 1923 to 1927 and 1933 to 1937. A number of women had been students at Cheltenham and the Belvedere, but they did not dominate in any significant numbers; just as many women had attended high and secondary schools. Although no direct link could be ascertained to suggest that certain schools encouraged their students to develop a social conscience, it would be incorrect to state that this influence did not exist. It is entirely possible that the teachers who were employed in the less prestigious schools had themselves been students at the schools mentioned by Mrs Simey; and that they themselves had developed a social conscience, and used their influence to direct the students in their care to enter this area of study at a higher education level. Further research into previous

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<sup>52</sup> Interview with Mrs Margaret Simey, August 1994.

schools attended by women undergraduates would therefore be a valuable contribution towards explaining the factors which encouraged women to enter certain degree courses.

A significant point from the survey of those women who entered the University to read Social Studies was that the majority of them were older than the average women students. Between the years 1923 to 1927 and 1933 to 1937, only 24 women were aged between 18 and 19, whereas 41 were aged between 20 and 41 years of age. In addition to this, some women had already graduated with degrees from other universities. For example, Miss G. Watkins, who entered the University in 1924, had graduated with a BA and a Certificate in Education from the University of Wales.<sup>53</sup> Miss E. A. Caroe had passed the Tripos at Newnham College, Cambridge before entering the University.<sup>54</sup> A significant number of women reading for educational qualifications in Social Studies had been involved in social work, prior to their admission. For example, Miss I Bickmore had been employed as an Almoner at Guys Hospital and as a Divisional Welfare Officer for the Ministry of Labour.<sup>55</sup> Miss E M Peard had also been employed as a factory Welfare Officer.<sup>56</sup> From an examination of the occupations of the parents of women reading for this subject, it became evident that the majority of these students were from the upper middle class, the parents' occupations being predominantly directors, managers, manufacturers, solicitors, doctors and accountants. It could, therefore, be argued that the women who eventually entered the profession of social work came from the same social class as those women who, in the 1880s, had been involved in this sphere of activity on a voluntary philanthropic basis. By the 1920s, philanthropic social work had evolved into a profession, and increasing

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<sup>53</sup> Student Dossier, Watkins, Gertrude.

<sup>54</sup> ibid., Caroe, Eleanor Astrid.

<sup>55</sup> ibid., Bickmore, Ivy.

<sup>56</sup> ibid., Peard, Evelyn May.

numbers of women began to enter the University to gain the educational qualifications which were necessary to enable them to progress in this profession.

From the continued survey of the academic careers of women students who attended Liverpool, a number of facts have become apparent. In the early years the University served the interests of its women students in various ways. It enabled those women who were from the wealthy classes within Liverpool to attend lectures which were of interest to them, and to widen their cultural horizons. Although these women did not read for a degree, the evidence has shown that in later life a significant number of them entered into various political, philanthropic and educational spheres of activity. The University also acted as a springboard for those women who intended to complete their education at one of the more prestigious women's colleges at Oxford or Cambridge. Until 1903, students had to read for degrees first from London and then the Victoria University, and after 1903; when Liverpool became a University in its own right, it granted its own degrees. The evidence has shown that there was a 'dual market' for higher education at Liverpool, the most prominent period being 1883 to 1887. By the 1920s, this situation had changed, and the dual market for education at Liverpool had come to an end. The majority of women were entering the University with the intention of reading for a degree. The University was providing a far more comprehensive curriculum, and women were taking the opportunity to read for a far wider range of degrees.

From this survey it is evident that a number of women did not complete their degree courses and the reasons to account for this have been indicated. The choice of degree course was clearly determined by the financial circumstances of the parents, although by the 1920s financial assistance in the form of scholarships was becoming available to

women students. Thus, women from the lower social classes had the opportunity to read for degrees which required more than three years study; but scholarships were open to all students regardless of the financial circumstances of parents, and there was competition for them. The number of women who graduated with degrees from the University increased as the years progressed; women did, therefore, make progress in academic terms. The majority of women throughout the years under review read for Arts degrees, with an increasing number graduating in science and medicine after the First World War. In addition to increasing numbers of women reading for degrees, the evidence indicates that after graduating a significant number went on to enter a further course of the study, the most popular being the Diploma in Education. From the returns of questionnaires completed by successful women graduates the consensus of opinion amongst them was that they believed that their views were taken seriously, they enjoyed receiving lectures alongside their male colleagues, and they were not discriminated against because of their sex.

The next chapter will consider the founding of a hall of residence for women students at Liverpool. An indication of the women who took a leading role in this venture will be provided and an analysis of the role University Hall played in the lives of women at Liverpool will be undertaken.



## Chapter Five

### The role of halls of residence in the higher education of women

Although women were admitted into University College Liverpool from 1881, the year in which it was founded, there was no immediate requirement for a hall of residence to enable women to attend the College because they attended as day students, residing either within the parental home, with relations or with their employers. By the 1890s, however, 'It had become generally recognised in University circles that the establishment of halls of residence was necessary for the development of women's education.'<sup>1</sup> University College still lacked this facility, and although the authorities of the College were: 'Sympathetic in principle to a hall of residence, they were without the financial resources to rectify the situation.'<sup>2</sup> Thus, the first hall for women was not founded until 1898, and not by the authorities of the College, but by a group of influential women from within Liverpool society.

In her recent book Dyhouse provided an insight into the various reasons which lay behind the founding of halls of residence for women. This chapter will consider these factors. It will also examine the founding of the residential colleges for women at Oxford and Cambridge, since it will be argued that such colleges provided the guidelines upon which University Hall was founded, and that it was particularly influenced by Newnham College Cambridge. The identities of the women involved in the founding of University Hall will be discussed, and it will be suggested that by involving themselves in such a venture, these

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<sup>1</sup> Graham H T, 'The First Twenty-One Years', University Hall Fiftieth Anniversary, University Hall Association, 1952, p.11.

<sup>2</sup> ibid.

women created a sphere of influence within the College which was of benefit to themselves and to women students. The influence of hall wardens will be examined, and it will be argued that the behaviour of women students in residence was to a great extent determined by the attitude of the warden in charge. From a survey of student recollections, this chapter will indicate that residence in University Hall did not isolate women from the wider social activities of the university, but rather enabled them to involve themselves more fully in university life. The chapter will also suggest that University Hall continued to play a valuable role in the postgraduate lives of the women who had resided there.

In 1897 a Liverpool newspaper reported:

Those who are interested in the higher education of women will be pleased to learn that a hall of residence is to be opened next October in Edge Lane. Such halls exist in connection with the older Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, the Scottish Universities and the various Colleges constituting the University of Wales.<sup>3</sup>

As the report indicates, halls of residence were not a new phenomenon; by this date they had become an acceptable part of women's secondary and higher education. Dyhouse suggests that they: 'stemmed from a whole variety of motives, sometimes pragmatic, sometimes paternalist, and sometimes feminist in origin'<sup>4</sup>. All three motives were in existence at Liverpool, and examples of them will be provided as the chapter progresses. Despite the various reasons behind the provision of halls it is important to indicate the great difficulties that the founders of the first residential colleges for women faced, and the steps they took to overcome them.

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<sup>3</sup> University Hall, Ref, ULA, 7/1.

<sup>4</sup> Dyhouse C, op.cit, p.94.

In the 1860s, when the campaign for the higher education of women began to gather momentum, society in general believed a woman's place was in the home. Stephen highlights the problems the founders of Hitchen College faced when they approached women authors to enquire if they would publicise the proposed college. Mrs Gatty and Miss C Yonge were well-known authors who refused to meet this request. Mrs Gatty stated: 'I have the greatest fears, as to the general result upon the tone and manner of women from such publicity as is proposed.'<sup>5</sup> Miss Charlotte Yonge was of the opinion that if young women resided together in large numbers they would: 'always hurt one another in manner and tone if nothing else.'<sup>6</sup> Many parents were concerned about their daughters residing away from the parental home in order to receive an academic education. They believed their daughters would be unsupervised and that their health would suffer because they studied too intensely. It was essential to bring about a change in public opinion and to quell parents' fears, because without the financial support of influential men and women the college would not be founded, and if parental misgivings continued the college would be without students.

Miss Emily Davies, perhaps the most well-known campaigner for the higher education of women, took it upon herself to promote the proposed college and to appease parental concern. Miss Davies believed that for many women residence in a college would be a

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<sup>5</sup> Stephen B, op.cit, p.167.

<sup>6</sup> ibid.

liberating experience and an improvement on living with parents. In 1868, she wrote of her personal beliefs to Mr Tomkinson, stating:

I will try to be respectful to parents, but how is it possible to describe College life without showing how infinitely better it will be than home? It is a point which I am utterly at a loss to defend. I do not believe that our utmost efforts to poison the students' lives at College will make them half so miserable as they are at home. (The bad homes I mean of course...)<sup>7</sup>

Mr Tomkinson was a valuable ally to Miss Davies; he had been an assistant master at Marlborough School, and after resigning the post he eventually became Chairman of the Associated Insurance offices in London. In addition to this, he was on the committee of the Local Cambridge Examinations Centre in London<sup>8</sup>. He probably advised Miss Davies to keep her own opinion of the benefits of college life to within her own circle of friends; had her personal views been public knowledge the hostility towards the proposed college would have been even greater. In public Miss Davies expounded upon the advantages of college life, insisting that students would be in the care of ladies who would: 'Exercise just as much supervision and control as would be practised under the same circumstances by a wise mother.'<sup>9</sup> She also indicated that college life would be healthy, when she wrote that 'Out of doors recreation...active games not too violent and straining, but amusing enough to be a real distraction, will alternate with country rambles as a relief from too great assiduity in the pursuit of learning.'<sup>10</sup> To overcome parents' fears that their daughters might be forced to associate with those not of their own choosing, Miss Davies assured them that:

Each student will have a small sitting room to herself, where she will be free to study undisturbed, and to enjoy the companionship of friends of her own choice. Of all the attractions of College life, probably the opportunity for a certain amount of solitude so necessary an agent in the formation of character will be one most welcomed by the real student.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, p.174.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, p.87.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, p.175.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, p.176.

Miss Davies' campaign was a success; Hitchin College was founded in 1869 and, when student numbers began to rise, Girton College Cambridge was founded. In 1871, Newnham College was founded in Cambridge, and in 1879 residential colleges for women were founded in Oxford.

According to Griffin, women students attending these colleges were subjected to continuous chaperonage and strict supervision. She indicates: 'How strongly it was impressed upon women students that their acceptance by the University [i.e. Oxford] depended to a large extent upon their behaviour. Frivolity was forbidden, punctuality, hard work, neatness and order reigned supreme; flirting and dancing had no place in their lives.'<sup>12</sup> The founders of the early women's colleges were determined to avoid any scandal, which would undoubtedly have attracted media attention and brought into question the suitability of higher education for women. The campaigners for women's higher education believed that if women proved they were serious about their education and if they did not create any disturbances the universities of Oxford and Cambridge would eventually be forced to acknowledge them and confer upon them their degrees. Strict supervision was, therefore, viewed as essential to the advancement of women's higher education. In addition to this, society in general and parents in particular expected women to be protected, and in many respects the founders of women's colleges were following these expectations.

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<sup>12</sup> Griffin P, *op.cit*, p.2.

Although supervision was continuous, published accounts of student experiences at Newnham College Cambridge indicate that life was in fact enjoyable.<sup>13</sup> A student, whose name is unknown, recalled her experience of student life at Newnham in an article dated 1882 in which she wrote:

It is very difficult to give you an idea of the general character of the women at Newnham; they are not fast, they do not love gay dressing, the majority are liberal, some few are artistic in their tastes, and most of them are hardworking sensible women who intend to gain their own livelihood...<sup>14</sup>

Clearly there were two types of student who attended Newnham College : those, as the article above indicates, who intended to take up paid employment and those who intended to widen their educational horizons for pleasure. Miss Catherine Durning Holt was one of the latter.

Catherine Holt's father was Robert Holt, a wealthy cotton merchant; her mother, prior to her marriage, was Lawrencine Potter. She was the eldest of nine sisters, the most well-known sister being Beatrice Potter, who married Sidney Webb the famous Socialist. Mr Richard Potter was a liberal father who encouraged his daughters to read widely. According to Cockburn: 'He genuinely believed women to be superior to men and once said "a nice minded girl can read anything; and the more she knows about human nature the better for her and all the men around her".'<sup>15</sup> Catherine's early education was provided by her father's sister Anne who, having remained single, resided with the family. Catherine attended University College Liverpool from 1888-9 before entering Newnham. She clearly did not intend to take up paid employment, a fact which is borne out in a letter to her parents, in which she wrote :

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<sup>13</sup> Gardner A, *op.cit.*

<sup>14</sup> Stubbs J, *op.cit.*, Appendix, p.172.

<sup>15</sup> Cockburn E O, *op.cit.*, Introduction.

I have rather altered my plan for work; and I shall probably not take all of the Little Go at Christmas, but leave the classics until next June. I think French logic and mathematics shall be sufficient to get up before Christmas; and then I shall be able to do some Greek books which I expect I shall enjoy and not specialise so much on science. In fact the Principal says that as I do not want the Tripos for teaching purposes, I had better read a little history or literature instead of going completely for physics. I am going to think this over and make up my mind after Christmas. The girls say I am not strong enough to do honours in the Science Tripos, as even the very strong ones break down at it, and it seems much better to get a low place and a more general education.<sup>16</sup>

A number of factors contributed towards Catherine Holt attending Newnham College and not Girton. First, as an earlier chapter of this thesis has indicated, Anne Clough, one of the founder members of the North of England Council, which had its roots in Liverpool, was now Principal of Newnham. Miss Clough was probably well known to the Holt family, and this could have been a determining factor which led to Catherine's attendance at her college. In addition to this, Newnham had a more flexible attitude towards its students than Girton College. They were not encouraged to enter for the Tripos examinations unless they intended to seek paid employment. Girton College, on the other hand, expected its students to take this examination. McWilliams-Tullberg suggests that Girton College had the reputation for being a women's rights foundation<sup>17</sup>. Stephen confirms this view and indicates that, although Emily Davies was a supporter of the Suffrage Movement, she was aware of the need to keep a very low profile. Miss Davies herself said: 'My name was to be kept out of sight to avoid the risk of damaging my work in the field of education by its being associated with the agitation for the franchise'<sup>18</sup>. Despite Miss Davies' action the link between the College and the franchise movement was made when an article appeared in the Spectator in 1869. The article discussed the franchise movement and praised the activities of Madame Bodichon, stating: 'The College

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<sup>16</sup> ibid, p.8.

<sup>17</sup> McWilliams-Tullberg R, op.cit, p.50.

<sup>18</sup> Stephen B, op.cit, p.115.

at Hitchin owes its origin not less to her energy, than to a gift of one thousand pounds...'<sup>19</sup>

The fact that Girton had such a reputation may also have influenced Catherine's parents to choose Newnham as the college most suitable for their daughter.

The letters written by Catherine Holt provide a vivid and fascinating account of her life at Newnham. She wrote of the friends she had made there; one such friend was Miss Dorothea Pease, of whom Catherine wrote:

I get on well with the third and fourth year students and they have been most kind. Miss Pease, a fourth yearer, is a delightful companion. She took me to Dr Jebbs lecture on Sophocles Philoctetes in the Arts Schools yesterday; and afterwards to the free library; she is 24, one of a family of 15, a "friend" as you would guess by her name, and passed very well in the mental and moral Tripos this summer...<sup>20</sup>

The friends Catherine Holt made during her years at Newnham were in later life to have a close association with University Hall when it was founded, as will be revealed later in this chapter. During her time at Newnham, Catherine Holt came into contact with people who must have been known to the Holt family. One such acquaintance was Mary Bateson, a former student at the College and by this time a lecturer in History there. Mary's mother, prior to her marriage, was Anna Aikin, the daughter of James Aikin, a wealthy Liverpool businessman.

Miss Holt was aware of the close supervision which took place at the college, and her letters indicate that she was often pleased to escape from time to time to attend various dinner parties. In 1889 she wrote: 'I enjoyed my dinner immensely last night, it was so

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<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, p.200.

<sup>20</sup> Cockburn E O, *op.cit.*, p.6.



nice to get away from this place for a bit, quite like a change of air...'<sup>21</sup> It is evident from a number of sources that women attending the college rarely came into contact with male students. Charles Reilly was a student at Trinity College Cambridge, then in later life a Professor of Architecture at Liverpool and he recalls: 'Girl students from Girton and Newnham were carefully chaperoned to such University lectures as they had to attend outside their own Colleges.'<sup>22</sup> There was some contact between the sexes but this was always accompanied by supervision. Catherine Holt was a member of the Cavendish Physical Society, a society attended by both sexes. After one meeting she informed her parents : 'one of the cleverest young men has got a Trinity Fellowship and we were all congratulating him'<sup>23</sup>. The young man in question was William Cecil Dampier Whetham whom Catherine married in 1897 <sup>24</sup>. Occasionally young men did dare to make direct contact with women students; Catherine reflected upon this in 1890 when she wrote:

The other night we were serenaded by a party of undergraduates, who came as near the window as they dared and sang first a song which began "only one whisper one" and ended up with "Queen of my Heart" from Dorothy. They appeared to enjoy it immensely, singing at the top of their voices, and we, on our side, thought it great fun. Whenever anyone appeared at the window they redoubled their energies. I rather think they were Selwyn men.<sup>25</sup>

Apart from the letters to her parents, Catherine also wrote an article which appeared in the University College Magazine. In this article she wrote:

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<sup>21</sup> ibid, p.16.

<sup>22</sup> Reilly C, Scaffolding in the Sky, London: Routledge, 1938, p.32.

<sup>23</sup> Cockburn E O, op.cit, p.35.

<sup>24</sup> ibid.

<sup>25</sup> ibid, p.27.

There are all sorts of conditions of women in the College, each hall has its special peculiarities. But they have many features in common, and it is these which are typical of the Newnham student life. The others are outbursts of exuberance, and rise and fall with succeeding generations. The students are very regular in their attendance at lectures. This is incomprehensible to the average undergraduate. "Poor things" he says, "just think how bored they must be up there, why they've not missed a single lecture this term". "You see", says another, "it's their only form of dissipation". "Let us save them from themselves", cries a third, "life can't be worth living at that price". And these three worthy youths enter into a crusade against Women's Colleges.

The chief forms of entertainment at Newnham are coffee and cocoa parties, and teas on Saturday and Sunday afternoons, while piles of muffins and hot cakes disappear. There are many societies flourishing amongst the students; some the joint property of the whole College, others peculiar to each hall. On Monday evenings the political society debates are held. The Chairman takes her seat at seven o'clock, and the government for the time bring in various measures. There are also two private members nights a term, when the non-political members have a chance of displaying their oratory as the subjects chosen are half scientific or educational.

Each hall has a sharp practice society, a sort of nursery for debaters, known as the incapables; and Browning, Shakespeare and literary societies are constantly springing up. Besides these there are historical, scientific and musical societies carried on by all the students of the special subject in the whole College. The grand debating society, corresponding to the union, holds its meetings twice a term and is attended by many visitors and old students..<sup>26</sup>

Catherine continued her article by describing the sporting activities enjoyed by the women at the college. She also gave a description of the students' rooms, some of which were: '...bare in the extreme and go in for severe simplicity, the artistic student's abode was draped with the latest Liberty colours, and arranged in the style of the modern boudoir; the students whose rooms were furnished with carved oak and comfortable lounges and finally the horticulturally inclined; whose rooms bristle with prickly palms and sword plants.'<sup>27</sup> The description of the students' rooms does tend to confirm the various class backgrounds of the women at Newnham. This article also reveals the attitudes of the male undergraduates towards the education of women.

In her survey of women who attended Civic University Colleges, Dyhouse indicates that women were: 'caricatured as "swots" and unimaginative "goody-goodies" who attended

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<sup>26</sup> Holt C D, 'Notes From Other Universities', University College Magazine, Vol 5, 1890, Ref ULA, C4, p. 40.

<sup>27</sup> ibid.

every lecture punctiliously and faithfully transcribed everything that the lecturer said.’<sup>28</sup>

The evidence so far would indicate that her statement fits well when applied to Newnham College, but not when it is applied to Liverpool. Chapter Three of this thesis has indicated that women students at Liverpool did not feel that they were viewed in this way by their male colleagues, and Chapter Six will argue that women believed they were integrated members of the University and that they did not suffer from male hostility. From the letters written by Catherine Holt it is evident that Newnham widened her social and educational horizons. An earlier student at Newnham epitomised life at the College when in 1882 she wrote:

Altogether life at Newnham is more delightful and fascinating than I could have possibly believed : there is such a feeling of liberty and independence, - so much knowledge and culture permeating everywhere, so much leisure and opportunity for study, and last, but not least, such good fellowship and heartiness amongst the students. This is the sort of life in which men have been luxuriating for hundreds of years and has only just been made open to women, and they show their appreciation of it by the way in which they flock to the universities, by the way they carry off some of the highest honours, and by the way in which they make use of their talents and advantages in after life. Do not think I am lauding up my own College in especial, I am speaking quite generally of all women’s colleges both in England and America.<sup>29</sup>

It is evident that the founders of the early colleges for women were determined that these colleges would be a success, and in order to achieve this women students were carefully chaperoned. The evidence obtained from student recollections indicates that women attending these colleges clearly enjoyed the experience of collegiate life.

In many respects these colleges, and most especially Newnham College, provided a model upon which University Hall was founded. Dyhouse has suggested that the founders of halls for women: ‘... were all inspired by the idea of providing institutions on the model of

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<sup>28</sup> Dyhouse C, *op.cit.*, p 197.

<sup>29</sup> Stubbs J, *op.cit.*, p.175.

the Oxbridge women's colleges in their own university towns'<sup>30</sup>. When the identity of the dominant leader of the group of women who founded University Hall is revealed, the link between the Newnham and Liverpool is in many respects obvious. This woman was Miss Emma Georgina Holt, the only child of George Holt. George Holt was Robert Holt's brother and, therefore, Catherine Holt was Emma Holt's first cousin. The original idea to found a hall of residence for women attending University College Liverpool was not, however, Emma Holt's. The idea was introduced to her by Miss E Lucy Broadbent. In 1952 Miss Broadbent recalled the founding of University Hall when she wrote:

I was one of the first women students at University College. There were six of us studying for our degrees, and we considered ourselves very important adventurers...several of our little band of women had to come by tedious railway journey, and the walk up Brownlow Hill was even less inviting than it is today. I think the idea of a residential hall for women students came from the Professor of History, J.M Mackay, a man of vision and enthusiasm. Several years after I left the College, the idea began to take form. I knew that Miss Emma Holt was deeply interested in the University (as we called it in advance) and that she had given to it most generously. I did not know her well, though she was a friend of my eldest sister. I called to see her at Sudley, rather in trepidation. I shall never forget the warm sympathy with which she greeted my scheme. I think she felt that here was a University to which she could give personal help - so much more interesting than writing cheques...<sup>31</sup>

It is a fact that women had contributed most generously towards the founding of University College and yet, although their husbands and brothers became actively involved in the day-to-day activities of the college, they themselves were excluded from holding any office there<sup>32</sup>. By founding a hall for women students which, although it had no official connection to the College itself, did enjoy a close relationship with it, these women were able to create a sphere of influence in the activities of the college with regard to women students. Such a philanthropic venture would not create any hostility from those who perceived a woman's place to be within the private sphere of the home because, in many

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<sup>30</sup> Dyhouse C, op.cit, p94.

<sup>31</sup> Broadbent E L, 'University Hall', University Hall Fiftieth Anniversary, University Hall Association, 1952, Ref SJL, pp.28,29.

<sup>32</sup> Kelly T, op.cit, pp. 48, 97, 106.

respects, a hall for women was a way in which to assist, protect and supervise young women while they were in higher education. These aspects are borne out in the first report of the hall of residence, published in 1900. The report stated:

There is a growing concern that halls of residence are absolutely necessary for the development of women's education, in fact, in the last five years halls were founded in different university centres. The distractions of home life prove often an insuperable barrier to women studying for degrees or preparing seriously for professional work; and their task is rendered still more difficult, as it is often the case, their homes are at a distance and time is to be spent in travelling to and from this work. The reasons against women students living in lodgings are so obvious that they need not be stated.<sup>33</sup>

This statement confirms Dyhouse's view that one of the reasons behind the founding of halls for women came from a paternalistic concern for their well-being. Once Miss Holt decided to found a hall for women she quickly enlisted the support of other influential women in Liverpool society. It was important for the hall to have an Honorary President, and the woman chosen for this office was the Countess of Derby. In many respects, she was an obvious choice; not only was she socially respectable, but she had shown an interest in the College, as she had accompanied her husband when he had been inducted into the office of President. Prior to her marriage the Countess had been the Lady Constance Villiers, the eldest daughter of the fourth Earl of Clarendon. Her sister was Lady Lathom, who was also involved in educational projects in Liverpool<sup>34</sup>. The Countess was only too happy to accept the position offered to her, and in a letter to Miss Holt dated 1898 she wrote:

I beg to say that the establishment of a women's hall of residence is a most excellent idea and one I know that will when carried out be of the utmost service to the women students of the college. I am much obliged to you for inviting me to be the Honorary President, and I hope that you will put my name down for a donation of £100...<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> University Hall Report, Liverpool University Press, 1900, Ref ULA, 7/16.

<sup>34</sup> Tooley S A, op.cit, p.1&2.

<sup>35</sup> Letters To Miss Holt, Ref ULA University Hall, 7/2.

Miss Holt formed a committee, and the members of the committee provide another link with Newnham College.<sup>36</sup> For example, Miss Margaret Calder was a close friend of Anne Clough and succeeded her as secretary of the North of England Council when she resigned to become Principal of Newnham. It is highly likely that the two women kept in contact with each other, and Miss Clough doubtless provided information about the running of a hall of residence. Miss Silcox was another member who had a link with Newnham. Whether this Miss Silcox was Lucy Mary Silcox or Lilian Anne Silcox is difficult to discover. Both women attended Newnham and they were sisters. Lucy Mary Silcox attended Newnham from 1881-1885, gaining a First in part Two of the Classical Tripos. From 1889-1902 she was the first headmistress of the East Liverpool High School.<sup>37</sup> Prior to her entering Newnham Lilian Alice Silcox was a student at University College; she did not take the Tripos at Newnham, but she did gain a BSc from London University.<sup>38</sup>

Other members of the committee included Miss Eva Melly and Mrs Herdman (nee Jane Holt), who were cousins of Emma Holt and Catherine Holt. All four had been students of University College, though Mrs Herdman was the only one to actually gain a degree there. She was the first woman to take First Class honours in experimental physics, with a degree

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<sup>36</sup> Graham HT, op.cit.

<sup>37</sup> Silcox, Lucy Mary. b 11 July 1862 at Warminster, Wilts, dau of Rev. John Wesley Silcox, Wesleyan Minister, and Betsy Parkinson; sis of Alice Wilcox. Educ. Chelsea H.S.; Newnham 1881-85, College Scholar 1883; Class Trip. Pt 1 Cl.III.2. 1884, PII Cl1 1885; Associate 1894-1907, 1909-24; Associate Member of Gov. Body 1919-22, Pres. Of Coll Roll 1937-40. A.M. Liverpool H.S. 1885-89; First H.M. East Liverpool H.S. 1889-1902, H.M of W. Dulwich H.S 1902-8, of St Felix Sch. Southwold 1908-26. Died 11 Jan, 1947. Newnham College Register, Vol 1, p.70.

<sup>38</sup> Silcox, Lilian Alice. B 2 Dec 1870 at Brixton; dau of Rev John Wesley Silcox, Wesleyan Minister, and Betsy Parkinson; sis of Lucy Mary Silcox. Educ Chelsea H.S; priv, sch. Scarborough; Liverpool H.S.; Liverpool Univ Coll.; Newnham 1892-94; no Tripos. BSc (Lond). A.M at Hampstead H.S.; 1894-99; H.M of E Liverpool H.S. 1900-1909, of Thorseby H.S. Leeds, 1909-21; Dean of Women students, Leeds Univ., 1921-30. Member of Miners Welfare Sch Cttee 1928-32. Newnham College Register, Vol 1, p.123.

gained as an external student from the University of London in 1891.<sup>39</sup> Eva Melly, Emma Holt and Mrs Herdman played a central role in the founding and management of University Hall, and their interest in it continued until their deaths. Other members of the committee included a number of wives of professors at the college. These women obviously had knowledge of the founding and management of halls for women from their position as the wives of professors who came from universities in Scotland and elsewhere in England.<sup>40</sup>

Other members included women who had donated money to the founding of University College, including Mrs George Rathbone, Miss Mary Rathbone, Mrs Speechly, Mrs H Forwood, Miss Lister and Miss Royden.<sup>41</sup> It is reasonable to assume that Miss Royden was in fact Maude Royden. The following details relating to Maude Royden were published in the Birkenhead News:

Dr Maude Royden, who died at her London home on Monday, aged 79, was a pioneer in a number of fields and a controversial figure for a number of years. A Companionship of Honour bestowed on her in 1930 recognised her beneficent labours as a preacher and social worker. Although the daughter of a wealthy shipowner, the late Sir Thomas Royden, of Frankby Hall (the present baronet, Sir Ernest B. Royden, is her brother), Dr Royden was a "self-made woman." She was educated at Cheltenham Ladies College and Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, after which she took up slum work for the Victoria Women's Settlement. She then became the first woman lecturer under the Oxford University Extension Scheme, English literature being her chief subject. Dr Royden did much to give women access to the pulpit. She was in 1917 appointed pulpit assistant at the City Temple, and three years later, in conjunction with Dr Percy Dearmer, she started Fellowship Services in Kensington Town Hall. In her own preaching career Dr Royden was the first woman to be permitted to occupy the pulpit of Liverpool Cathedral (this was in July, 1926), and she preached in Geneva Cathedral (1920), in which city no woman had ever before conducted a service. Dr Royden had spoken in Birkenhead in support of the League of Nations' Union and on other topics. Women's Suffrage was another of Dr Royden's conspicuous fields of activity; she had been one of the foremost workers in the movement. In 1908 she joined the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and was elected to the executive committee on which she served for six years, at the same time editing "The Common Cause." She wrote and spoke extensively on the ethical, economic and religious aspects of the women's movement. In 1928, when Dr Royden started on a tour in the United States to address, chiefly, meetings of women, certain societies entered a ban against her because it was found that she occasionally smoked cigarettes. Dr Royden was unperturbed by the opposition, which soon died down. "I do not think," she said, "that God worries much whether I smoke or not. Most

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<sup>39</sup> University College Magazine, Vol 6, 1891, Ref ULA, University Hall, 7/2.

<sup>40</sup> Graham H.T, op.cit., p.11.

<sup>41</sup> ibid.

English women do, and I don't see why it should be made a matter of religious concern." Shortly after her appointment to the City Temple she received an invitation from the rector of St Botolph's, Bishopgate, the famous London church, to preach there, which she accepted. The then Bishop of London prohibited her from doing so, however, and the matter rested for two years. Then following another invitation she did preach in the church in 1921, becoming the first woman ever to conduct a Church of England service. Her work was gradually recognised. In 1930 she was made a Companion of Honour, Doctor of Divinity at Glasgow University the following year ( the first woman to receive the honour) and in 1935 an honorary doctor of Law at Liverpool University. In 1944 Miss Royden married. Her husband was the Rev. G.W. Hudson Shaw, who was then 85. The full story of the circumstances leading to her marriage at the age of sixty-seven is told by her in her book called "A Threefold Cord..."<sup>42</sup>

Mrs Speechly, prior to her marriage was Mary Barrett, a student at University College Liverpool from 1889 to 1892; after graduating with a BA, she proceeded to Newnham. Upon her marriage in 1895 to Doctor Speechly, she took an interest in the founding of University Hall.

From a survey of those who donated money and furniture to the founding of University Hall some well-known women from Liverpool and further afield can be identified. Mrs Charles Booth, the wife of the well-known Liverpool philanthropist and social reformer, was one such person. Prior to her marriage she was Mary Macaulay, a first cousin of Lawrencine Holt.<sup>43</sup> Another Mrs Booth also made a donation, and it is possible that she was the wife of Alfred Booth, the brother of Charles Booth. Mrs Alfred Booth was an American by birth and, as Tooley indicates:

Mrs Alfred Booth is on all sides acknowledged to be one of the most practical ladies in Liverpool. As the wife of a gentleman of wealth and position she has great opportunities for helping forward all good work, and she has, also, the inclination to do it. Her sympathies are not only with the philanthropies of the place, but she has great literary and intellectual tastes. When I first called upon her, the hall of her home was thronged with ladies who were dispersing from a French lecture which had just been given in her drawing room.

In this interview Mrs Booth said:

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<sup>42</sup> The Birkenhead News, Ref, BPL, 1st August, 1956.

<sup>43</sup> Cockburn E O, op.cit, p.9, footnote 2.



I have found Liverpool society delightful. I think we are fortunate in having the staff of Professors belonging to the college living here, as they give an intellectual tone to the place. I have been reared a Presbyterian and accustomed to cultural society in America. My husband is a Unitarian and so I have always had a cultural element around me. The Martineaus and other well known families have been our intimate friends.<sup>44</sup>

The committee of University Hall had an important decision to make before the hall opened, and this was whether to invite members of the College itself to become members of the hall of residence executive committee. Letters to Miss Holt reveal that some members had reservations about the advisability of too close a relationship. These reservations appear to have stemmed from an incident which had occurred at Bangor College in 1893. Dyhouse, covers the Bangor College incident in depth and indicates the implications of the scandal for both the founding of halls for women and the responsibilities of hall wardens.<sup>45</sup>

In brief, Bangor College Hall was a residence for women students attending the College. An incident occurred in which the Lady Principal of the College was accused of making accusations against a student who was in residence. The College authorities, it would appear, acted as both judge, jury and executioner, dismissing the Principal from her post and closing the hall. This action resulted in a court case which attracted a great deal of media attention. A full report of the case can be found in the Liverpool Mercury.<sup>46</sup> Mr Harold Erhenborg, who was honorary treasurer of University Hall, was opposed to close relationships with the College. In a letter to Miss Holt he said:

I think I can see grave dangers in establishing too close a relation with the Senate and Council. Mr Carey, when I spoke to him, strongly advised for independence. I hope that our committee will prove at least as business like as Senate and Council, which two bodies, besides, have more than enough to look after already. Most of all I am convinced

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<sup>44</sup> Tooley S A, *op.cit*, p.9.

<sup>45</sup> Dyhouse C, *op.cit*, pp. 103-105.

<sup>46</sup> Liverpool Mercury, July 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 1893.

that an independent committee (and hall) will be a stronger ally to the college than a committee in any way subordinate. I am afraid that the presence of the Principal as chairman of the council would be too intimidating in the committee.<sup>47</sup>

Mrs Herdman and other women on the committee also had reservations, and they expressed their opinion to Miss Holt. Mrs Herdman wrote:

I have been seeing Eva [ i.e Melly] and Mrs MacCunn and after talking about the proposed close connection with the college we were wondering whether it would be possible to ask each member to say separately what their own opinion is about the Principal and President of Council being ex-officio members of the committee, without actually taking a vote, which is rather like war to the knife. We both feel that though the idea deserves consideration having been suggested by Dr Rendall, yet we are not quite sure that it is wise to do it just now, especially if it risks a quarrel or ill-feeling. Also, Mrs MacCunn feels that Mr Glazebrook ought perhaps to be consulted as it would be with him, and not with Dr Rendall that we should have to deal. Dr Rendall says “ now that success seems certain”, we can’t help feeling that it would be time enough to say this when we have the promise of some students! With regard to the question of whether Ladies are to be on the committee, Eva suggests we should wait and see what is done in other places before deciding, as I understand various other constitutions are being brought before us for consideration. I am writing to Kitty [i.e. Catherine Holt ] to see if she can get any information about Newnham. Of course if we find that in other places they are on their committees, I suppose we had better let them, though I don’t believe it is the right thing, but I must say that it seems to me that if we find others have not been on their committees, we shall be excessively weak-minded if we give in because one of our number makes disagreeable remarks. It will be an extremely bad precedent for future working...<sup>48</sup>

There is no evidence to indicate whether information was obtained from Catherine Holt, but in all likelihood it was. Eventually this matter was resolved; Principal Glazebrook became a member of the committee, and all accounts do indicate that the relationship between the hall committee and the College was a harmonious one.

University Hall opened its doors in 1898, and an unexpected problem occurred; no students applied for admission. This fact is borne out by two sources. In School World it was reported: ‘ The Hall opened last year in connection with Liverpool University College does not appear to have attracted any students, and we understand that it has for the

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<sup>47</sup> Letter to Miss Holt, *op.cit.*, 7/55.

<sup>48</sup> *ibid.*, 7/56.

present closed its doors.’<sup>49</sup> This fact is confirmed in the hall committee minute books which state;

Miss Holt made a short statement of the fact there were no students in the hall, and that none had presented themselves for the next term...it was decided to give the servants notice from today that they be out of the house by 11/1/1899. A caretaker to be put in the house after that date.<sup>50</sup>

In all probability the reason the hall had not attracted any students was that its founding had not been advertised very widely. Local people were aware of its existence, but parents saw no need for their daughters to reside away from home when there were efficient forms of transport available to enable them to commute to the College. They were unwilling to pay the additional cost of residence when the College was so close to home. This fact is confirmed by Mrs Gibbons, who entered the University in 1923 to read for a degree in medicine. She explains: ‘I had to walk or take the tram. The distance was about a mile and caused me no problems’. She did, however, have difficulty when she tried to study at home, stating: ‘ My sisters did not understand the importance of my study.’<sup>51</sup> Mrs Gibbons also indicated : ‘ It was usual in those days to study in your home town ( unless of course you were going to Oxford or Cambridge), especially if you lived in a university town as I did, mainly because it was too expensive to live in digs’.<sup>52</sup>

In comparison to the situation the founders of University Hall found themselves in, it would appear that Ashburne House, founded in 1899 as a hall for women attending Owens College Manchester, opened with eleven students in residence. Tylecote indicates that the

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<sup>49</sup> School World, 1899, Vol 1, p.146.

<sup>50</sup> University Hall General Committee Books, Ref, ULA, 7/1. p.11-13.

<sup>51</sup> Return from Questionnaire.

<sup>52</sup> ibid.

dominant leaders to found a hall for women were Professor Samuel Alexander and Principal Hopkinson; she states:

Professor Alexander recalls that one day in 1898 he went to inspect a school in Preston and the headmistress mentioned that there was nowhere for girls to live who were studying at Owens College and whose homes were not in Manchester. He discussed the matter with others, particularly with Principal Hopkinson, who much disliked women students living in lodgings, and with Miss Alice Cooke, Assistant Tutor for women students. It was thought that women were possibly being kept away by the lack of any place of residence and that the College was failing to serve as wide an area as it should. Principal Hopkinson and Professor Alexander then went house hunting together. Mr R D Darbshire, however, either hearing of the proposal to establish a hostel for women students, or having himself had a similar idea, bought Ashburne House, a large and pleasant house on a corner site adjacent to his own home in Victoria Park, and presented it to the College, suggesting that it might be used for some purpose such as this. The College authority granted the use of the house to the promoters of the scheme at a peppercorn rent.<sup>53</sup>

Because this hall had a close relationship with the authorities of the College it is reasonable to assume that the College itself advertised the hall in its prospectus. The situation in Liverpool was rectified when an energetic advertising campaign took place, and the hall opened in 1899 with six students in residence. In a letter to Miss Holt, Miss E Lucy Broadbent, who was the resident tutor, wrote: 'everything is highly satisfactory! The girls seem happy and get on well together...Miss Leech is a nice little person, rather homesick; she is going to send for her bicycle, which is a good thing...Miss Newcombe is rather common but nothing serious.'<sup>54</sup>

The number of students rose steadily and after 1901, when the University Day Training College began to admit women who intended to become teachers, there was an increased demand for residence in University Hall. The Board of Education inspected the hall, found it suitable for these students and paid grants to the hall for their accommodation. The hall committee took action to expand its original house and to seek other premises which were suitable as halls for women.

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<sup>53</sup> Tylecote M, *op.cit.*, p 84.

<sup>54</sup> Letter to Miss Holt, *op.cit.*, 7/56.

From 1898 to 1921 the hall committee continued to manage the affairs of University Hall. The minutes reveal that this was not an easy task; examples of the problems which occurred will now be examined. In 1900, Miss Bromley-Moore made a gift to the hall of an exhibition of £45 for three years. However, in October of that year the minute books reveal: 'the collapse of the Bromley-Moore exhibition was announced and it was decided to raise the subscription privately in order that the student to whom the bursary had been awarded should be able to remain at the hall for three years.'<sup>55</sup> Another report indicated:

Miss Hodgkinson, a fourth year training college student. Her mother died and her circumstances were reduced, she left hall and lived at home for one term. A member of the University staff undertook to pay her fees for residence in the hall and she has returned. The donor has suggested that as hall is prospering the committee might grant a sum for her support. The warden was asked to reply that the committee had no power to do this, the bursaries were all allocated and in any case they were never given to day training college students. There were no surplus funds and the money could only be found by private donations.<sup>56</sup>

The money was found for this student from private donations. It would appear that University Hall was often in need of financial assistance. This fact is confirmed by Miss Mary Knight, when she described: 'annual deficits of varying amounts, most of which appear to have been wiped out by the chairman, Miss Holt, or defrayed by an "anonymous donor"!'<sup>57</sup> In 1921, University Hall was given to the University on the understanding that it would take responsibility for its upkeep. Graham indicates: 'the University gratefully accepted the gift and paid handsome tribute to the ladies who had made it possible. The original committee began work with less than £1,000 and five students. During the years the committee added building after building and after twenty-one years it was able to hand

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<sup>55</sup> General Committee Books, op.cit, p.45.

<sup>56</sup> ibid, p.59.

<sup>57</sup> Knight M, 'A Seed Which Grew And The Tree Into Which It Developed', University Hall Association, op.cit, p.19.

it over as a going concern, a hall representing an expenditure of well over £35,000 and capable of housing over 100 students...'<sup>58</sup> Although the hall was, from 1921, under the control of the University, the executive committee still remained working under the direction of the hostels committee and Miss Holt, Miss Melly and Mrs Herdman retained their influence and interest in the affairs of University Hall.

As indicated earlier, the women involved in founding University Hall were able to create a sphere of influence within the college itself, and this was beneficial to the women students. In 1911 the Council of the University considered the proportion of women members of staff. A memorandum had been received from the headmistresses of a large number of schools in Liverpool, urging that a woman should be appointed as a chaperone to women students. This proposal was met with refusal, as it was thought that this would be an unpopular innovation with the women students themselves. But the committee did decide that there should be an increase in the number of women on the staff.<sup>59</sup> Chapter Eight of this thesis will indicate that the women who were involved in the founding of University Hall used their influence to promote the employment of women as members of the academic staff, and it will also become evident that the same women opposed the University when it insisted that female members of staff resign from their positions upon marriage. Until 1921, the executive committee had responsibility for appointing hall wardens and they probably continued to have influence in this area after that date. The first warden was Miss Dorothea Pease who held the post from 1899-1900, when she resigned it upon her marriage. She was succeeded by Miss Margaret E Tabor who served from 1900-1905. Both of these women had been students at Newnham and, as previously

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<sup>58</sup> Graham H T, *op.cit.*, p.15.

<sup>59</sup> *Council Reports*, Vol 3, p.152.

indicated, Miss Pease was a good friend of Miss Catherine Holt; it is reasonable to assume that Miss Tabor was also known to her. In all probability their association with Catherine Holt was a determining factor which led to their appointments at Liverpool. Miss Holt would have had personal knowledge of the academic and private lives of these women and would have been in an ideal position to promote them to her cousins in Liverpool. After Miss Tabor, the link with Newnham ended, and the wardens who succeeded her came from Girton College, Somerville College Oxford and St Andrews in Scotland.

The wardens appointed to University Hall had great responsibility for the women in their charge. Their position was made more difficult because, unlike the women's colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, women in residence in Liverpool did not take their lectures in hall, nor did they confine their social lives to it. Wardens had to ensure their students behaved properly and that they conformed to what was considered respectable behaviour. Miss Dorothy Chapman MA, was an Assistant Lecturer in Latin and warden of hall from 1911 to 1931. She had been a student at St Andrews, after which she held a post as Assistant Lecturer and warden of women students at University College, Bangor.<sup>60</sup> Miss Chapman indicates the problems she faced when, in 1952, she recalled:

I had myself been a student of the University Hall at St Andrews, founded by Dame Louisa Lumsden, one of the Girton pioneers who faced unpopularity undaunted in their fight for equal opportunities for women in the advantages that a University education had to bestow. She had hopes that her foundation would grow to be a Girton in Scotland, but she had much prejudice to contend against. On the one hand women in a University were thought to be something of an impropriety - unless scandal were averted by unremitting chaperonage; on the other hand it was argued that residential life destroyed the independence of the British subject. Time and perseverance have wrought many changes and now the value of the collegiate way of life in Halls is fully recognised even in that stronghold of Scottish independence.

We younger women inspired by the ideals of the Pioneers, have dared to follow in administering for students, have problems to solve by trial, not without fear of error, in a more liberal and less prejudiced age. How far could we trust our charges to form their own standards of conduct that would conduce to good repute? Could they learn to observe certain conventions out of regard for the somewhat artificial nature of University

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<sup>60</sup> *ibid.*, p.13.

life as compared to that of home life? Could they thus avoid the danger of evolving a narrowly conventional community - and so bequeath to future generations one in which would be found full scope for the development of personality - full attainment and the enjoyment of intellectual enrichment? Confidence in the good sense of students has more and more become the rule. It has not been misplaced. I frequently felt indebted in those formative years to the holders of the office of Senior Student, chosen with unerring judgement by their fellows...<sup>61</sup>

It would appear that the wardens had to rely to a great extent on the students themselves to act in a responsible manner. From the recollections of the students it appears that they formed a genuine fondness for their wardens and sought to emulate them. Mrs Daisy McAlpine (nee Scott) resided in hall under the care of Miss Tabor, and recalls her as being:

...an original minded and delightfully natured woman to whom we gave our admiration and respect. Clothes to Miss Tabor were a necessary nuisance. When her well-cut green coat and skirt were in need of replacement, she had another tailored exactly similar. She disliked giving up much time to dressing for dinner. To obviate this she had made to her design a green garment she said was a djibbah; one sweep it was over her head and in place. Miss Tabor wore more conventional garments when dining out. At one time a small, very frolicsome red-headed Canadian niece came to visit her aunt, Miss Tabor, for a term. The child appeared when dining in Hall clad in a small sized djibbah. The child was as surprised as we were...<sup>62</sup>

Katherine Forbes Dunlop, who was a student in hall from 1910-1914, recalls 'the gracious charm and dignity of Miss Chapman. We wanted to look better, dress for dinner, and to gain poise by watching and listening to her.'<sup>63</sup> Miss Chapman is also recalled by Miss D'Lara who was a Spanish lecturer in the University and a tutor in hall. She indicates that Miss Chapman encouraged the students to uphold traditions and to take an interest in music, especially in the concerts held at the Liverpool Philharmonic. Miss D'Lara believes the wardens of University Hall were exceptional women, stating: 'If you discussed things with them you knew straight away that you were not talking to very ordinary women, but you were talking to people who had a very wide culture, had read

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<sup>61</sup> Chapman D, 'University Hall', University Hall Association, *op.cit*, p.33.

<sup>62</sup> McAlpine D, 'Very Early Days in University Hall', *ibid*, p.47.

<sup>63</sup> Dunlop K F. 'The Years 1910-1914', *ibid*, p.49.



many books, knew everything.’<sup>64</sup> The main duty Miss D’Lara had as a hall tutor was to ensure that the students did not entertain men in their rooms. In her own words she stated:

If a student had a boyfriend in her bedsitter and she was found out, I think she could very easily be sent away from the University. It was very severe...I think the students were scared. Once or twice I would open the door and found a boyfriend having tea with a student, they were not in bed, they were having tea, but that in itself would have been a serious offence. I would say “Oh, awfully sorry but I think you had better go”, and he will creep around and say “Thank you very much Vicky”, and I never, never told on any of them, but it did happen you know. They did do it, I kept it a secret, I was very kind you know, I was supposed to go to Miss Chapman and say “so and so had a boyfriend”, but I couldn’t do that. I thought that if they were in bed I might, but they were not in bed.<sup>65</sup>

From this interview it might appear that Miss D’Lara was happy to turn a blind eye to students entertaining men in their rooms as long as nothing untoward was happening. In her survey of women students, Dyhouse made reference to the fact that: ‘ Relationships between students and hall authorities were particularly likely to deteriorate where the former felt they were being treated like schoolchildren, and where the atmosphere in hall was reminiscent of a boarding school.’<sup>66</sup> This statement is confirmed by Miss Leta Jones, who was a resident in hall during the 1920s, and recalls:

We had a wonderful Miss Chapman; a classical scholar, who was very friendly, and not in the wrong way, with Sir Henry Wood who insisted on staying in hall rather than staying in a hotel when he was playing in Liverpool. She was that sort of calibre. She was very quiet, dignified and pleasant and would melt into the background. The first year she told you gently that because you were a new student she would have the name and address of whoever you were going to see, in case you got lost. She would give you a key. You could go out and come back at your own convenience...She had a book case and you would put the key on it. She was lying asleep or not asleep, we didn’t know, in bed with the light on. I don’t know if she counted the number of students and went to sleep when the last one came in, I’m not sure. When Miss Chapman left Miss Buller took her place. She didn’t trust us an inch and installed a hall porter, so everyone behaved badly. We would come in, shake the porter awake, let him see us sign in, let him go back to sleep and then go down the fire escape and go out again. A lot of girls introduced boys into their bedrooms.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Messenger S, Taped Interview with Miss D’Lara, 30.8.95.

<sup>65</sup> ibid

<sup>66</sup> Dyhouse, op.cit, p.113.

<sup>67</sup> Edwards L P, Taped Interview With Miss Leta Jones, 1995.

Miss Jones indicates that the hall was self regulating. The students formed themselves into families and shared a sense of community. She indicates that no difference was made between students who were in receipt of a Board of Education grant and those whose fees were paid by parents. Miss Jones asserts that the women who resided in hall all intended to enter paid employment when their university education was completed. She recalls that the majority of students intended to become teachers, but there were some studying to become vets, social workers and doctors. As far as Miss Jones was concerned, halls were a sleeping convenience and the main social life for women students took place in the students' union. She does, however, recall the carol services which were held in hall, and one incident in particular, which caused her some embarrassment. At one carol service she invited a student who was a Mormon to attend the concert with her father; however, when Miss Buller discovered this information she informed Miss Holt, Miss Melly and Mrs Herdman. They insisted that the invitation was to be withdrawn, because the student's father had more than one wife. From this evidence it is clear that the three women who were influential in founding University Hall remained a dominant force in its activities even after it was under the control of the University.

For the majority of students who resided in hall the experience was a happy one. Many recall with fondness the maids who lived there, and the friendships which often lasted a lifetime. Dorothy Clarkson, a student from 1916-1920, recalls:

We took ourselves rather seriously, I think, but probably every generation of Hallites does so. There were established traditions which we did not think of questioning. Seniors were held in respect; they taught us hall manners and responsibilities, and turned a chastening eye on presumption and self-assertiveness. It was understood that we changed for dinner...Silence hours and lights out we observed conscientiously on the whole, though occasionally there was a cocoa party which could not leave the glow of the dying fire and continued the argument in low tones until a knocking on the wall sent us creeping along the corridor. We never questioned the rule that we should sign in by 11pm (or was it 10.30) after an evening out, or that if we entertained our men friends to

tea it should be in the common room and in company...I look back on the years spent in hall with affection and gratitude. They were years of freedom away from the larger responsibilities, when the plan of life was clear cut and, within its own limits, completely satisfying. They gave me contact with many and varied personalities both at hall and at the university, and the chance to form the deeper friendships for which University life forms so admirable a basis.<sup>68</sup>

Mrs Muriel Annie Mathews (nee Peterkin, BSc 1935, Diploma in Education 1936) recalled: 'My four years in the University Hall of residence were most useful. It gave the opportunity to meet and talk with girls from various parts of the U.K. This was of great interest and value. Different standards of background and culture, and social activities added greatly to widening one's education.'<sup>69</sup> The last word concerning student recollections of life in University Hall must go to Mrs Nancy Anderson, who said:

Those beautiful years of leisure! I speak obviously as an Arts student. "What did you do at University, Mother?" "At the University, my son, I had occasional lectures; yes, I frequently visited the University. But it was at Hall that I really lived." And so, glancing back to those liberal, harmonious days, I return to my first thought. Whenever old Hallites meet, there come to memory thoughts of all those we met during our sojourn there. It is in experiencing such moments that we recapture the spirit of hall.<sup>70</sup>

The University Hall Association was formed in 1907, providing a link between past students and the University. It also gave past students the opportunity to keep in touch with the friends they had made during their years at Liverpool, and many attended reunions at the University. The association newsletters enabled past students to provide information about their careers or, if they had married, their husbands and children. An in-depth survey of those newsletters will be undertaken in a later chapter of this thesis, which will evaluate the postgraduate lives and careers of women students.

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<sup>68</sup> Clarkson D C, 'University Hall', *op.cit.* p.51.

<sup>69</sup> Return from questionnaire.

<sup>70</sup> Anderson N, 'Happy Families', University Hall, *op.cit.* p. 61.

From this chapter it is clear that University Hall was founded at a time when it was becoming acceptable for women to reside away from the parental home for educational purposes. Dyhouse has indicated that there were a variety of motives which led to the founding of halls for women. At Liverpool the motives were paternalistic, pragmatic and feminist. This chapter has provided an insight into the difficulties which were faced by those who founded the early women's residential colleges and the methods they employed to overcome them. The founders of University Hall were for many years independent of the authorities of the University itself, but a harmonious relationship existed between the two. Among the members of the University Hall Committee and those who donated money and provided support were women who were highly respected, influential members of society. The Committee created a sphere of influence in the activities of the College, and through this they were able to promote the best interests of the women students they sought to assist. They contributed greatly toward the higher education of women by providing a residence for women who did not live within the immediate locality of the College. While University Hall had close links with Newnham College Cambridge, unlike the women at Newnham, the students in hall, from its foundation, were not restricted in their social activities to the hall itself, nor did they form an isolated community. In fact, it can be suggested that residence in hall enabled women to enter more fully into the wider social activities of the College, far more than their colleagues who resided within the parental home. It is clear from student recollections that residence was an enjoyable experience and that the hall wardens had an influence upon their behaviour: the respect of students had to be earned, however, and if a warden was too domineering the students tended to behave badly. In many respects, because Liverpool had admitted women students from its inception, there was no need for the close supervision and chaperonage which was in evidence at Newnham. Indeed, it would appear that Liverpool women

students in halls were self-regulating. Many continued to remain in contact with the hall when they took up employment or married. The women who resided in hall did not come from the immediate vicinity of Liverpool, and the evidence would suggest that the majority intended to seek paid employment when their university education was complete.

The following chapter will look further at the social lives of women students and will consider the extent to which they interacted with their male colleagues.

## Chapter Six

### The social lives of women students

Chapter Two of this thesis discussed the admission of women students into Owens College Manchester and University College Liverpool. The evidence suggested that initially a number of obstacles prevented the entry of women into Owens College, and that even when they were removed and women achieved admission, they were subjected to strict regulations regarding their activities and were often ridiculed by their male colleagues. In contrast to the situation at Owens College the admission of women into University College Liverpool was not a subject for debate, as the founders of the College, its authorities and women themselves appear to have taken it for granted that women students would be admitted immediately; so that upon their entry women at Liverpool attended the same lectures as the male students. In today's modern society students entering higher education have a wide range of academic opportunities and these opportunities are combined with a full and varied student social life. This chapter will, therefore, examine the social activities of women who were students at Liverpool during the years 1883 to 1937, with a view to determining the extent to which the sexes integrated on a social level, and the value to women of this part of their university experience.

In a survey of women students at the civic university of Manchester, Tylecote has indicated that social integration between the sexes was eventually achieved, albeit slowly.<sup>1</sup> More recently two authors, Gibert and Dyhouse, have widened still further our

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<sup>1</sup> Tylecote M, *op.cit.*

knowledge of women students attending civic universities. In a survey of women students and student life at England's civic universities before the First World War, Gibert has suggested : 'Whereas women at the older universities formed communities largely separate from their male counterparts, women who attended the civic universities became active participants in, and an integral part of, the general university community.'<sup>2</sup> In direct contrast Dyhouse has indicated : 'Any notions of steady assimilation or easy integration tend to disappear in the face of detailed historical evidence .'<sup>3</sup> Both authors have reached their opposing viewpoints from the studies of a number of universities. This chapter will survey the social activities of women students who attended Liverpool; and from evidence obtained from student magazines, student debates, newspaper articles and personal recollections, it will indicate which viewpoint is the more viable when placed within the confines of a single civic university.

It is important to consider the merits and pitfalls associated with the evidence used in this chapter. Student magazines are valuable indicators of social activity, but should they be taken seriously as a viable source from which to determine student attitudes? Gibert has suggested:

The student publications of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were not intended as serious digests of political or social opinion. Unlike many modern student publications, which serve as training grounds for aspiring journalists, the magazines of the civic universities, particularly Birmingham and Manchester, existed primarily as an outlet for students' creativity and especially for student humour. Therefore, their portrait of female students must be evaluated as satire and not as serious criticism...<sup>4</sup>

Writing on the subject of student magazines relating to Liverpool, Kelly informs us that the University College Magazine was first published in 1885 and lasted until 1893, when it

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<sup>2</sup> Gibert, J S, op.cit,1994, p.405.

<sup>3</sup> Dyhouse, C, op.cit,p.204.

<sup>4</sup> Gibert, op.cit, p.419.

was succeeded by The Sphinx. He indicates that the University College Magazine was rather heavy and solemn and that its successor was, in contrast, 'a much livelier, more student-centred, more irreverent journal'.<sup>5</sup> From the evidence provided by Gibert and Kelly, and from a survey of the magazines themselves, it appears that they were satirical rather than hostile upon the subject of women students. It is also important to stress that the editorship of both magazines was under the control of both sexes. In 1888 the college magazine reported upon its editorial staff, and indicated: 'A new feature involved is the direct representation of the women students upon the staff, which will certainly be a fresh source of strength to the magazine'.<sup>6</sup> The active involvement of women students in the publication of magazines makes it highly improbable that they would tolerate articles being published which were openly hostile towards themselves. Student magazines should therefore be evaluated in the context in which they were written. Although satirical, these magazines nevertheless remain important historical documents, as they do provide an insight into student life and act as a window through which to survey the development of student social life at Liverpool. Student societies also offer the opportunity to evaluate the interaction between the sexes, and the newspaper articles in this survey provide an indication of male students' hostility and the reaction of women and the authorities of the University towards this hostility.

Another valuable source of evidence comes from the recollections of women who were students during the 1920s and 1930s. All of the women who responded to postal questionnaires and oral interviews were very insistent that they were fully integrated members of the University, and had the opportunity to participate fully in its social life. It

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<sup>5</sup> Kelly, T, *opcit*, p. 95.

<sup>6</sup> University College Magazine, Vol. III, 1888, p.101. Ref. ULA, C4.



could be argued that these particular women were fortunate to have enjoyed such a liberal experience, and that those who did not respond might have been unhappy with some aspect of their student life. It is entirely possible that respondents were recalling their experience from the vantage point of advanced years, and perhaps viewing their experiences in a more positive light. Nevertheless, such recollections are important because they come from women who were students in the University during the years under survey.

In its infancy University College offered few opportunities for its students to develop a social life within its walls. Ramsey Muir, who was a student at the College in 1889, recalled :

There were almost no opportunities for the students to meet one another, or to carry on the vital, if often shallow, talk which is the most vital element in university life. They had all lived at home, and scattered to every part of a wide area when lectures were over...The College had not begun to become a living society.<sup>7</sup>

Despite Muir's gloomy picture of student life in 1889, a few social activities had begun to evolve. The dominant student activity centred around the University College Athletic Club. An article published in The Sphinx in 1938 reveals :

At first the club was for men only, but eventually there was a feminine invasion, but on terms which make strange reading today. On page 234 of Volume One of the college magazine we learn of a general meeting of the Athletics Club resolving "that the law restricting membership to Male Students of the Liverpool University College be rescinded, and that the Female Students of the Liverpool University College be admitted to membership under conditions to be left to the discretion of the committee". Who today would talk of 'Male Students' and 'Female Students'? But who would dream of imposing on the 'women' (as we know them) the conditions which were laid down in 1886? For we read further that they were to be admitted for lawn tennis only and that "a court is to be restricted for their sole use for a portion of the day."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Kelly, T, op.cit, p.94.

<sup>8</sup> The Sphinx, Vol XLIV, February 1938, p.24. Ref. ULA, C5.

This article is interesting because it implies that women students were restricted in their sporting activities. It also reveals that male students in 1938 themselves thought this to be a bizarre state of affairs and that they believed women students were integrated members of the university. From a survey of the University College Magazine it is clear that, although the dominant social activity was the Athletics Club, other social activities were beginning to develop. In the 1887 edition it was reported :

**The Women's Literary Society**

For some time it has been felt by the women students that the enjoyment of college life would be much enhanced if they had an opportunity for friendly and intellectual intercourse, apart from their college work. Accordingly, in June last, they held a meeting to discuss the advisability of forming a society, which should help meet this want... Mrs Rendall [the Principal's wife] was invited to be its President, and on her kind consent being obtained, the Committee were left to make the necessary arrangements for holding meetings of the society regularly during the present session...<sup>9</sup>

The article published in The Sphinx in 1938 and the article quoted above both suggest women were segregated, and developed societies which were separate from the men. In the 1887 volume, however, a report was published of a reception which was organised by the students to celebrate Principal Rendall's recent marriage. The guests included the Principal, his wife, the Professors of the college and members of the Council and Senate. The report indicated : 'The guests were received by a committee of ten students, headed by Miss M Sherrat, BA, and Mr Howard, BSc, in full academic robes...'<sup>10</sup> The Principal urged the students to: ' Never lose sight of the fact that university life offered special opportunities for cultivating social relations within the University.'<sup>11</sup> Mr William Rathbone thanked the students on behalf of the Senate, and stated : ' The sight of that large room, thronged with happy looking students of both sexes made him feel as happy as on any day

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<sup>9</sup> University College Magazine, Vol 11, 1887, p.207. Ref ULA, C4.

<sup>10</sup> ibid., p.101.

<sup>11</sup> ibid.

of his life...'<sup>12</sup> Some years later, an article in The Sphinx in 1895 revealed that the women students at the College arranged a student soiree, and as a sign of their appreciation the male students : 'Presented a gift of a bouquet to the Lady President.'<sup>13</sup> In the same year it transpires that : ' The Amusements sub-committee organised a skating party...about 40 men and 10 women students, together with numerous members of staff took advantage of the opportunity...'<sup>14</sup>

In contrast to his depressing picture of a lack of student life in the early years of University College, by 1907, Muir stated that : 'There is probably no non-residential university in England where student life is so vigorous or so happily organised...'<sup>15</sup> It is important to consider how such a transformation had occurred, as the majority of students still attended the university as day students and yet a corporate spirit had developed considerably, and continued to develop throughout the period under review.

The authorities of the College assisted its students to develop a social life when, in 1892, they provided two common rooms in the Victoria Building for their use. The men's room was situated on the ground floor and the women's on the first floor. The plan of the Victoria Building shown here is interesting in itself: not only does it indicate the location of the two common rooms, but it also labels them as the Students' Common Room and Reading Room for men students and the Ladies Common Room and Reading Room for the women. By 1907, as a later article will indicate, women began to resent being called Ladies and insisted on being known as women students. The plan of the Victoria Building

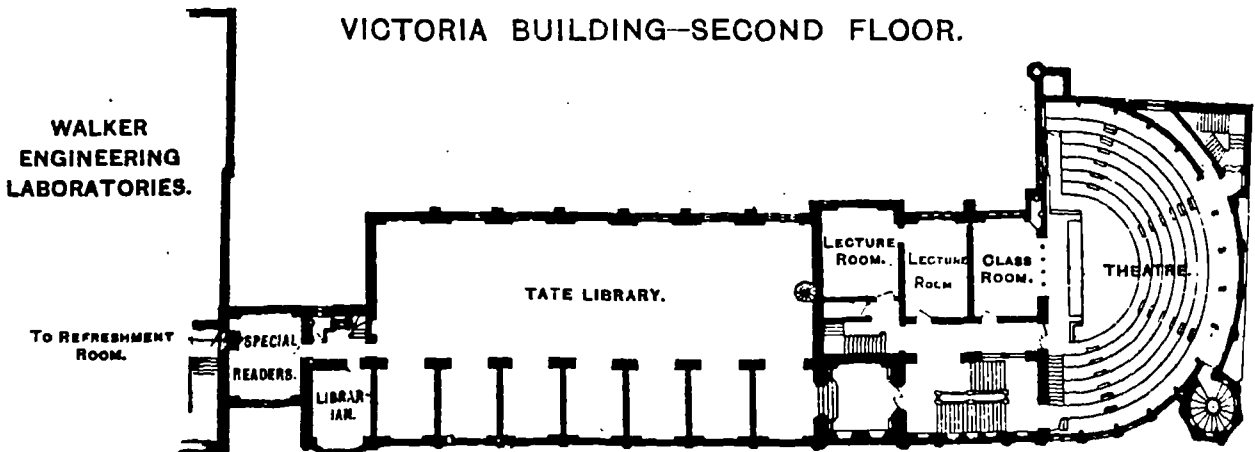
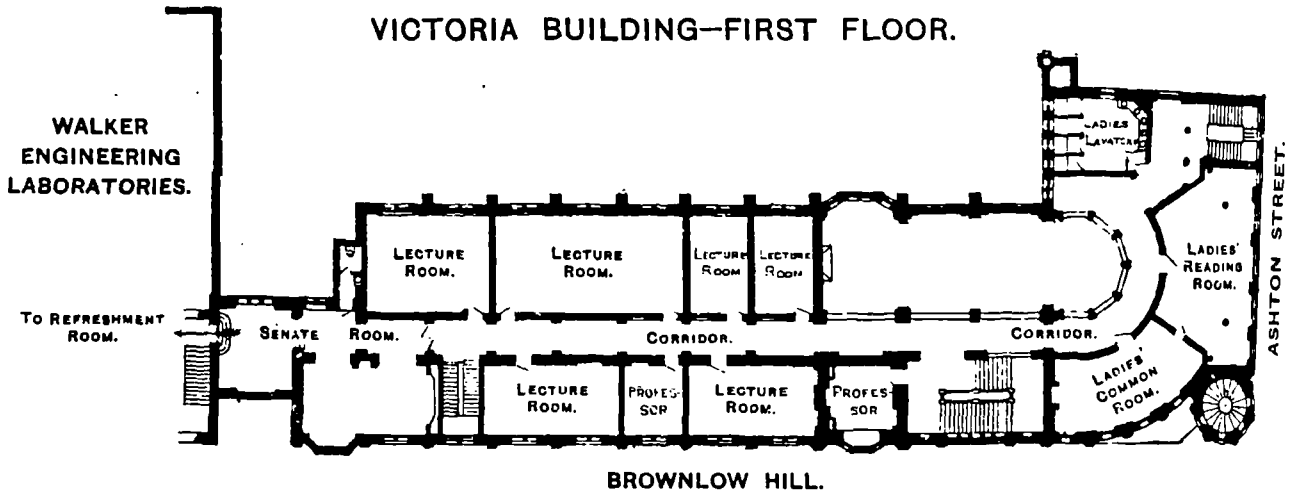
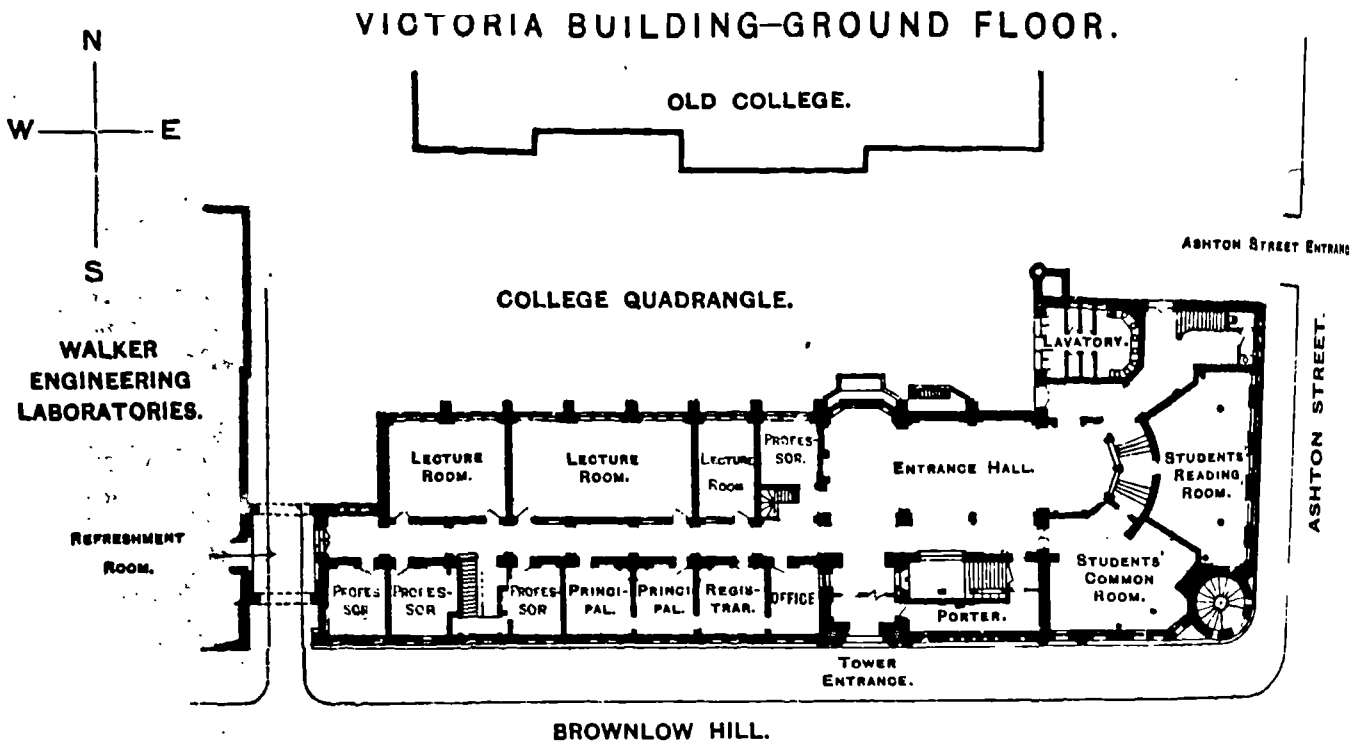
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<sup>12</sup> ibid.

<sup>13</sup> The Sphinx, Vol 3, Feb 1895, p.100.Ref ULA, C5.

<sup>14</sup> ibid.

<sup>15</sup> ibid., p.164.



4. Floor plans of the Victoria Building produced for the reception upon the opening, 1892

clearly shows that men and women students were provided with almost the same amount of accommodation within this building. In many respects the shortage of accommodation was far worse for the men than for the women, as the number of men attending Liverpool was far higher than the number of women.

Dyhouse has indicated that accommodation for women students was : ‘ Usually rather meagre, and given the social mores of the late nineteenth century, women were carefully secluded from the men.’<sup>16</sup> Edna Rideout, who was a student at Liverpool in 1912, confirms Dyhouse’s statement when she recalls : ‘ It [the common room] had a coal fire and some dilapidated easy chairs’. Accommodation was cramped:

Our cloakroom was the balcony rail which was always draped with our coats and hats and every woman wore a hat. These hats tended to slide down into the Victoria Hall, then not a thoroughfare, but the inviolate stamping ground of the men students. When a hat fell, some man, during a temporary absence from the Victoria Hall of Parrington, the Head Porter, would pick it up, scale the life sized statue of Christopher Bushell that stood on a high plinth, and place it on his head where it remained until the owner could persuade Parrington to fetch his step ladder and rescue it...<sup>17</sup>

The Victoria Building was a meeting place for students in the Faculty of Arts: women students were dominant in this Faculty, and yet from this article it does appear that male students also lacked suitable accommodation and were forced to use the floor of the Victoria Building as a meeting place. It is entirely possible that male students from other Faculties also used this building as a meeting place. Dyhouse’s opinion that : ‘...provision was rather meagre’<sup>18</sup> can, therefore, be applied to men and women students equally at Liverpool. Although the students had separate common rooms they did attempt to converse without supervision. Edna Rideout’s recollections reveal :

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<sup>16</sup> Dyhouse, op.cit, p.33.

<sup>17</sup> Recollections of Edna Rideout, Ref. ULA. D255/3/3.

<sup>18</sup> Dyhouse, op.cit, p33.

The new Liverpool University Song Book of 1913 had a brief Spanish song to which were set the English words "If I meet you on the balcony, please will you cast a glance my way?". This referred to "Balconising", an activity indulged in by students of advanced ideas. A man came up from the Victoria Hall and conversed with a woman leaning on the balcony rail at the foot of the stairs to the Tate. Very scandal making and not done by the best people!<sup>19</sup>

For a number of years, as Kelly indicates : '...The Sphinx's gossip column was headed 'Bushell and Balcony''.<sup>20</sup> A club house was also provided for women in Brownlow Street; the men's club house was in Bedford Street.

In 1911 the men's wing of the Students' Union opened, followed in 1913 by the Gilmour Hall and the women's wing. This building succeeded the two former club houses. When the Students Union opened the segregation of the sexes became more effective. Mrs Rideout indicates :

In January 1913 the women entered into possession of their half of the first Students' Union. Theoretically the men's and the women's were separate entities divided by the Gilmour Hall. In the entrance hall of the women's side sat Mrs White, usually engaged on our mending which she did for a small fee. If a woman wished to speak to a man e.g. on society business, she gave his name to Mrs White who took it to Wright, the ex-naval man who was steward of the men's side. When Wright had located the man he informed Mrs White, and the man and the woman were then allowed into the Gilmour Hall where they conversed with both doors open so that Mrs White and Wright could see that propriety was maintained. This soon ceased to be the practice for other things were changing...There was also a room where one could dine with a man on the men's side..<sup>21</sup>

Prior to 1911, it appears that men and women students had more opportunities to meet socially, but throughout the period 1883 to 1937, relations between the sexes continued to be very formal. Winifred Jones, who was a student in 1912, recalls :

In my first year I don't think I spoke to many men except the four men in the Greek classes - intending parsons. In my second year, things were a little different. I knew the men in the History Hons School and there were sing songs. The chief social occasions were held in the library of the men's Union. It was at a History sing song being given by Professor Ramsey Muir...that I first really met my husband...the sexes were, at these affairs, a little mixed - attempts were made anyway to mix them..<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Rideout, *op.cit.*

<sup>20</sup> Kelly, *op.cit.*, p.167.

<sup>21</sup> Rideout, *op.cit.*

<sup>22</sup> Recollections of Winifred Jones, Ref. ULA. D255/3/3.

In addition to sing-songs, by 1913 women were taking part in a number of athletic activities which enabled them to meet male students. Once again Mrs Rideout indicates :

In my first term I was admitted to the practice team of hockey for the elevens, our playing fields were at Knotty Ash...we went by tram to the tennis at Knotty Ash and walked field paths to a small farm where we changed into boots and into skirts so scandalously short that they fell onto our calves...In January 1913 both men and women moved to playing fields at Calderstones Park. Here we shared a tea room. It also became possible to arrange to catch specific trams so that the men and women could travel together to the grounds. And it became fashionable in the summertime for men and women to walk down to Penny Lane along Menlove Avenue, inspecting in some detail, the progress of the houses rising there.

The evidence suggests that the students themselves were seeking ways to socialise free from chaperonage. By this date (1912) students met for mass meetings, sing-songs and informal dances. Mrs Rideout recalled:

Dress was not formal and we had dance programmes on which men asked for the honour of inscribing their names as partners. But to dance more than twice with one partner was frowned on. We were chaperoned by the wives of Senate and staff and they usually brought their husbands. As their programs had to be filled with partners this became a pleasant way for staff and students to meet. The dances had a small orchestra and there was always a sit down, knife and fork meal in the Men's Dining Room. And the cost - believe it or not, one shilling and sixpence.<sup>23</sup>

Women who were students during the 1920s also recall their social activities. Mrs Frances Ellis (nee McLese), a student from 1922 to 1924, recalls :

We, I think, were much more unsophisticated then and we had all sorts of what we thought were jolly things like sing songs...We used to have sing songs after lectures in the afternoon...and we also had, we were terribly holy, we had all sorts of religious meetings to which I didn't go. And on the whole I thoroughly enjoyed myself very, very much indeed. The Liverpool Students' Union then of course was quite small but we used to have jolly good dances there, and every dance there was I was there. I wasn't very keen on games, but on a Wednesday afternoon we used to go to the games field and cheer on the rigger team...cheering 'Oh come on Liverpool'...We had quite a lot of dances in the various faculties and in those days you didn't just stand and jiggle, you danced properly...it didn't matter if you went with anyone, people were very gregarious and they would ask you to dance, you didn't have to have a boyfriend to take you...<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Messenger, S, Taped interview with Mrs Ellis.

From these recollections it is clear that women were integrating to a greater extent by the 1920s and that they were aware that certain codes of behaviour had to be observed.

It is important to consider the rationale behind the founding of separate societies and common rooms for men and women and the apparent integration of the sexes in other social activities. It is entirely possible that attitudes of society in general upon what was considered respectable behaviour between the sexes determined the extent to which students interacted. The evidence indicates that the students socialised together when they were under the supervision of adults; the College authorities acted as surrogate parents and parents expected this form of supervision. Women students were aware of what was considered to be respectable behaviour, as an earlier chapter of this thesis has indicated. To be seen walking alone with a man was considered “fast”, while in all probability to be seen conversing alone with a man would result in a damaged reputation. In addition to the expected codes of behaviour between the sexes it is also possible to argue that men and women students were eager to develop their own societies, not because they were hostile toward each other, but because they had different interests. When they had a similar interest they did share societies.

Men and women had their own societies and individual Student Representative Councils (SRCs) but the evidence indicates that by 1905, the SRCs, which had been founded in October 1892 became integrated when the Guild of Undergraduates succeeded them . With reference to the SRCs Kelly draws our attention to the fact that they were formed by two men, Ramsey Muir and Edward Carey. Muir returned to the University as a lecturer and Carey as University Registrar. Kelly indicates that the formation of these societies



were : ‘...an important step forward in the development of student organisation in this country’.<sup>25</sup> It is interesting that the idea for such councils came from two men and yet women students were not isolated or prevented from having a council, in fact they were automatically included and they enjoyed equal representation. With reference to the Guild Kelly observes:

Though it was decided to have a single Guild, rather than separate Guilds for men and women, the Guild Council was in substance a merger of the former Student Representative Councils. It had two presidents, two vice-presidents and two secretaries, the convention being that one of the two in each case should be a man, the other a woman...<sup>26</sup>

Women, therefore, had equal representation on the Guild of Students. In 1911, The Sphinx published the following article:

#### Editorial

Notice - To avoid misconception we wish to state that Editorials express the views of the Editor and not the official opinion of the Guild.

We consider the action of the Guild Council in rejecting the very moderate proposals of the Union Committee, with regard to the sale of beer in the New Union, pernicious. The women were ill-advised to vote upon a question which so little concerns them. Though we always held that the Union should be as fully licensed as any other gentleman’s club in town, yet the resolution of the Committee - ‘That the sale of beer be allowed in the dining room with meals ( 12 noon to 2.30 pm ); and on special occasions to be approved by the management Committee of the Union’ -seemed so temperate that we supported it. This resolution was rejected by the Guild Council on the strength of the women’s Vote!...<sup>27</sup>

Clearly women students did have the power to determine the activities of the men students. In the next edition of The Sphinx, Grace Weatherhead, a member of the Guild Council, wrote in reply to the Editorial stating:

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<sup>25</sup> Kelly, op.cit., p94.

<sup>26</sup> ibid., p.165.

<sup>27</sup> The Sphinx, Vol XV111, No8, May, 1911, p233.Ref ULA, C5.

Dear Sir,

I feel that the earlier part of your Editorial in the last issue of the *Sphinx* calls for some reply on the part of the Women members of the Council. I had better state at once that personally I am not in agreement with the principles which prompted a number of the women to vote against the proposed sale of beer in the Union, so that my letter may be credited with strict neutrality. Yet, in virtue of my office, I feel it to be my business to say something, inadequate though it may be, concerning the action of the women in voting as they did. It should be clearly understood that the women who voted regarded the question as one involving a moral issue, thus having a vital effect on the general life of the University. They were not moved, as has been hinted, by a desire to assert their right of voting on 'a question which so little concerned them', (to quote your words). It was precisely because they felt this to be a question which did not concern either themselves or the men students primarily, but the present and future welfare of the University as a whole that they voted. The force of their convictions is shown by the fact they felt it incumbent upon them to vote, while certain women who were of the opposite opinion (myself being one), moved by no strong principles in the other direction, refrained from voting. However we may disagree with the principles of those who voted against the proposal, we should, in all fairness, recognise the integrity of their motives. I write this, fearful of bringing into prominence a discussion which I hope has now been ended by a decision of the Union Committee to recommend to the University Council, the sale of beer with meals (12 noon to 2.30), and on occasions approved by the Management Committee. But I am so strongly alive to the exaggeration and misconstruction which very naturally surrounds a much discussed subject; and to the urgent need for sympathy and co-operation between the men and the women, and all the faculties at this time, that I have been moved to risk the evils of reopening profitless discussion.<sup>28</sup>

From the attitudes of students towards each other, and the way in which women increasingly began to take an active and often leading role in social activities, the evidence indicates that integration was achieved.

Rideout in her recollections suggests that male students were sometimes hostile towards women, when she stated that the floor of the Victoria Building was: '...then not a thoroughfare, but the inviolate stamping ground of the men students'.<sup>29</sup> Can the fact that the male students took possession of the women students' hats when, of their own volition, they made their way into the Hall, be considered as actions of hostility? In all probability the owner of the unfortunate hat may have been annoyed at such a childish

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<sup>28</sup> *ibid.*, p269.

<sup>29</sup> Rideout, *op.cit.*

prank, but it was probably seen by both sexes as a joke with no serious harm or deliberate hurt intended. Women themselves were capable of wishing mishaps to befall their male colleagues. A report published in The Sphinx in 1895 by the Women Students' Representative Committee indicated :

We were glad to see the Athletic Sports were so successful. A good many of us turned up, and under the combined influence of a beautiful day, tea and talk, managed to enjoy ourselves immensely. One regret we did hear - and only one. A certain lady, whom we could name, but will not, expressed her sorrow that none of the runners in the steeple chase fell into the brook!<sup>30</sup>

In 1907 The Sphinx published an article entitled 'Our Contemporaries'. The article came from the University of Manchester and stated :

The women (or was it female) students, who objected so strongly to being called ladies the other day, will doubtless be gratified to find that the Iris, while sympathising with their victims, wishes them all success in their crusade. Still, like ourselves, the Iris cannot refrain from a sigh, as it reflects upon the - shall we say - fastidiousness of modern students:

'Oh women, when you seek degrees,  
How deuced hard are you to please!'<sup>31</sup>

This article suggests that women were becoming more assertive and that men students were often at a loss as to how they should behave towards them. A further article in the same edition considered 'The Position of Women Students in the University of Liverpool'.

It was reported :

Probably the most knotty point to be solved by the Committee responsible for the original drafting of the Constitution of the Guild of Undergraduates was that of dealing with the position of women students under the new regime . In the University of Liverpool the women students enjoy a liberty unknown in any other British university, a liberty which I venture to think, because of its perfect freedom from rules, has remained unabused, and has established for itself a high standard of perfection. But in spite of this, until two years ago, the women were looked upon as a body apart, as women, not as students, particularly in student affairs, where all the business with the exception of the Annual Soiree, was carried on by separate SRCs.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> The Sphinx, op.cit. Vol 2, March 1895, p.133. Ref ULA, C5.

<sup>31</sup> ibid. Vol XII, 1906, p.110.

<sup>32</sup> ibid. p. 297.

The author of this article is unknown, but the article continues by praising the activities of the women students in the affairs of the Guild and more importantly the words: 'In the University of Liverpool the women students enjoy a liberty unknown in any other British university...'<sup>33</sup> do prove that women were in a unique position at Liverpool. Clearly these articles question Dyhouse's view that : ' Women are rarely referred to, except in a jokey or condescending vein'.<sup>34</sup> In fact, women were quite often the subject of discussion or were themselves writing articles for the magazine.

Women were often accused of being nervous speakers. In 1902 a mass meeting of students was held to discuss the constitution of the Undergraduates' Guild. It was reported :

One wished frequently that the ladies had chosen a more audible spokeswoman; they seemed to have given by far the most minute detail to the proposals, and their criticisms might have been of value. Between the two stools of general rowdiness and the inaudibleness of Miss Farmer, all this went to ground.<sup>35</sup>

By 1913 it appears that women were beginning to make demands and were much more confident when entering into mixed debates. A letter to The Sphinx, published in 1913 and written by a female student, stated :

Dear Sir,

I trust you will publish this opinion. It is not really a candid opinion. I daren't be candid. The subject to which I wish to draw your attention is the prohibition of smoking in the Women's Union. I think it is a childish piece of folly by the officials. Most of us women smoke nowadays and why should we not? The Head's reply - 'You may - but not in the Union'. Personally I think this is ridiculous. What are we to do when we bring hockey teams from other Universities there?....<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Dyhouse, op.cit., p201.

<sup>35</sup> The Sphinx, Vol IX, June 1902, p. 171.

<sup>36</sup> ibid., Vol XXI, November 1913, p. 31.

The subject of women smoking was also discussed in 1916 at an impromptu debate of the Guild of Undergraduates :

Miss Beckett was called on to propose “that smoking among women is a vice”. She said that it was a vice when done in imitation of men, that all there was to be said on the motion could be said in five seconds, and that actions spoke louder than words. She then acted. Mr Gunn said that the performance of the proposer was a speaking argument against the motion. He referred much to the symmetry of curve, and other similar atrocities, which the proposer suitably acknowledged.<sup>37</sup>

Women were often the subject of comment. In a debate held in 1916 it was indicated:

On account of the nervousness of the lady speakers, it was suggested that the convenor of debates should sit - on a cushion - under the table and hold their hands. The mere suggestion was sufficient to dispel all nervousness, and after many elaborations the subject was cut off apparently while still in its youth.<sup>38</sup>

In 1917 during the second debate of the session Miss Kear was in the chair :

Mr McAusland asked “Whether ladies are allowed to wear their hats during debates”. The Chairman answered that there is no ruling to the contrary. Mr Livingstone proposed that “owing to the frigid attitude of the Gilmour Hall, the House be adjourned for 3 minutes that he may get his hat”. This was seconded and carried.<sup>39</sup>

Clearly many of the debates were light-hearted and not to be taken too seriously. Women were, however, beginning to develop the confidence to take the chair and enter into debates. Miss Leta Jones, a student in the 1930s, recalls with clarity a debate in which a women, Rose Heilbron played a central role. Miss Jones recalls :

Rose Heilbron was very able and when I saw her she must have been about seventeen or eighteen and she was beautiful. We had two Irishmen, Kieran and Fergus and they were the top. They debated and everybody listened and thought the repartee was wonderful. Oh they were very witty...Here was Rose Heilbron looking absolutely beautiful, and she wiped the floor with these two Irishmen, it was brilliant...!<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Guild of Undergraduates, Minutes of Debates, March 1916. Ref. ULA. A032/72. The subject of women smoking is discussed by Rossiter M.W. Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1982, p 92.

<sup>38</sup> ibid. February 1916.

<sup>39</sup> ibid. November 1917.

<sup>40</sup> Messenger, S., Taped Interview with Miss L Jones.

Rose Heilbron graduated from the University in 1935 with a First Class Honours degree in Law, the first woman to do so in the history of the University. She went on to have an illustrious career within the legal profession. In 1975 the University conferred an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon her, and The University of Liverpool Recorder in that year provided an account of her achievements in that profession. The article indicated that after graduating from the University Miss Heilbron was called to Grays Inn in 1939 at the age of 24. In 1944 she was appointed a Judge of the High Court, an office held only by one woman before her. She was appointed King's Counsel in 1949. According to the article: '...Lord Devlin, speaking on behalf of the legal profession, congratulated her upon her unique and well merited achievement of taking silk at so early an age and on being the first woman to be granted that honour...'<sup>41</sup> She was the first woman to plead a case in the House of Lords and the first to be appointed Commissioner of Assize. In 1956 she became the first woman to become a Recorder, a position which she held in Burnley for 15 years. In 1969 she was appointed a Bencher at Grays Inn; in 1973 she achieved another first by becoming leader of the Northern Circuit. Apart from her activities within the legal profession Miss Heilbron was actively involved in public life, was married and had one child. (Some details of these activities have been placed in a footnote.)<sup>42</sup> The evidence indicates that Rose Heilbron had a most distinguished career after graduating from Liverpool. The confidence she exhibited while she was a student clearly continued in her postgraduate life. It would appear that student life at Liverpool

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<sup>41</sup> The University of Liverpool Recorder, No 69, October, 1975, p79. Ref, ULA, D5.

<sup>42</sup> 1944 Dame Commander of the most Excellent Order of the British Empire; prominent member of various professional women's organisations, in 1954 elected member of the Soroptimist Club of Liverpool. Honorary Colonel of the Women's Royal Army Corps, Territorial Army. 1971 to 1974 a member of the University of Liverpool Council.

was largely harmonious. There were, however, two incidents which resulted in male hostility towards women students. These incidents were in connection with the Women's Suffrage Society and the proposed admission of women into the Medical Debating Society.

In 1906 the Women's Suffrage Society organised a meeting at the University and invited Mrs Carmichael Stopes as a guest speaker. According to a report published in the Liverpool Post:

Before the hour of the lecture several rows of seats at the back of the theatre were filled by male students, who amused themselves by lighting cigarettes, throwing them half smoked among the audience, howling, shouting and singing comic songs to the accompaniment of stamping feet. This ROWDYISM it was hoped would be quelled when the President ( Miss Ross ) took the chair...

The article described how the meeting broke up in disarray as the male students refused to allow Mrs Stopes to begin her lecture. Further attempts were made to continue the meeting in another building, but :

Not content with howls, and groans, banging at the doors and throwing at the windows, these high-spirited gentlemen lighted the cigarettes and flung them into the room among the feminine audience. A lady in the company left, exclaiming " I did expect to find gentlemen in a university audience".<sup>43</sup>

During the days following the incident, the newspaper in question published a series of articles referring to it. Miss Ellen B. Ross wrote : ' These gentlemen are, I beg to state, in no way representative. The most charitable thing is to hope that they are, for the most part, very young and very fresh Freshers, who have not yet realised the tone of the

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<sup>43</sup> Liverpool Post, 17th November, 1906.

University...'<sup>44</sup> Another letter, obviously from the men students who had been at the meeting, totally refuted their rowdy behaviour, stating:

1 That no cigarette ends were thrown. 2 That men students were especially invited ( vide poster ) 3 That their object in going was to express disapproval of such meetings being held on University premises. There were, however, no organised ring leaders. We may point out, in answer to any objectors, that the suffragettes have for some time been notorious as disturbers of meetings, and were on this occasion, merely paid back in their own coin, treated, in fact, as " equals " ...<sup>45</sup>

Another correspondent, while not defending the actions of the male students, took exception to the presence of Mrs Stopes, suggesting that she :

Belongs to an extremely dangerous class of women who make it their business to preach the ridiculous doctrine of the superiority of women over men ( as she did the other day in Birkenhead ), and to endeavour to establish, if it be possible, a species of gynaecocracy of a kind aimed at the more advanced " feminists " on the continent. I am not certain that this pernicious doctrine is being taught in girls' high schools and women's colleges, but there is grave reason to suspect that this is being done in some places. If so there is plenty of trouble before us in the future. A "swelled head" in the case of a man is not a nice spectacle, but in the case of a woman it is especially unpleasing, since women constantly make such extravagant claims to modesty as their particular characteristic.<sup>46</sup>

A male medical student claimed that Miss Ross had called the men students at the meeting : ' Mere men and nonentities, and not gentlemen, and "scum of the slums"...'<sup>47</sup> A woman correspondent posed the question : ' Why are the young men at Liverpool University so far inferior in courtesy and good manners ( in fact all that makes a gentleman ) to those of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh & Co.?'...<sup>48</sup> The Vice- Chancellor of the University, in a letter to the paper, stated :

Sir,- will you allow me to state:- (1) That Fridays evening's disturbance has been unduly magnified ; that comparatively few students took part in it ; and that some of the incidents reported did not occur. (2) That the students concerned have spontaneously and frankly expressed their regret for their conduct on such an occasion. (3) That the Undergraduates Guild may be trusted to repress any tendencies to disorder in the present, as they have repressed such tendencies in the past. They know that freedom abused means freedom withdrawn. They are rightly proud of the freedom they enjoy, and they will justify its continuance...

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<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*, "The Suffrage Movement at the University", 19th November 1906.

<sup>45</sup> *ibid.*, "Those Students who were Present", 20th November 1906.

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*, "R. G. Jun".

<sup>47</sup> *ibid.*, "A Medical Student".

<sup>48</sup> *ibid.*, "R. W".



( We publish with pleasure Vice-Chancellor Dales' letter, but in justice to ourselves we must say that our representative- a perfectly unbiased person- who was present assures us that the account which we published, under rather than over stated the facts. The students concerned deny that cigarettes were thrown; our representative was struck by one, and saw another burning on the piano., ED, DP and M )<sup>49</sup>

The Vice-Chancellor was attempting to play down the whole episode. This is understandable, as many parents would not be willing to allow their daughters to attend a university which had a reputation for encouraging women's suffrage. An earlier chapter of this thesis has suggested that Girton College Cambridge had such a reputation, and for this reason many parents preferred their daughters to attend Newnham College. The Vice-Chancellor was also determined that his students were not viewed by the general public as being rowdy and ill-mannered. In 1906, he sent the following letter to Mrs Stopes :

My Dear Madam,

Allow me to express my sincere regret that you should have been treated with such discourtesy here on Friday. The students concerned feel that they behaved badly and have said so. The general feeling of the undergraduates distinctly condemns all such disorder.<sup>50</sup>

A Miss Broadhurst, who had been a student at Liverpool, also wrote upon the disturbance and suggested that, although students were often high-spirited, she was shocked to have been a witness of the behaviour of the men in question, stating:

It was strange to me to see a large body of men ( a majority Seniors ) in open action against a representative body of women. So unnatural did it seem that I am constrained to feel that it can only be a passing phase in a University - perhaps the only one in the world - of fully enfranchised women...<sup>51</sup>

The evidence in this letter clearly indicates not only that Miss Broadhurst believed that women students were integrated members of the University, but also that the position of women at Liverpool was far superior to the situation in which women students found

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<sup>49</sup> ibid, "The Disturbance at the University".

<sup>50</sup> Letter Books of the Vice-Chancellor, November 1906, p.634. Ref. ULA. S2330.

<sup>51</sup> Liverpool Post, "M A Broadbent, MA[Lond]".

themselves at other universities. The number of women students who were members of the Suffrage Society was relatively small; only fifteen were reported to have been present at the meeting held in 1906. Only one, Miss Margaret Ker, was prosecuted for militant activity. Miss Winifred Jones recalls this student, indicating:

When I went to university I had skirts to my ankles. My hat was held on with an ornamental pin - and we wore gloves. One of my chief friends didn't. She was perhaps different from the average student - a member of the WSPU - she was 'ordered' to set a pillar box on fire - bungled it, burnt her hand and was caught and spent the Christmas Vac and part of the next term in Walton Gaol. The authorities made her waste that whole year and turned her out of the Hons English School. Though she'd only missed about three weeks of term...<sup>52</sup>

Margaret Ker came from a militant background: according to Von Helmond, her mother Doctor Alice Ker was a pioneer in the suffrage movement :

Born in 1853, she was the thirteenth woman in Britain to get her name on the Medical Register. She became involved with the organised women's suffrage campaign from the beginning as a founder member of the Liverpool Womens Suffrage Society in 1894. However, she joined the WSPU when it was established on Merseyside. She defended militancy and took part in a window smashing raid in London, where she was imprisoned for two months in Holloway. She died in 1943.<sup>53</sup>

Margaret Ker was obviously following her mother's example; in 1912 she was found guilty of damage to public property and received a jail sentence. During her short period in prison she was visited by the Vice-Chancellor and he was in regular correspondence with her. Dyhouse believes : 'The majority of women students, even those who felt strongly about the issue of suffrage, were careful to avoid militancy particularly in the view of their need to keep their reputations clear for a future career in teaching.'<sup>54</sup>

Despite these events, the authorities of the University allowed the Suffrage Society to continue to hold its meetings on its premises. The Vice-Chancellor was sympathetic to the

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<sup>52</sup> Recollections of Winifred Jones, *op.cit.*

<sup>53</sup> Von Helmond, M., *Votes for Women: The Events on Merseyside, 1870-1928*, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, 1992, p110.

<sup>54</sup> Dyhouse, *op.cit.* p. 218.

cause, as was Professor Lyon Blease. From a survey of this Professor's correspondence it is apparent that he was in many respects a champion of women: a supporter of higher education, the continued employment of women after marriage and the entry of women into professions which were male dominated.<sup>55</sup> Although women students tended to avoid militancy while at the University, there is evidence which indicates that once their attendance there was completed they entered into a more active role. The evidence also shows that a number of women who supported the founding of University Hall were members of the Suffrage Society. While, therefore, there was some hostility towards women students over the issue of suffrage, the number of men involved in this was very small and their actions were condemned by the majority of students, both men and women. A rather more concentrated and vocal area of opposition to women can be observed from the study of the Medical Students' Debating Society.

This society was founded in 1874, long before women began to read for medical degrees at the University. In 1903, women were admitted to read for this degree and in 1905 the subject of their admission to the debating society was discussed. In November of that year, a Mr Gerard :

Gave notice that at the next meeting he would put forward the resolution ' That the membership of this society be restricted to male medical students'. Seconded by Mr Green, opposed by various members. A lively discussion ensued and many suggestions were made such as the suspension of the rules for the evening and the discussion of the proposition, and its ratification at the next meeting. Finally on the production of a copy of the rules by W Tickle, the existence of which was unknown to the majority of members, the chairman ruled the immediate discussion of said proposition- out of order- to be discussed at the next meeting.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Correspondence of Professor Lyon Blease Ref. ULA D55/6/2.

<sup>56</sup> Medical Students Debating Society, 30th November 1905, p. 91. Ref. ULA, A011/5.

The following month Mr Gerard put forward his resolution and was seconded by Mr Green, and the following debate took place :

He, Mr Gerard, pointed out that he was speaking with no personal animosity towards the Ladies, but for what he thought the benefit of the society. He went on to say that the rules of the society were written at a time when lady medicals were unthought of. He further said it was impossible for a gentleman to speak freely before ladies on certain subjects, quoting the example of the out patients department at the Royal Infirmary on certain days when lady medicals were present. More over, he was of the opinion that as the ladies got more numerous they would gain control over the society and eventually prohibit smoking at the meetings. Mr W Green seconded Mr Gerards proposal, and said that those in favour of the proposal, at any rate, would be unable to speak with their customary fashion. The result of the presence of ladies would be; (1) curtailment of freedom of debate, (2) the eventual prohibition of smoking, (3) the deterioration of debates to a pleasant afternoon affair and chocolates.

Mr Richardson led the opposition and in a somewhat forceful speech said that there could be no limitation to freedom of a gentleman's speech before a lady, and that a woman on joining the medical profession became unsexed as far as medical matters were concerned. He worked in a great deal of sentiment into his paper, and quoted a case where a woman student had been admitted as an experiment to Geneva Medical School without causing the slightest embarrassment to any one.

Numerous speakers followed. Miss Farmer spoke on request of a member and said that the fact that many of women's means of livelihood, such as the spinning wheel, having been taken away, that she was forced to enter the labour market. Fair competition was what she asked for. She thought there was no danger to smokers being deprived of their solace...<sup>57</sup>

The fact that Miss Farmer attended the meeting appears to suggest that once women were admitted to the Faculty of Medicine they could attend debates even though they had not been admitted to membership of the society. It is also likely that Miss Farmer was being satirical when she indicated that women were forced to enter the labour market because their spinning wheels had been taken away. The meeting was attended by a record number of members and the proposal was lost by 35 votes to 29. It appears that men students were not opposing the entry of women into their society because they were hostile to their entry into the profession, but because they feared that women would attempt to take over the society and make changes. In 1906, a Mr RB Edwards, seconded by Mr Buckley, proposed :

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<sup>57</sup> ibid. 14th December 1905, p.97.

That an inter society debate with the university suffrage society should not take place. Miss Farmer opposed and asked whether the society was never to have any inter society debates or whether it was only with one particular society that debate was forbidden. Mr Higgins thought it would be an excellent opportunity to pulverise the suffragettes. On being put to the vote the motion was lost by one vote.<sup>58</sup>

The proposed debate did take place, with Miss Farmer being one of the speakers for the suffrage society, of which she was a member. Miss Euphemia Leithbridge Farmer had attended University College, graduating with a BA in 1901; in 1903 she re-entered the University to read for a Medical degree. She did not complete her course; instead she married and emigrated to Canada. The entry of women into the medical debating society did not bring to an end its normal activities and, as the years progressed, women began to take an increasingly active role in debates. The evidence shows that women were very able to debate with confidence upon their chosen subjects.

In other areas where one would expect to find hostility from male students towards the entry of women into male-dominated degree courses and societies, such as Law and Engineering, the evidence indicates that women were actually welcomed. In January 1913

The Sphinx reported:

#### Legal Jottings

There is a fluttering in the dovescotes down at Cook Street, for the law faculty has joined the happy band again by the advent of a lady student in the person of Mrs Share Jones, the wife of one of the University staff. While the engineers are mourning for their lost one on such material grounds as the relative thickness of the bread and butter before and after her departure, the lawyers are rejoicing (more or less) over the latest acquisition to their ranks from purely altruistic and psychological motives. The wondrous tome of the great laws of England is to be opened up at length to a budding Portia. She is to be initiated into the mystic lore of bankruptcy practice and spa ad tests. Oh to think of it! No longer will the corridors and lecture rooms echo forlornly beneath the heavy masculine tread. The tapping of high heels and the swish of skirts will bring a new music to the law library and make even the sphinx-like physiognomy of the librarian relax for a moment or two perhaps. But coming to serious things, I am sure each and everyone of the students down at Cook Street extends a cordial welcome to Mrs Jones. Mrs Jones by the way is not the first lady law student. It may come as a surprise to most to learn that Miss Christobel Pankhurst, who is looming so largely in the public eye at present, finished her third year of LLB studies at Liverpool just after Victoria College had attained the proud dignity of a University.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> ibid. 7th November 1907, p. 133.

<sup>59</sup> The Sphinx, Vol XX, January 1913.

Mrs Mary Selina Share Jones was the wife of Professor Share Jones of the Veterinary School. This professor, as a later chapter will indicate, championed the cause of women gaining admission into the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons. He was a firm supporter of the admission of women to all degree courses and professions, so must have supported his wife in her legal studies. Although she graduated with an LLB from the University Mrs Share Jones was prevented from entering the legal profession because the Law Society refused to grant women admission. It was not until the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act was passed in 1919 that women were allowed to enter the legal profession. Upon the completion of her law degree Mrs Share Jones moved to the Faculty of Medicine at the University, where she graduated MB ChB.

In one area of student social life, however, women did not enter into the proceedings on the same terms as the men, and this was the annual Rag Day. Mrs Enid Hamer (nee Porter), a student at the University in 1917 and 1922, recalled this event and stated: ‘ The participants were nearly all men and women students merely onlookers.’<sup>60</sup> Dyhouse suggests that this is an example of a lack of integration by women students. From the recollections of other women who were students during the 1920s and 1930s it does indeed appear that women at this event were observers, and not active participants to the same extent as their male colleagues. The situation was not, however, as clear-cut as Dyhouse has suggested. In a taped interview with a student from the 1920s, Messenger discovered the reason for this apparent lack of integration:

Oh yes, Rag Week,...the women used to take part in that. We used to dress up in our academic gowns and go around the Town with collecting boxes...The men dressed up, the women wore academic gowns, you see it wouldn't do for the women to dress up. Why not? Oh, it wouldn't look right, women didn't do things like that...<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Dyhouse, *op.cit.*, p. 212.

<sup>61</sup> Messenger, S., Taped Interview with Miss Holman, 6.12.95.

Mrs Ellis also recalled that the men dressed up and the women wore gowns. It would appear that this was the norm. She did, however, say: ‘What annoyed us, all the women, was the fact that the public always patronised the men, the men only had to bring out the box and everyone rushed to them and the poor women were left stranded...’<sup>62</sup> The authorities of the University were opposed to women dressing up, but apart from this, the women themselves believed that it would not have been respectable to do so. Women were eager to protect their reputations and to avoid any behaviour which might result in unwanted gossip or scandal. Their own notions of respectability ultimately determined their behaviour at this event. By the 1930s, however, Dyhouse considers that : ‘Things were slightly different in the 1930s when it seems that a growing self-confidence amongst women less inclined to be inhibited by traditional notions of feminine decorum required those in authority to exercise more vigilance’.<sup>63</sup> This is certainly a fact, as an article which was published in The Guild Gazette indicates:

The University Authorities have declined to grant permission for women undergraduates to wear fancy dress on Rag Day. They feel that a woman wearing academic dress would collect more money than one wearing fancy dress. We approached the original proposer and opposer of this scheme, and below we publish respectively their two viewpoints: Mrs Harries, in reply to our correspondent stated:- The restriction should be removed. Women should be allowed to wear fancy dress for collecting if they so desire. They should not be compelled to do so, nor should they be forbidden to wear it. University women can be trusted to wear only such dress as will uphold, or at any rate not lower, the dignity expected of them. White coats are too cold for collecting in, caps and gowns are awkward, and as they have to be hired they are unhygienic. For some people the wearing of fancy dress would add to the enjoyment of collecting. Mr Metford, on the other hand, said:- “It should be made clear that my objection to women dressing up on Panto Day is not an insult to University Women. On the contrary, the esteem in which I hold them is so high that I would do all in my power to prevent anything which might damage their reputation. And I certainly think that an undergraduate about the streets of Liverpool in fancy dress would have a far from enviable time. On the other hand, a woman in cap and gown inspires respect and interest. She would certainly collect more money. This, you may say, is not a matter for the mere male, but should be left exclusively for the women of the University to decide. I would point out, however, that the dignity and welfare of the Guild is concerned, and that all members of Guild are thus entitled to express their opinions on the subject - and now tell me that I’m a rank Conservative and invoke shades of Sylvia Pankhurst!” We would like to point out that it

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<sup>62</sup> ibid, Taped Interview with Mrs Ellis, 7.12.95.

<sup>63</sup> Dyhouse, op.cit, p213.

hardly seems fair to the women, that they should either have to hire academic dress at the cost of 2s.6d or wear their ordinary clothes, in which case they would be undistinguishable from the rest of the public. As a choice of the two evils, it is possible that the latter, for the sake of economy, will appeal to most. Time will tell.<sup>64</sup>

From this survey of the activities of students during Rag Day, it would appear that by the late 1930s women students were in fact beginning to exhibit growing self-confidence, and were, as Dyhouse has indicated, less inclined to be inhibited by traditional notions of feminine decorum.

This survey has suggested that in certain social activities men and women students were integrated, and in other activities they acted independently of each other. It is also apparent that while there was some hostility towards women students from their male colleagues this was largely confined to the Women's Suffrage Society and the admission of women into the Medical Debating Society. Dyhouse has indicated that at Manchester during the 1920s there was tension between men and women students.<sup>65</sup> From a survey of articles which were published in The Sphinx during the years 1915 to 1935, although there were no noticeable tensions, there were a number of articles which discussed the attitudes of both sexes towards each other. In an article entitled 'Towards the Future: being Essays in Suggestion', the viewpoints of past and present men and women students were published. The men students who contributed to the article believed that women students were more mature upon their entry into the University than the men students. They also suggested that women were very competitive in examinations:

We know how hard women work to keep up to the professor's standard, and how often they excel the men in most matters of fact. Yet most frequently their college course falls in a 'quiescent' period, and the result in such a case is that the work, being harder than it ought to be, overstrains their nervous temperament...Let no one say that there is no competition in a University. It exists not only in the quality, but in the quantity of work

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<sup>64</sup> 'Dress Dictatorship' Guild Gazette, Vol 2, No 10, 14th December, 1937, p 1. Ref, ULA, GI.

<sup>65</sup> ibid, p76.



done. And nowhere has its influence been more harmful than in setting men against women and women against men... We surely must meet, must 'mix' on equal social and intellectual terms. What poor lop-sided, half-educated creatures we should otherwise become! In the atmosphere of a really live mixed society, individual warps, gaucheries, and selfishness will, if the social tone ring true, be raised and enriched and transformed...

The women students also provided an indication of how they believed the sexes should interact, indicating:

To my mind there are two obstacles to the free intercourse between men and women students at a Modern University. Like most obstacles they exist only to be overcome. The first is Reserve; the second, Gossip. It is impossible for everybody to know everybody else up at College, but it ought certainly to be possible to know everybody in one's own Faculty and most people in one's own year, and many people belonging to other Faculties and other years, and this, not formally, through the medium of mutual acquaintances, but automatically as members of the same University. I think the women are largely to blame for the amount of aloofness and insularity that exists; for women have the privilege of 'speaking first,' and though I admit it an impossibility to be equally friendly with all, I consider the advance well worth making for the sake of a cordial morning greeting or a smile of recognition, while, if a friendly interchange of ideas results, the minds of both will be quickened; for men and women see life and study society from different vantage points, and it is never too early to begin, never too late to continue, an endeavour to understand each others point of view. Now as to Gossip. I tread here on dangerous ground. College gossip seems to me to be the outcome of a species of sentimentality which women have yet to outgrow. Women are at heart conventional, therefore the recurring Class Library Idylls and K.D Expeditions assume an exaggerated importance. After all, what harm can a little lingering among the books, a few extra cream buns and coffees do to our budding geniuses, and who knows what 'Thought kindling, itself at the fire of living Thought' may be evolved between them! And in any case, let them alone, for the atmosphere of the University should be sufficient to inspire them with worthy ideals... I think that a panacea for both ills mentioned might be found in dual education. If boys and girls were educated together from childhood, there could hardly arise the awkwardness and self-consciousness that separates youths and maidens in their teens... But there is a more serious aspect of the relations between men and women students. So far, we have looked only at the Social side of College life; we have yet to consider the academic side. It has been objected again and again that the women introduce a competitive element into University life. It is an unfair objection... There is less competition in the Academic world than in any other sphere of life ( that is using the word competition in its baser sense ); there is striving, emulation, struggle to maintain excellent traditions of scholarship, but of petty rivalry, of working for prizes or rewards; of striving to outstrip fellow-student in the same school - nothing. Why the very examinations are not competitive! Then if women do not introduce an element of competition into the Academic calm, do they not tend to 'lower the standard' by their presence? Look at the pass-lists for an answer. Women have a good many Honours Degrees and Distinctions to their credit! It is a sense of tradition of the women's side that women work harder than men, probably unnecessarily harder, their sense of proportion being not so well developed, but Time will doubtless remedy this and other discrepancies One last point and I will cease. It has always seemed to me that men and women students rarely talk to each other about their College work. After all, it is their main interest in life - the *raison d'être* of the University - the subject about which they could talk best, and yet it is rarely mentioned. Why this conspiracy of silence? <sup>66</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> The Sphinx, Vol XX11, December, 1915,p148-153.

In 1924, an article entitled 'Feminism' was published, and it had the following comment to make upon that subject:

London medical schools have agitated for the exclusion of women students from their classes - an action symptomatic of slowly growing male hostility to extravagant feminist demands. Since the middle of the 19th century a minority of women - disciples of Mill and Lewis - have used a borrowed philosophy, to agitate for recognition as complete equals, physical, mental and moral, of the envied male. A cruel fraud - runs their theory - has prevented them from taking their true place as leaders in politics, science and art. This fraud makes woman a mere child-bearing animal; at best a useful slave or amusing toy for usurping man...Such views have never been representative of the majority, who found satisfaction in fulfilling natural destiny in marriage and motherhood. Recruits to the ranks of feminism have been drawn from spinsters insufficiently dowered with attributes pleasing enough to man to secure their mating...Under normal conditions little was to be feared from these agitators, but the aftermath of the war cumbers us all with a vast superfluity of women, normal in all respects, who are unable, owing to the discrepancies in the relative numbers of the sexes, to find a sexual satisfaction compatible with normal integrity. Accentuating this problem is the question of their maintenance, and the entailed economic difficulty of flooded labour markets. Here is a group of factors playing into the hands of our agitators....<sup>67</sup>

A woman who had been present at the debate in which this subject was discussed made her views very apparent in her reply:

I felt impatient during the Inter-Varsity Debate. I was enjoying it immensely, but I really did want to know what 'Vir' was thinking about, for I had been very interested in his article on 'Feminism' in the last number of the Sphinx. It soon became apparent that although the subject announced for debate was 'That the Decline in Home Life is beneficial to the Community', we were to be regaled with disquisitions on the emancipation of women. Armchairs, slippers, meals and dish washing all received their share of attention...It is amusing, albeit pathetic, to note that University under-graduates of the twentieth century are, like Dr Johnson, astonished to find that an educated woman may also be capable of making a pudding and hemming a handkerchief...<sup>68</sup>

In the 1930s other articles showed that the subjects of feminism and employment for women were still open for discussion. The subject of the election of women onto the

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<sup>67</sup> *ibid.* Vol XXX1, November, 1924, p20.

<sup>68</sup> *ibid.* January, 1925, p42.

Guild Council also became a subject for debate. The Guild Gazette published the following article, which was written by “Wall Flowers Rampant”:

The Guild of Undergraduates - that model of democracy and of equal rights for men and women among all Universities - is wavering and tottering on the brink of male dictatorship. Guild Council for three consecutive meetings, has been considering amendments to its constitution whereby the Presidents of Guild shall be jointly elected by men and women Councillors, instead of by their separate sections as at present. Consider what such a change will mean. There are fifty men and fifteen women members of Council, in fair proportion to the total numbers of men and women students in the University, and both the old and the new members of Council have a voice in the presidential elections there are then 100 male and 30 female votes to be cast. It is unfair, they say, and undemocratic that a major portion of thirty votes should elect the Lady President, who is to act jointly with the President, backed up by upwards of 50 electors; and “what is more,” said a certain Councillor, “am I to accept the ruling of a Lady President in whose election I have had no voice?” Such is the case for the proposed change. What does it mean? What chance have thirty women’s votes when weighted by those of a hundred men? Were all thirty to be unanimous in their choice they could be silenced by a mere third of the male vote. A joint election does not mean wider democracy but complete male ascendancy in every sphere of Guild life...Women, are you going to lose the independence and equality which has been yours by right since the very inception of the Guild of Undergraduates forty-three years ago, to be taken away by a two-thirds majority vote of Council? Will you allow the male members to elect your President when your vote has been rendered powerless? And finally gentlemen, do you want a Ladies’ Man?<sup>69</sup>

It would appear that, while there is little evidence of tensions between men and women students at Liverpool before 1935, tensions began to appear as the 1930s drew to a close.

The evidence used in this chapter has been on the whole confined to student magazines, which are important historical documents. It is important, however, to provide further evidence to support the findings so far. This supporting evidence can be drawn from the first hand accounts of a small sample of women who were students during the 1920s and 1930s. Mrs Elizabeth Marion Smith (nee Kerr), a student in 1922, recalled:

I greatly enjoyed student life during my years at Liverpool and made many great friends there. There was an extremely happy atmosphere, and as the numbers were only about 2,000 students, it was possible to get to know most and make friends throughout most of the faculties. The Professors and lecturers were outstandingly co-operative and the students were very appreciative of their help and support.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Guild Gazette, 2nd March, 1937, p3.

<sup>70</sup> Return from Questionnaire.

Mrs Constance Mary Rambling ( nee Frazer ), a medical student in 1930, wrote : ‘ I look back on my time at Liverpool University with pleasure...’<sup>71</sup> Miss Josephine Fitz Patrick, a student in the 1920s, indicated : ‘ University days simple and more uncomplicated than they are today - numbers only a fraction of today’s - halcyon years.’<sup>72</sup> Mrs Mary Huxley (nee Edwards ), a student in 1927, recalled :

Looking back from the viewpoint of 87, my university years 1927-1932 were some of the happiest years in my life, full of friendship and laughter and no serious responsibilities, and the sheer pleasure of having one’s brain fed with worthwhile information and having one’s intelligence stretched.<sup>73</sup>

Mrs Victorie de Courtheil Creighton Ducker ( nee Tillemont-Thomason ), a veterinary student in the 1930s, indicated :

I did what I wanted without any opposition. I enjoyed the challenge- I always wanted to be first in and last out with anything difficult! I was strong, quiet and often ‘last man out’...My parents were excellent and let us make up our own minds, they never put a damper on our ideas! Liverpool was lucky as the Professor at the time was dead keen to have Liverpool be the first University- College to give women a chance and to establish a degree, he was our great champion and his staff were behind him. I don’t think the same would apply these days as “ youth ” itself is different.<sup>74</sup>

Mrs Kathleen Mawn Young (nee Massey), also a veterinary student in the 1930s, stated :

What can I say? Life then seemed so trouble free compared to what young women have to face these days. We got into a tremendous spat about Spain and what was going on in Germany, but we didn’t really think there would be another war. And no drugs and almost impossible to get contraceptives if you were young and unmarried.<sup>75</sup>

Miss Elizabeth Mary Harper, a medical student in 1937, said :

I enjoyed learning and although shy, I found meeting people from many backgrounds and with many interests different from my own, and all very friendly, a very rewarding and educational experience which I would never have had an opportunity to enjoy in any other way. Lifelong friendships were formed and still continue...<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> ibid.

<sup>72</sup> ibid.

<sup>73</sup> ibid.

<sup>74</sup> ibid.

<sup>75</sup> ibid.

<sup>76</sup> ibid.

All of the recollections are very positive, not a single respondent felt discriminated against because of gender differences during the course of her student days at Liverpool. In fact a number of respondents spoke of the male friends they had made during those years. It is of course entirely possible that the women who did not return the questionnaires were unhappy with some aspect of their days at the University of Liverpool

In conclusion, although historians are divided on the extent to which women students became active participants in the social life of their universities, the evidence in this survey, which focuses upon student life at Liverpool, clearly supports Gilbert's viewpoint: 'Whereas women at the older universities formed communities largely separate from their male counterparts, women who attended civic universities became active participants in, and an integral part of, the general university community.'<sup>77</sup> Women students at Liverpool enjoyed an active social life. They formed societies which were of specific interest to themselves, but also interacted with their male colleagues at dances and mixed societies. It is interesting to note that, although the idea and the actual founding of Student Representative Councils came from two male students', women were automatically given their own Council and they were expected to participate on it. This can hardly be described as the action of a hostile male student body. This Council enabled women to enjoy equal representation with their male colleagues. This representation continued to operate when the Councils came to an end in 1905 and the Guild of Students came into being. To suggest that women faced no male hostility would be incorrect, but such opposition was on a very small scale. There are two references in this chapter which clearly indicate that women themselves believed they were integrated members of the University. In 1906 it was reported :

In the University of Liverpool the women students enjoy a liberty unknown in any other British university, a liberty which I venture to think, because of its perfect freedom from rules, has remained unabused, and has established for itself a high standard of perfection.<sup>78</sup>

In the same year Miss Broadhurst believed the University to be : ‘...perhaps the only one in the world - of fully enfranchised women...’<sup>79</sup> The majority of men and women students supported each other and enjoyed each other’s company. Women students were at times observers at some events, but this was of their own volition, as they had notions of how women should behave and they adhered to a code of acceptable behaviour. Clearly historians who focus upon the higher education of women will arrive at different conclusions but, based upon the evidence of women who were students at Liverpool, there is little doubt that they themselves believed that they were integrated members of the University and that they did not believe that they were isolated or the subject of male hostility. The next chapter will consider the postgraduate lives of women students.

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<sup>77</sup> Gibert, *op.it.* p.405.

<sup>78</sup> *The Sphinx*, Vol, X11, 1906, p297.

<sup>79</sup> *The Liverpool Daily Post*, 20th November, 1906.

## **Chapter Seven**

### **Postgraduate Lives**

This chapter will focus upon the various spheres of activity which women students from Liverpool entered once their university education was completed. First, it will discuss the difficulties which are specific to the follow-up of women students. Second, it will compare those women who, after attending University College Liverpool, went on to Newnham College Cambridge to continue their education with their colleagues who remained at Liverpool, in order to determine whether their postgraduate lives were different. Third, this chapter will argue that women who were students during the years 1883 to 1887 and 1903 to 1907 were confined to a narrow range of careers, but women did attempt to widen this range. It will also show that by the years 1923 to 1927 and 1933 to 1937, while the range of employment for women graduates had widened, the career which the majority of women entered was still the teaching profession. It will become apparent that those women who remained single often achieved senior positions within their chosen profession. It will also indicate that for many women marriage brought to a close paid employment in the teaching profession, but that after the Second World War increasing numbers of married women began to re-enter teaching on a part-time basis. Conversely, from a survey of those women who had graduated with degrees in medicine, dentistry, architecture, law and veterinary science, it will show that marriage did not always bring an end to their employment opportunities, and the reasons to account for this will be discussed.

There were many problems encountered when attempting to indicate the various spheres of activity which women from Liverpool entered once their education was completed. In its early years the University of Liverpool was not a residential University and, as an earlier chapter has indicated, the majority of women attended the University as day students. Although these women involved themselves in social activities while they were students, it appears that once their education was completed a significant number did not remain in contact with the University. The information regarding their activities after graduation has, therefore, been difficult to obtain. Some women did, however, become members of The Old Students Society, which formed branches throughout England and overseas, and from a survey of the University of Liverpool Society Chronicle it has been possible to provide some indication of their activities. It has also been possible to follow up the activities of some women from articles which were published in The Recorder. Those women who resided in University Hall appear to have developed a closer attachment to the University and they sent regular news of their activities to The University Hall Association, which published newsletters relating to its members on a yearly basis. From a survey of these newsletters a substantial amount of information was obtained. It was possible to follow up women students from Edge Hill Teacher Training College who entered the University to read for a degree, from a survey of The Edge Hill Magazine. The follow up of women is made particularly difficult because many women married and the University was not always informed of this unless, of course, a married woman required confirmation of an educational qualification to enable her to obtain employment. The Medical Registers, which were a valuable source of information regarding the activities of women doctors, unfortunately list those women who



married by their new surname; if this name was not in the student's dossier then the follow-up came to an abrupt end. The returns from questionnaires have once again been of considerable value for this chapter. Other information regarding the activities of women in their postgraduate lives has been provided by Dr David Edwards from the University of Liverpool, who allowed me access to his research on women who graduated with degrees in physics. Dr Andrew West from the University of Hull kindly sent me with an interesting paper on the postgraduate activities of Phylla Davis, who was a student at Liverpool during the period 1933 to 1937. Despite the difficulties encountered regarding source material, enough information has been obtained to provide an indication of the postgraduate careers of women from the University of Liverpool, and further details relating to individual women's activities are listed in the appendices of this thesis.

The figures below represent only those women whose careers could be identified. It is more than probable that the actual number entering teaching and social work was far higher than these figures suggest. Nevertheless, it is clear that throughout the years under survey, teaching was the dominant profession which women entered upon the completion of their degrees. It is also apparent that by the 1920s and 1930s women were beginning to enter into professions which had traditionally been dominated by men. The number of women doctors rose from 17 in the 1920s to 50 by the 1930s. A similar situation can be observed in professions such as Law, Architecture and Veterinary Science. It is interesting to observe that as "new" professions, social work, property management and personnel management, came into being women took up paid employment within them. Certainly by the 1920s the range of professions for women had widened significantly compared to the earlier years.

## Careers of Liverpool Women Graduates

	1883 - 7	1903 - 7	1923 - 7	1933 - 7
Teaching	4	114	145	63
Governess	1	0	1	0
Doctor	0	2	17	50
Dentist	0	0	4	7
Architects	0	0	4	8
Law	0	0	5	3
Vet	0	0	1	7
Civil Service	0	0	0	1
Tax Inspector	0	0	1	0
Brigadier	0	0	0	1
Personnel	0	0	2	1
Almoner	0	0	0	1
Youth Organiser	0	0	0	1
Secretary	0	0	1	1
Nursing	0	0	1	0
Research	0	1	1	1
Inspector - Board of Education	0	1	0	0
Librarian	0	1	2	0
Clerical	0	0	2	0
Editor	0	0	1	0
Linguist	0	0	1	0
Zoologist	0	0	1	0
Property Manager	0	0	1	1
Rent Collector	0	0	1	0
Social Worker	0	0	2	0

Sources Student dossiers, University Hall Newsletters, Day Training College Reports, University College Magazine, The Sphinx, The Chronicle.

It has already been indicated that in the 1880s even those women who attended the University and did not gain a qualification engaged in various philanthropic and political spheres of activity in their later lives. As previously described in Chapter Four, Mrs Edgerton Stewart-Brown became involved in the Women's Suffrage Movement. Jennings has indicated that at least six women belonging to the Rathbone family became Managers on School Boards in

Liverpool.<sup>1</sup> Four of these women had been students at Liverpool. They were: Ella, Hilda and Minna, the daughters of Samuel Greg Rathbone, and Florence, the daughter of Benson Rathbone. Ella and Hilda were students from 1888 to 1889 and Minna was a student from 1884 to 1886. Florence attended the College as a student from 1883 to 1885. Another student, Miss Lilian Birt, was a student at University College from 1883 to 1884. She was one of the daughters of Mrs Birt, the founder and manager of the Sheltering Home for Destitute Children in Liverpool. After leaving the College she assisted her mother with the running of the home, and upon her mother's death became its supervisor. Mrs Lucy Ellison Abraham, the wife of Alfred Clay Abraham, attended the College from 1887 to 1888; in 1929 she was the Honorary Secretary for Enquiry for the Liverpool Women's Citizens Association, which was founded in 1913 by Miss Eleanor Rathbone.<sup>2</sup> Eleanor Rathbone had also been a student at University College Liverpool from 1887 to 1888; she then proceeded to Somerville Hall Oxford where, in 1896, she gained second class honours in Classical Greats.<sup>3</sup>

The Newnham College Registers make it possible to identify those students who attended University College Liverpool in preparation for admission to the Cambridge college. The following women proceeded from Liverpool to Newnham. Miss M R Atherton, a student at the College from 1885 to 1887, attended Newnham from 1887 to 1890 and passed Part One of the Mathematical Tripos. In 1891 she married Septimus Russell Williams and, in addition to giving birth to five children, became a member of the Birkenhead Board of Guardians and

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<sup>1</sup> Jennings R, List of School Managers 1870-1903, Ref LPRO, Hq 370 Sen (Rare Book).

<sup>2</sup> Liverpool Womens Citizens Association, Ref, LPRO, Acc, 3538.

<sup>3</sup> University College Council Report, Report of the Principal, 1896, p 26.

was an active member of various committees for social work.<sup>4</sup> Miss G L Palethorpe attended the University College from 1886 to 1887; from 1887 until 1891 she was a student at Newnham, and passed both parts of the Classical Tripos. Miss Palethorpe entered the education profession and eventually became Principal of the Maharani College in Mysore.<sup>5</sup> One of the daughters of Alfred W. W. Dale, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Liverpool, also progressed from the University to Newnham College. Miss Alice Barbara Dale attended Newnham from 1911 to 1915 as a Winkworth Scholar. After passing both parts of the Natural Science Tripos, she gained an MA and PhD from Yale University. She also entered the education profession: she was a Lecturer in Education at the University of Bristol from 1922 to 1925 and later a Newnham College Tutor. Miss Dale married Francis Puryer White MA, who was a Fellow, and later Librarian of St John's College and a University lecturer in Mathematics. After her marriage, Mrs White remained active, becoming a Bursar at Newnham College and the editor of the Newnham College Registers. She was also a member of the University Women's Appointments Board and was involved with committees connected with various girls' schools.<sup>6</sup> Miss Catherine Durning Holt, as Chapter Five indicated, also entered Newnham College; and although she did not take the Tripos examinations she played an active role in the educational affairs of women and was the author of various books, often in partnership with her husband.

From a comparison of the women who remained at University College Liverpool in this period and those women who went to Newnham, it is clear that teaching was the profession which

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<sup>4</sup> Newnham College Register, Vol.1., Atherton, Mary Roberta, p 91.

<sup>5</sup> ibid, Palethorpe, Grace Lissant, p 93.

<sup>6</sup> ibid, Dale, Alice Barbara, p 16.

most women seeking paid employment entered. For example, Miss Jessie Auld, a student from 1885 to 1888, graduated with a BSc Honours degree from the Victoria University in 1888, the first woman to receive this degree from the Victoria University. She entered the teaching profession as a science teacher at a High School for Girls in Blackburn, and subsequently became the Head Mistress of a County Girls' School in Llandovey. Miss Elizabeth Beckett, 1885 to 1888, graduated with a BA from the Victoria University and, like Miss Auld, she also entered the teaching profession. According to a questionnaire which was completed by her daughter, she worked in her chosen profession until her marriage in 1898 to a local cotton merchant.<sup>7</sup> Miss Eliza Japp, a student from 1885 to 1890, graduated with a BA from London; she became the Head Mistress of a high school for girls in Edgbaston, a post which she presumably held until her marriage. Miss Jessie Noble, a student from 1886 to 1889, according to an article in the Daily Post was: 'Appointed by the Colonial Office as a Principal Inspector of concentration camps in South Africa'.<sup>8</sup> She was also the founder of the Liverpool Teachers' Guild. Miss Elizabeth Jane Owens entered University College in 1885 on a scholarship which was founded by the Ladies Educational Association. In 1888 she graduated with a BA from the Victoria University and in 1901 passed her MA: she eventually became the Headmistress of the County School in Barmouth. The evidence suggests that, like their colleagues at Newnham, a number of women who were students at University College met their future husbands at the College. For example, as previously indicated, Miss Jane Holt married Professor Herdman and Miss Ella Rathbone married Professor Hele Shaw<sup>9</sup>. In

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<sup>7</sup> Return From Questionnaire, Completed by Mrs Smith the daughter of Elizabeth Kerr (nee Beckett).

<sup>8</sup> Daily Post, 19.3.1902, Ref LPRO, Eq,429.

<sup>9</sup> Jennings R, op.cit.

both cases these women, when married, continued to take a active part in educational and philanthropic activities which were beneficial to women.

The testimonials in the Letter Books of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Liverpool also show that, as expected, the majority of women who graduated were, like their colleagues at Newnham, destined for the teaching profession. During the years 1883 to 1887 and 1903 to 1907 there were few other professions available for women graduates. From a survey of the Letter Books of the Vice-Chancellor it is apparent that this profession was the one most women sought entry into during the earlier years under observation. The Letter Books of the Vice-Chancellor are an interesting study in themselves, and they reveal a great deal of information about the affairs of the University, and the attitude of Vice-Chancellor Dale towards women members of the academic staff and women students. The Letter Books for the years 1902 to 1908 include numerous testimonials, which indicate that the majority of women graduates successfully sought employment in the teaching profession. There is also evidence to suggest that by the period 1903 to 1907 a small number of women were attempting to seek alternative careers. For example, in 1907 the Vice-Chancellor provided a testimonial for Miss Mary Allen. Miss Allen had graduated with a BA in 1903 and in 1905 gained a Diploma in Education. In his testimonial, the Vice-Chancellor wrote:

Dear Miss Tuke,

Miss Allen, one of our graduates, is applying for a post of Librarian at Bedford College. As I know her well, I venture to support her application.

- (1) Genuine love of literature and a wide knowledge of books.
- (2) Technical experience in Library work and administration, gained under a most efficient Librarian, Mr Sampser, and an energetic Head of Department, Professor Herdman.
- (3) Strength and Health, I should lay stress on this, for though lame, she is extremely active, and does not get invalidated as some of us do.
- (4) Has good sense and good temper and is easy and pleasant to work with. I do not know anyone whom I should put on the same level for work of this kind.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Letter Book of the Vice-Chancellor p 306, 307. Ref ULA, S 2331.

It would appear that Miss Allen was not successful in gaining employment at Bedford College, but she was employed as a Sub-Librarian at the University from 1908 until her retirement in 1945. She died in 1969.<sup>11</sup> Miss Elizabeth Mary Edwards, who graduated with a BA in 1909, was employed from 1909 to 1912 as an English Assistant in Germany. From 1912 to 1914, she was a British Scholar at the Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, and from 1914 until 1917 a lecturer in Modern History and Economics at a College in New York. Upon her return to England she was employed as a tutor in Elementary Economics at the Liverpool School of Science. In 1917, she did clerical work in her father's Estate Agency office, to enable her brother to enter military service.<sup>12</sup>

Miss Elinor Lucy Broadbent, according to biographical notices contained in The Sphinx, was:

Born September, 1873. Entered University College October, 1891. Member of the first W.S.R.C, 1893, president 1893-4, vice-president 1894-5. Secretary of the Women Student's Debating Society, 1893, vice-president, 1893-4, member of committee, 1894-5. Secretary of Literary and Historical Society 1893-4. Miss Broadbent has been elected to a Victoria University Scholarship in History. In June 1894, she won a Scholarship in Modern History at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, whither she goes in October.<sup>13</sup>

Miss Broadbent returned Liverpool in 1898 and as Chapter Five indicated it was she who proposed the founding of a Hall of Residence at Liverpool. Upon the opening of University Hall, Miss Broadbent became its first resident tutor. She also registered as a student at the University in 1903 and passed a Diploma in Education. In a report of the University Hall Association, it was revealed:

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<sup>11</sup> The University of Liverpool Recorder, No.46, p.28.

<sup>12</sup> Edge Hill Training College Magazine, 1916, p 19.

<sup>13</sup> The Sphinx, ref ULA, C5,1898, p 148.

We were very much pleased last term to receive a visit from Miss Broadbent, who was the prime mover in urging the formation of a Hall of Residence for women students at the Liverpool University. For about ten months, Miss Broadbent has been working with a unit of the Scottish Women's Hospitals on the Russian front. She gave us a most interesting account of her work there, and showed us her Russian decoration.<sup>14</sup>

In the 1955 report of the University Hall Association, it was reported;

Miss Elinor Lucy Broadbent died in 1953 at the age of eighty. She was the second President of the Women Student's Representative Council, and took the first practical steps towards founding University Hall by enlisting the help of Miss E G Holt; and she was the first resident Tutor in Hall. She became one of Warrington's foremost social and welfare workers, was a member of the Warrington Library and Museum Committee, and the Literary and Philosophical Society. She bequeathed her house and land to Warrington on condition that the land remain open space.<sup>15</sup>

Miss Margaret Genner, a student at Edge Hill, graduated with a BA in 1907 and, according to the Edge Hill Training College Magazine, was employed in various teaching posts until 1918 when she became an Inspector of YMCA canteens [munitions].<sup>16</sup> Miss Isobel Lucy Hill, a BA Honours Graduate in 1908, entered the teaching profession, but in 1914 evidence contained in the Day Training College Letter Book reveals that she intended to become an Inspector of Factories and Workshops.<sup>17</sup> Miss Ethel Hurst, a student from Edge Hill, who graduated with a BSc in 1908 was in 1917 a research worker at the Woolwich Arsenal.<sup>18</sup> It is noticeable that the onset of the First World War enabled women to take up forms of employment other than teaching. Marwick provides a vivid account of the various spheres of activity which women entered during the First World War. He also indicates that the war years resulted in a change of attitude towards women when he states:

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<sup>14</sup> University Hall Association, Ref. ULA., 8/14, January 1918.

<sup>15</sup> ibid., Ref. ULA, 8/44, 1955.

<sup>16</sup> Edge Hill Training College Magazine, 1918, p 43.

<sup>17</sup> Letter Book., Ref. Educ.Lib., DTC/LB/1903-1919, p 152/153.

<sup>18</sup> Edge Hill Training College Magazine, 1917, p 55.



The political and legal story is relatively straightforward. After the General Election of December 1918, which returned a Conservative-dominated coalition Government under Lloyd George, the Government brought in a Sex Disqualification Act which opened up jury service, the magistracy and the legal profession to women, and gave them qualified entry to the upper reaches of the Civil Service; it was also made clear that there was in law no barrier to their full membership of the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge. At the end of 1919, with the establishment of a State Register of Nurses, nursing was for the first time recognised as a full profession. The National Insurance Acts of 1918, 1920 and 1921 made women, as wage earners, eligible for national insurance benefits. In 1928 political emancipation was completed when all women over 21 without qualification were given the vote.<sup>19</sup>

Marwick's viewpoint is viable, but only to a certain extent; as the next chapter will indicate, although the 1919 Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act removed barriers that had once stood in the way of women entering certain professions, their progress in these professions was limited. Nevertheless, from a survey of those women who graduated during the 1920s and 1930s it would appear that although teaching was still the profession which most women entered, other forms of employment were opening to them. For example, Mrs Connie Arregger (nee Richards, BSc Hons Physics 1924, MSc 1926), recalled her experiences of University life and postgraduate career to assist Dr David Edwards, who is at present researching men and women students who graduated from the University with degrees in Physics. Dr Edwards has kindly allowed me access to these recollections and the following details regarding her postgraduate life are revealing of the attitudes towards women :

In those days women physicists did not exist and I did not want to teach. I was refused a job as assistant astronomer at the Bidston Observatory because "no woman could be expected to go up there in the dark". I was interviewed for demonstrations at the Royal Holloway but, at the same time I was offered a job by the BBC which I accepted and was 'Auntie Connie' at the Children's Hour in Hull and Manchester. I then got married to a Swiss, Hans Arregger, and had three children in the next five years. When the Second World War started I was invited by a relative to take my three children to the USA, which I did. Once over there, I tried to get a scientific job, but the USA was not then in the War and English Degrees were suspect. However a good friend of mine, Robbie Legget, now a Professor in Toronto who had been Secretary of the Guild of Undergraduates when I was President, got me a position in the National Research Council in Ottawa ( the Canadian NPL). This was War effort, I was in the Metrology department (high precision measurement). The work was interesting, involving a number of techniques including high temperature work and interferometry and

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<sup>19</sup> Marwick A, *Women At War: 1914-1918*, Fontana Paperbacks, 1977, p 162.

really used my training in Physics. When I returned to England after the War, I found a scientific instrument firm just starting to manufacture Standard Yards and Metres, and since I had published an article on Comparison of Line Standards in Canada, I was offered the job of Development Engineer. I was there for some twenty years...<sup>20</sup>

It is interesting to note that Mrs Arregger was initially unable to gain employment when she first went to Canada and it was only through her friendship with Professor Legget that she was able to overcome this problem. Clearly, Mrs Arregger was able to combine marriage and full-time paid employment very successfully. Miss Margaret E. J. Stoyel, who attended the University from 1923-1926, graduated with a BA and subsequently worked as a linguist to the National Provincial Bank. A report in the University Hall Association Newsletter, indicated that during the Second World War:

Miss Stoyel spent the first years of the war on or about Hampstead Heath, dodging bombs and collecting birds in the intervals of half-hearted attempts at banking. The Foreign Office put a stop to these capers by despatching her to Spanish Morocco by night in a blacked-out Dakota and upsetting weather conditions, with a pause in Lisbon (glittering lights, summer airs and trams louder than Liverpool's own) and a steep descent into Tangier (sundrenched, palm-lined, rearing from the bluest of seas). Forty mountainous miles, pricked with the night fires of Arab shepherds, brought her to Tetuan, where for over two years she occupied some ten posts at the Consulate (simultaneously), was stoned and insulted by pro-German Spaniards, feasted by noble Moors and arrested on mountain tops by outraged Arabs, and waged deadly war on mosquitoes, bed-bugs, olive oil and garlic... The thrills of a foreign career were suspended by family trouble; ... and now (one eye on her pension and her fingers crossed) she is back in her old job as linguist to the NP Bank.<sup>21</sup>

Mary Philomena Preston, 1923-1926, was also a BA graduate. The Recorder in 1976 indicated that she had been a playwright.<sup>22</sup> Miss Clara Crabtree, (1926-1928, Diploma Social Science), in 1933 revealed that she had become involved in Industrial Welfare work in Bolton.<sup>23</sup> Miss Lily Doreen Whiteley, (1926-1929 BA Hons English), in 1930 entered University College London to take a course in Librarianship; after completing this course, she

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<sup>20</sup> Recollections of Mrs C Arregger, 1989, transcript in the possession of Dr D Edwards, Oliver Lodge Building, University of Liverpool.

<sup>21</sup> University Hall Association, op.cit., 1948, p 17.

<sup>22</sup> Recorder, No. 70, p 36.

<sup>23</sup> University Hall Association Newsletter, 1933, p 24.

was in charge of a Public Library in Wallsend and published a book entitled The Poor Student at the University.<sup>24</sup> Mary Parke, (1926- 1929, BSc Hons, PhD Botany 1932), in 1950 according to information held in her student dossier was employed as a Marine Biologist.<sup>25</sup> Miss Nora Lambert Arthurson (1924-1929, BA Hons French, Diploma in Education), intended to enter the teaching profession, but instead became a private secretary to the Managing Director of Owen Owen Ltd.. Three years later, at the age of twenty-seven, she was made a Personnel Manager, and in 1937, became a Director of the firm. She later became a Deputy Chairman.<sup>26</sup> Miss Mabel Emily Crewdson, (BA Hons 1937), took a secretarial course and in 1939 worked at Broadcasting House.<sup>27</sup> Miss Margaret Eunice Long,(1934-1938 BA, Diploma in Education) was a teacher but, during the Second World War according to a University Hall Association Newsletter she:

Joined the WRNS, and served for five years visiting Mombassa, Colombo and the Shetlands. She was unwilling to return to teaching and so took a secretarial course and is now secretary to a firm of tutors in Baker Street, London. She finds the work interesting, varying from PAYE to dealing with parents, cleaners and staff teas.<sup>28</sup>

Miss Sheila Anne Elizabeth Heaney, (1935-1938 BA), joined the WRAC and in 1970 became a Brigadier.<sup>29</sup> The evidence suggests that women were entering a wider range of careers, but they were concentrated in avenues of employment which were on the whole dominated by women.

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<sup>24</sup> ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Student Dossier, Parke, Mary.

<sup>26</sup> Recorder, 1963, p 10.

<sup>27</sup> University Hall Association Newsletter, 1939, p 26.

<sup>28</sup> ibid., 1948, p 28.

<sup>29</sup> Student Dossier, Heaney, Sheila Anne Elizabeth.

There have been a number of studies giving opposing views on the extent to which the Second World War changed the lives of women in terms of their employment opportunities.<sup>30</sup>

It would appear that after the Second World War, women graduates from Liverpool who had prior to their marriage been employed in the teaching profession, began to re-enter that profession on a part-time basis. Those women graduates who were employed as school teachers, as well as those engaged in other careers, were expected to resign upon their marriage. This situation did change when, during the Second World War, they began to resume paid employment. It is difficult to discover if married women re-entered their professions during the war of their own volition or whether they were compelled to do so by the war-time government to enable the release of single women into compulsory military service. When the war ended, however, increasing numbers of married women began to take up part-time employment, successfully combining this with household duties.

From a survey of the University Hall Association Newsletters published between 1948 and 1960 some examples of the activities of married women in employment can be indicated. Mrs Elsie Beatrice Knox, ( nee Hunt, BA Honours 1926, Diploma in Education 1927 ), sent news of her activities in 1948 when it was reported :

Mrs Knox ( E B Hunt ) married in 1941, lives in Reading, and has a small son full of life. During the war she was an assistant Librarian at Reading University, and also did part time work in the Education Department, where, to her delight she found herself a colleague of Miss Kermode. She has been invited to take up this appointment again in the summer.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Marwick A, Britain in the Century of Total War: War, Peace and Social Change 1900-1967, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1970. Summerfield P, Women Workers in The Second World War, Routledge, 1989. Wilson E, Only Halfway to Paradise: Women in Post War Britain 1945-1968, Tavistock Publications, 1980.

<sup>31</sup> University Hall Association Newsletter, 8/40, p 16.

Miss Kermode had been at the University from 1906 to 1910 and graduated with a BA; she was employed by the University as a lecturer in the Department of Education from 1915 until 1938. Miss Kermode in all likelihood lectured Miss Hunt when she was a student at Liverpool. In the 1958 newsletter it was indicated that Mrs Knox was still carrying out part-time work for the Education Department at the same University.<sup>32</sup> Of Mrs Olive Blundell (nee Quirk, BSc 1938, Diploma in Education 1939 ) it was reported in 1948 that she : ‘Has a busy life in Stockport with a son aged two and a half . She does part- time lecturing at the local Technical College.’<sup>33</sup> In the 1950 edition it was reported that Mrs Blundell’s husband had died, and from the reports of the 1955 and 1959 newsletters it appears that she continued to remain in the same employment. Other examples include Mrs D Brundrit [Laura Buttle] ‘Tackles part-time teaching in addition to looking after her family ...’<sup>34</sup>; Mrs Kathleen Adams [nee Vitty] ‘Whose husband is a PE specialist, has three teenage daughters. She is a part-time Lecturer at the Norwich City College...’<sup>35</sup>; and Renee Adams [nee Warburton] ‘Teaches at the International School in Geneva where her husband works at the Atomic Research Establishment’.<sup>36</sup>

It would appear that some married women actively assisted their husbands in their occupations: for example, of Mrs Afford [nee Phyllis Morgan, BA Honours 1926], it was reported in the 1948 newsletter:

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<sup>32</sup> *ibid.* 8/45, p 21.

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.* 8/40, p 29.

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.* 1949, p 20.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.* 1959, p 20.

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.* p 21.

Mrs Afford [P Morgan] lives in Nantwich, and has a daughter, now nearly 13, at Penrhos College. The war years turned her into an accountant, or at least a chartered accountant's mate, helping her husband who was so short staffed. She is now reverting from professional to domestic life, but still seems to be very active outside as well as inside her home.<sup>37</sup>

The 1958 newsletter indicated that Mrs Afford: ' Is a busy housewife; she gives her chartered accountant husband some help with his work, and serves on a few committees, NSPCC among them...'<sup>38</sup> In the 1950 edition it was reported that Mrs Venables [nee Ethel Howell, BSc Honours chemistry 1927, MSc 1928, Diploma in Education 1929] has :

Deserted Chemistry for Psychology and has a research scholarship in the Education Department of Manchester University. Her husband is Principal of the Royal Technical College at Salford. Her four children are John (14) (at Manchester Grammar School), two girls, Anice and Claire aged 10 and 7, and Roger, aged three and a half.<sup>39</sup>

In the 1960 news letter it was indicated that Mrs Venables had become : ' An educational psychologist [Nuffield Research Fellow] at Birmingham University.'<sup>40</sup>

Despite these examples it is clear that some married women were happy and content to remain at home, bringing up their children and being involved in local activities on a voluntary basis. For example, prior to her marriage Mrs Utley [nee Agnes Andrews, Certificate in Education 1926, BA 1931] had been a school teacher; after her marriage in July 1939, according to the 1948 newsletter, she had become :

A thorough country woman, lives six miles from the nearest town, station, and shops, and loves the friendly good neighbourliness of the country. She is an enthusiastic supporter of village activities in general, and the Women's Institutes in particular, even to the extent of giving a spinning demonstration which she feels would have gratified Miss Laverock.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> *ibid.* p 16.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.* 1958, 8/45, p 21.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.* 1950, 8/42, p15.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.* 1960, 8/47, p15.

<sup>41</sup> *ibid.* 1948, 8/40, p17.

The later editions of the newsletters also provide an indication of the careers which the children of married women graduates entered. For example, the 1958 edition reported : 'Kathleen Stevens [nee Harwood, degree in dental surgery] is living near Reading, has two daughters; one is at Guys doing dental surgery, and one, a BA of Reading and having a social science diploma of Sheffield, is a Personnel Officer.'<sup>42</sup> Mrs Brudrit : 'Is still leading a somewhat rustic existence; Judith is a qualified radiographer and celebrates her 21st birthday this year; Roger hopes to gain a place in Downing College Cambridge, this year..'<sup>43</sup>

The evidence indicates that after the Second World War married women had the opportunity to re-enter paid employment because during the war years part-time employment had become acceptable to employers. In some circumstances the need to do so was financial, as in the case of Mrs Blundell who was widowed. In other cases it becomes apparent that some women missed being in employment outside the home, and sought paid employment which could be combined with domestic duties. In other circumstances they assisted their husbands. From the few examples above it is interesting to note that the daughters of women graduates appear to have had a far greater choice of careers than those which had been available to their mothers.

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<sup>42</sup> *ibid.*, p 21, 22.

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*, p22.

From a survey of the careers which women graduates entered it becomes apparent that some women changed their careers a number of times, and others were forced to resign from their posts due to their own ill-health or that of a parent. Miss Ruth Mathews (BSc 1926), was employed as a teacher in various schools from 1928 until 1931. Her last teaching post, according to a University Hall Association Newsletter, was in 1931 when, according to the information received from her, she was: 'In a crank boarding school at Gerrards Cross teaching Mathematics to those who wish to learn. They have no rules, no supervision duties, no marks, no examinations - free discipline included.'<sup>44</sup> In the 1933 edition, it appears that she had begun working in a home-made cake shop as a cake-maker. She became one of the managers of "The Country Bunch" and remained in this occupation until 1938, when she went with her mother to Australia. The 1948 newsletter stated that she :

Lives in Freckleton, and sounds very energetic with the house, garden, orchard, hens, ducks and geese, added to which she works part-time in the County Accountant's Office for the Meat and Livestock Control in Preston. During the war she taught some mathematics in Preston, organised canteens and ran around generally doing the hundred and one things the W.V.S. did do during the war.<sup>45</sup>

A newsletter in 1949 reported that she was employed full-time in the County Accountant's Office. In 1955 it was indicated that she had resigned from her employment and was living at home: in 1958 she was housekeeping for her mother. The newsletter in 1959 reported: 'Ruth Mathews is one of the first two women to be elected to the Freckleton Parish Council, topping the poll...'<sup>46</sup> By 1960 she was chairman of the Women's Branch of the local Conservative Association.<sup>47</sup> It would appear that Miss Mathews resigned from her career to

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<sup>44</sup> University Hall Association, op.cit, 8/31, p 25.

<sup>45</sup> ibid, 8/40, p 16.

<sup>46</sup> ibid, 8/46, p 18.

<sup>47</sup> ibid, 8/47,p 15.



care for her mother. Miss P Green, who graduated in 1925, provided news of herself in the 1935 newsletter in which it was reported:

Miss P Green says that, except for a year as assistant Latin mistress at Bury St Edmunds County School and one or two temporary posts, she has done no teaching since leaving the University, for her mother died over two years ago and before then was very ill for nearly a year. Miss Green gave up her post and ran the house, and now quite enjoys house keeping. In her spare time she knits, sews and plays badminton in winter and golf in summer; she also travels about a good deal ...<sup>48</sup>

An earlier chapter of this thesis revealed that women often withdrew from their University education because of the ill-health or death of a parent. The two pieces of evidence provided here indicate that women were also expected to sacrifice their own careers to care for ailing parents. These two women do, however, appear to have kept active in various ways: Miss Mathews involved herself in local politics, and upon her marriage Miss Green joined her husband in his business. In the 1948 newsletter, now Mrs Harower, she reported: ‘...that she is married to a Scot and that she is a Director of one of the group’s companies forming “Emu Wool Industries”. Her work is very interesting, though very hectic at times due to all the difficulties and regulations which beset businesses today ...’<sup>49</sup>

With reference to those women who entered teaching but remained single, it would appear from the University Hall Association Newsletters that a significant number achieved senior positions as headmistresses of girls’ schools and as university lecturers. Miss Helen Wylie, (BSc Honours Botany 1926, Diploma in Education 1927), was in 1960 the Principal of Easthamstead Park Training College. Miss Sylvester (BA Hons Geography 1927), was a senior Geography teacher at Merchant Taylors’ School for Girls in Great Crosby in 1929. In

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<sup>48</sup> ibid. 8/35, p 24.

<sup>49</sup> ibid. p 19.

the 1931 newsletter it was stated: ‘ Miss Sylvester has changed her mode of life and no longer adorns the ranks of school teachers. She got her MA last June and two days later the University of Durham offered her a lectureship in Geography...’<sup>50</sup> The following year the newsletter provided the following information :

Miss Sylvester is still lecturing at Durham, trying to develop the outlook of a Don while still keeping the sympathy of the student. Life is terrific - lecturing by day to students and at night for other people’s enjoyment...She finds research a dim dream, but though she has not yet published any new work, she has succeeded in getting the ear of Methuens. Last summer she marked in Oxford, being one of the two women on a panel of men.’<sup>51</sup>

In 1948, it was reported that Miss Sylvester had left Durham to take up a lecturer’s post at the University of Manchester,<sup>52</sup> and in 1959 that she had recently edited an Historical Atlas of Cheshire. In the 1960 edition she : ‘ Spoke on the radio on “Counties in Danger”...’<sup>53</sup> Miss Amy Sephton graduated from the University in 1929, with a BA Honours, and in 1946 she gained an MA in English Language. In the 1958 edition she stated: ‘ Life is dominated by the need to prepare for the “ three year course” and by the fact that Derby Training College is making history by taking male students...’<sup>54</sup> In the 1960 edition she was the Principal of Derby Diocesan Training College.<sup>55</sup>

This chapter has so far focused upon the postgraduate careers of women who graduated with degrees in Arts, Science and Social Science; it will now consider the employment opportunities which were available for women who graduated with other degrees in Medicine, Dentistry, Veterinary Science and Architecture. The first woman to graduate with a degree in

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<sup>50</sup> ibid., 8/ 31, p 26.

<sup>51</sup> ibid., 8/32, p 21.

<sup>52</sup> ibid., 8/40, p 18.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 8/47, p 14.

<sup>54</sup> ibid., 8/45, p 22.

<sup>55</sup> ibid., 8/47, p 16.

medicine from the University, in 1911, was Phoebe Mildred Powell. In an Appreciation it was revealed:

The premature death of Phoebe Mildred Bigland leaves a gap in Liverpool which will not be easily filled, and her loss will also be keenly felt by the many members of the Federation of Medical Women to whom she was known as a real "live wire" when there was any work for medical women to be done. Following a severe attack of pneumonia in the previous winter, from which she apparently recovered, she died on September 24th, after an illness extending over several months, during which she was watched with poignant anxiety and care by her devoted husband and medical friends.

The eldest daughter of Canon Powell of Knotty Ash, she started her medical career at an unusually early age and qualified MB.,Ch.B. Liverpool with Honours in 1911. She took her MD in the following year, the DPH in 1914, and in 1919 became MRCP London. Her first resident post was that of House Physician at the Stanley Hospital, where she was one of the first two women residents, and she held later a resident post at the Royal Free Hospital, London. She then turned her attention to Pathology and was awarded the John W Garrett Fellowship in Pathology and became Demonstrator of Pathology at the University of Liverpool. During the war she was appointed Acting Physician at the Stanley Hospital and Acting Physician at the Royal Infirmary and did valuable work as Locum Tenens for several members of staff absent on war service. She maintained her interest in Pathology and for thirteen years held the post as Lecturer at the University and was never happier than when assisting Professor Ernest Glynn in teaching and in the research work they undertook together. Their work, published jointly, included observations on the standardisation of bacterial vaccines and improved methods of standardising them, and also a report to the General Medical Research Council published as a Green Book [No 107] in 1926 on the effect of treatment on the Wasserman reaction of syphilitic patients. As Clinical Assistant to the Female Venereal Department of the Royal Infirmary, Dr. P. Bigland had a very large experience in syphilis and gonorrhoea and contributed to literature several papers on these subjects. Her teaching appointment in Pathology came to an end when the department was reorganised after the death of Professor Glynn, and she missed keenly the teaching and pathological work.

After the war, when, thanks to the generosity of Mr and Mrs Hugh Rathbone, the Crofton Hospital for Women was started, Dr. Phoebe Bigland was appointed Physician and held the post until the time of her death ... She married Dr Douglas Bigland in 1918 and to him and to her two young children the sympathy of all will be extended.<sup>56</sup>

From this appreciation a number of interesting facts emerge. First, Dr Powell married a doctor, which was important in enabling her to continue in her chosen profession. Second, she was a Lecturer at the University of Liverpool, a post which she greatly enjoyed, and yet despite her evident qualities, her appointment at the University came to an end after the death of Professor Glynn. It is entirely possible that the University saw the death of the Professor in

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<sup>56</sup> Ivens Knowles, F., 'Phoebe Mildred Bigland' [an appreciation] Medico-Chirurgical Journal, 1931, Ref., LPRO.H610.6.MED, p19-20.

1928, as a way in which to dispense with Dr Bigland's services because she was a married woman. On the other hand, perhaps Professor Glynn's successor was hostile towards women being members of his academic staff. Upon this subject Kelly indicates: 'In pathology E.E Glynn, a son of T.R Glynn the Professor of Medicine, held the chair from 1912 to 1928, but his last years were clouded by illness, and by the time he resigned the Department needed considerable modernisation'.<sup>57</sup> The situation of women who were members of the academic staff at Liverpool will be discussed in the following chapter, when it will be seen that they were expected to resign upon marriage and began to question the marriage bar as early as 1906.

The author of the above appreciation was Mary Hannah Frances Ivens, who was herself a doctor. According to biographical notices:

Mary Hannah Frances Ivens, 45a Rodney Street, Liverpool; daughter of the late William Ivens of Harborough Parva, Warwickshire: ... educated at the Royal Free Hospital School of Medicine for Women and University College, London, Rotunda Hospital, Dublin and in Vienna. M.B.Lond., 1900; Scholarship and Gold Medal in Obstetric Medicine, Honours in Medicine and Forensic Medicine; B.S.Lond; 1902, Honours: M.S.Lond. 1903. Formerly House Surgeon, Clinical Assistant Pathologist, Curator of Museum, Demonstrator of Practical Pathology and Surgical Assistant, Royal Free Hospital; Assistant Surgeon, Canning Town Hospital; Senior Clinical Assistant and Surgical Assistant, Evelina Officer of Diseases of Women, Liverpool Stanley Hospital; Honorary Medical Officer, Church Diocesan Rescue Home; President Northern Association of Medical Women.<sup>58</sup>

It is apparent that these two women enjoyed a close working relationship as residents at Stanley Hospital. They also shared interests in pathology and diseases which were specific to women. The number of women who were successful graduates in medicine increased during the years under survey. In the period 1923 to 1927, 13 graduated, seven married and six

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<sup>57</sup> Kelly, T, *op.cit.*, p 247.

<sup>58</sup> Pike, W.T., *op. cit.*, p218.

remained single. During the years 1933 to 1937, 58 graduated, 38 remained single and 20 married.

From a survey of medical women who did marry, it appears that many were able to combine marriage and employment if they wished to do so. Phoebe Mildred Powell, as indicated earlier, combined the two activities. Ariel Rainsford Stewart Deacon (Mrs Ellams, MBChB 1928, DTM 1930), accompanied her husband, who was also a doctor, to China where he was a medical missionary. She returned to England in 1933, where she died in childbirth.<sup>59</sup> Eleanor Maude Pearson (Mrs Hamilton MBChB 1939), also married a doctor, and from the University Hall Association Newsletter it appears she had four daughters and was a complete housewife, although in 1950 she and her husband went with the Gynaecological Travellers around universities in Holland to see the different techniques used in operating.<sup>60</sup> In the 1960 newsletter, it was reported that Miss Grace T Danson (Mrs Lennon, MBChB 1940) lived in the Wirral, had four children and did maternity and child welfare clinics.<sup>61</sup> Kathleen Walters (Mrs Helin, MBChB 1940), in 1960, was reported to be living in Blackpool and taking an interest in the local BMA.<sup>62</sup> Mrs Garry Gibbons (nee Garry, MBChB1928) became a consultant anaesthetist. She married a doctor and had six children. Interestingly, her two daughters, Maeve and Eileen, graduated with medical degrees from Trinity College, Dublin in 1968 and 1970. Mrs Garry Gibbons remained in employment until 1983, and even after she had retired she acted as a locum in the Bahamas and in the West of Ireland.<sup>63</sup> Mrs Constance Mary Rampling (nee Frazer, MB.ChB, MRCS, LRCP 1937; DPH 1946), became a House

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<sup>59</sup> Student Dossier, Stewart Deacon, A R.

<sup>60</sup> University Hall Association Newsletter, 1950, p21.

<sup>61</sup> ibid. 1960, p 17.

<sup>62</sup> ibid. 1960, p 17.

<sup>63</sup> Return from Questionnaire.

Surgeon in Liverpool from 1937 to 1938. From 1939 to 1947 she was an Assistant GP in both Manchester and Liverpool and from 1949 until 1985 she was a Medical Examiner with the DHSS. Mrs Rampling also married a doctor, and like Mrs Garry Gibbons had six children.<sup>64</sup> Mrs Eileen Leigh [nee Parry-Edwards] sent news of her activities to the University Hall Association Newsletter in 1948:

Mrs Leigh [Eileen Parry-Edwards] is married to an ophthalmic surgeon. She has two daughters aged 4 and 2, yet is finding time to specialise in eyes at Moorfields Hospital and prepare for an examination. Worked in general practice during the war. Hopes to meet old friends from Hall in the University of Liverpool London Society.<sup>65</sup>

Mrs Rowson (nee Freda Milner Roberts, MB.ChB 1948, MRCOG and MRCP, awarded Fellowships of both Royal Colleges), married a Consultant Pathologist. Dr Rowson had two children, continued in employment as a Consultant Haematologist, and also became a Director of the Regional Blood Transfusion Service. She was able to continue working because she employed resident nannies to look after the children and also had support from grandparents.<sup>66</sup>

Mrs Mary Evans (nee Jordan, MB.ChB.1941), married a doctor and had three children; she remained in full-time employment at various hospitals in Liverpool, and gained Public Health appointments first in Liverpool and then in Clwyd until she retired in 1995.<sup>67</sup> Mrs Taylor (nee Margaret Lilian Magee, MB.ChB, 1943) unlike many of her colleagues, married a man who was initially a manager and later a director in industry. They had two children. Doctor Taylor was employed in various hospitals, and during the Second World War she entered the Royal Army Medical Corps. She recalls that in the 1950s, when she was living in Scotland, she was

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<sup>64</sup> ibid.

<sup>65</sup> University Hall Association Newsletter, 1948, p 29.

<sup>66</sup> Return from Questionnaire.

<sup>67</sup> ibid.

unable to gain employment in the Public Health sector because she was married, but upon her return to England she entered both full and part-time employment for 35 years.<sup>68</sup> Mrs Martin (nee Frances Elizabeth Brierton, MB.ChB 1939, D.P.H Leeds 1942) also married a man who was employed in his family's manufacturing company. Doctor Martin also had two children. During the war years she was a hospital medical officer, and between the years 1939 to 1950 was employed in the medical profession on a full-time basis; from 1950 until 1983 she worked on a part-time basis. She said that she found: 'Part-time maternity and child welfare work fitted in well with marriage and family life.'<sup>69</sup>

The evidence indicates that the careers of the medical women who remained single differed from those of their married peers in that they worked full-time, whereas married women tended to work on a part-time basis. For example, Miss A G Gillespie, (MB.ChB 1928) went to India as a Medical Missionary; in 1948 she returned to Liverpool and carried out clinical work.<sup>70</sup> Miss E M Winter, who graduated in 1939, entered General Practice with her sister M C Winter, who had graduated from the University in 1934.<sup>71</sup> Miss Elizabeth Mary Harper, (MB.ChB 1942, MRCOG 1950) became a house surgeon, a resident surgical officer in obstetrics and gynaecology and later entered General Practice. Doctor Harper remained in full-time employment until she retired at the age of 60.<sup>72</sup> Miss Muriel Constance Andrews (MB.ChB 1943, DPH 1947, DCH 1948) was employed all her working life in the medical profession, and became a senior clerical medical officer, a position which she held for 32

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<sup>68</sup> ibid.

<sup>69</sup> ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Student Dossier, Gillespie, Agnes Grace.

<sup>71</sup> Medical Register, 1943, p 1807.

<sup>72</sup> Return from Questionnaire.

years.<sup>73</sup> Miss I W Simpson, (MB 1943, DPH 1947), in 1960 became the Chairman of the Liverpool Division of the BMA and Master of the Guild of St. Luke, SS Cosmos and Damien.<sup>74</sup>

The evidence relating to the postgraduate careers of medical women indicates that they tended to marry men who were also in their profession. This is understandable, as socialisation and courtship would probably have taken place either whilst students at the University or within the workplace. Marrying a partner who was in the same profession was beneficial to medical women. Their partners had similar interests, they understood the working hours involved in the profession and working partnerships could be entered into without any hostility. Nevertheless, marriage often resulted in medical women working part-time, unless they were willing and able to leave the care of their children to nannies or to relations. Marriage and the responsibility of children and elderly relations arguably limited the progress of women in the medical profession, whereas women who remained unmarried went on to achieve senior positions in that profession. It is apparent that both married and unmarried medical women were able to enter a number of branches within their profession the most popular being general practice, maternity and child welfare, public health, anaesthesia, ophthalmics and haematology.

From a study of those women who entered the University and graduated with Veterinary and Architecture degrees, a similar pattern emerges to that of medical women. During the years 1923 to 1927 only one woman graduated with a degree in Veterinary Science. This woman

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<sup>73</sup> ibid.

<sup>74</sup> The Recorder, No60, October, 1972, p.46.



was Miss K W Shedlock (Mrs Llewellyn Jones). A report in the 1948 edition of the University Hall Association Newsletter provided the following details:

Kathleen Shedlock was a student in Hall from 1923 - 1926. She qualified as a Veterinary Surgeon in 1927 and was the first woman to hold the appointment of House Surgeon at the London College. She ventured into private practice in Esher, where eventually the fame of her skill drew clients from many miles around. Tireless in work and play she usually took her recreation at sea, travelling extensively abroad and at home. She married Dr Llewellyn Jones, of Hawarden in 1936. This gave her the opportunity to pursue another ambition - the study of medicine, in which she completed all but her final year at Liverpool University. Then the prolonged and grievous illness which had long hampered her made it impossible for her to continue, but her indomitable spirit and her devoted interest in her daughter Gwyneth, born in 1937, kept her alive for several years longer. She died on January 25th 1948. Her lively personality, skill and service will keep her long remembered.<sup>75</sup>

In the years 1933 to 1937, six women graduated in Veterinary Science. Miss Margaret Doreen Ramey Morse was one of the six, and in the 1948 report of the University Hall Association Newsletter it was indicated:

Biddy Morse came up to Hall in 1935. Tall and charming, her personality spread far beyond her year, her Faculty or Hall. Year representative, the Veterinary School, Guild, Panto. Secretary, NUS, the move to Rankin Hall in 1939 - in all these she was active and loved, crowning in 1940 a most successful year as Lady President of Guild with her degree. After a time as Assistant Principal at the Ministry of Agriculture, she became one of the first women Veterinary Surgeons at the Ministry and was stationed at Chester until her death from contracted TB in May 1947. Biddy was one of the great people - we miss her.<sup>76</sup>

With regard to the other five women who graduated, three married and the other two remained single. Miss Mary Dalby, who was a student from 1934-1939, according to a report in the 1948 newsletter: 'Is working as a Veterinary Surgeon with Christine Woods, another old Hallite. Secretary of the Society of Veterinary Women.'<sup>77</sup> In the 1955 edition it was reported that Miss Ethel Smallwood (Mrs Dransfield) was married with three sons and acted

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<sup>75</sup> University Hall Association, op.cit, 8/40, p 32.

<sup>76</sup> ibid.

<sup>77</sup> ibid., p 29.

as a locum to a Veterinary Surgeon. In the 1958 edition she was also a member of the Women's International League.<sup>78</sup> From an evaluation of the returns from questionnaires which were completed by women who graduated in 1935 and 1936, further evidence about the activities of women veterinary surgeons can be indicated. Miss Victorie de Courtheil Creighton Ducker (Mrs Tillemont-Thomason), who was the first woman to graduate from the University with a MRCVS and BVSC in 1935, provided the following details regarding her postgraduate career:

I saw practice for one year without salary as I moved around locally. Then took one year in a small animal treatment practice - couldn't stand the owners! Set up with a dog breeder expert for six months and had a surgery there, did well but too narrow - so opted for large animals which I was more used to - worked in country practice and did quite happily get on with things quite well. One year in Reading, one year in Lincoln City. Filled most of the next several years in Dundee and got a lot of experience in large animals. I am pretty strong [or was].<sup>79</sup>

During the war years, this respondent 'Got meat inspection thrust upon me at the local butchers, also had the TB testing of cattle herds etc.. I was pleased to be busy and useful'. She did not marry until after the Second World War and when asked if she met her husband whilst at the University she indicated: 'No, I never bothered about tying myself up as I didn't want to have a family or be a home-maker. Can truthfully say I preferred to work as I got out in the country on a lot of farms'. She stated: 'Didn't settle until after the Second World War, then to a wealthy farmer and I did the animals!!' After the birth of her child, she remained active on the farm, but for difficult cases brought in a Veterinarian to attend; she continued to supervise on the farm until just recently.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> ibid. 1955, p 18. 1958, p 25.

<sup>79</sup> Return from Questionnaire.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

The second respondent, Miss Kathleen Maurn Massey [Mrs Young] graduated in 1936. She worked for five years in the Department of Veterinary Pathology at Liverpool and for the Ministry of Agriculture. Mrs Young met her husband, who was also a veterinary surgeon, whilst she was a student at the University. She continued to work until: 'Two months before my first child was born in June 1944'. Mrs Young had three children and stated:

I would have liked to get back to work but I don't think I would have had the energy to manage a family and a whole time job. My family wasn't well planned. Two boys and then a long gap until my daughter was born.

Mrs Young listed the names and graduation years of other Liverpool graduates who were known to her and indicated:

Rosemary Ransome Wallis, Marjorie Wilson, Ruth Henderson, Doris Brack and Betty Yates as being Veterinary Surgeons. Elizabeth Davis and Dora Neill - Teachers. I'm afraid all my contemporaries made better use of their training than I did.<sup>81</sup>

From the study of those women who entered the University to read for degrees, diplomas and certificates in Architecture a number of interesting facts have emerged. In the 1923 to 1927 period, eight women were reading this subject; by the 1933 to 1937 period, the number had risen to fourteen. Only three women of the eight finished the course and gained a degree or diploma qualification during the 1923 to 1927 period. They were: - Hillary Archer [Mrs Banatyne-Lewis] a student from 1925 to 1930, B.Arch Honours, Marjorie Miles [Mrs Solomon] 1926 to 1931, B.Arch, and Rachel Joan Richardson [Mrs Wilson] 1926 to 1931, Dip.Arch. During the years 1933 to 1937 nine women were successful in their examinations. They were: - Hazel Margaret Darracolt [Mrs Gibbs], B.Arch 1939, Mary Barbara Grahame [Mrs Gardiner], B.Arch 1941, Miss Marie A de Castro BArch and Certificate in Civic Design 1939, Jean Talbot Byford [Mrs Little], B.Arch Honours 1940. Mrs Little now lives in South

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<sup>81</sup> ibid.

Africa. In 1943 to 1944, she had an Andrew Grant Scholarship to study Town and Country Planning in Edinburgh. She married an architect and had two adopted children. During the war years, she was a Technical Assistant in the Ministry of Works, Assistant Architect in the Coventry City Architectural Department, and a senior Architect in the Town and Country Planning Department. She emigrated to South Africa, and retired because she felt "... my sex would prevent me from gaining a top appointment. Since then a female has become Professor of Town Planning at Newcastle, Johannesburg is years behind, but improving."<sup>82</sup> The other women who achieved degrees, diplomas and certificates in Architecture are as follows: Mary Ninanne Irving, Diploma in Architecture 1941, during the war years she was employed as an ARP telephonist.<sup>83</sup> Elizabeth Temperley [Mrs Vernon-Jones], Diploma in Architecture with Distinction. Phyllis Mary Hutchings B.Arch 1942, Sheila Douglas Taylor [Mrs Taylor] B.Arch and Certificate in Civic Design 1941, and Nancy Hilda Cuthbertson [Mrs Notley] Certificate in Civic Design 1938, Diploma in Architecture 1939. With reference to the careers of these women, the majority successfully entered practice as architects, either in partnerships or working for various local authorities; and the evidence suggests that at least four of them married men who were in the same profession.

Information regarding those women who graduated with degrees in Law and Dentistry is very sparse. Emily Brown [Mrs Ackers, LDS 1938], married and emigrated to New Zealand. Kathleen Stevens [Mrs Harwood], also a graduate in Dental Surgery, married a fellow dentist from Liverpool in 1932, and it is probable that she entered dental practice with him. Doreen

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<sup>82</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> Evidence regarding Architecture students obtained from Student Dossiers and supplemented by card indices held in the Faculty of Architecture - access by kind permission of Mr D. Hardie.

Frances Healey [Mrs Wilson] LDS 1938, according to the Liverpool Dental Alumni Association Newsletter in 1980: "...is just forcibly retired after 34 years in the County Dental Service. First at Nottingham, followed by Chester, Birkenhead, Liverpool, Cheshire and Wirral Area Health Authorities.<sup>84</sup>

For all the reasons indicated at the beginning of this chapter the follow-up of women graduates has proved difficult, and the evidence relating to the postgraduate careers of women from the University of Liverpool represents only a small proportion of the total number who actually graduated during the years under review. Nevertheless, a number of important facts have emerged, supporting the existing evidence on the subject. The majority of women who graduated with degrees in Arts and Science during the years surveyed, with few exceptions, entered the teaching profession, and those women who remained single made progress in this profession, becoming headmistresses and university lecturers. The First World War opened up new avenues of employment for women, but after the war the majority of women either returned to their previous careers or entered professions which were dominated by women. Women who married were expected to resign from paid employment and employers operated a marriage bar to enforce this. The Second World War, like the First, once again opened up new avenues of employment, and when the war ended some married women teachers began to re-enter the teaching profession, albeit on a part-time basis. They were able to do so because part-time work had become acceptable during the war years. The reasons for their return to work are difficult to discover: in some cases the need was financial, in others there was a genuine desire to re-enter employment once young children were old enough to look

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<sup>84</sup> Liverpool Dental Alumni Association Newsletter, Ref. ULA.F4 [111] 1980.

after themselves. Society, and especially the post-war governments, were still of the opinion that a woman's place was in the home. Wilson has argued :

That women became more emancipated during the Second World War has become a cliché of the popular literature on that war. Set against this are feminist suspicions of a drive to reverse this emancipation and get women back into the home when hostilities ended; by closing the nurseries, by dismissing them from their jobs. But there was compromise rather than conspiracy. Few doubted that full time employment (for men) and better social services (for women and children) should be the priorities; and there was anxiety about the family. The welfare state was certainly perceived as supportive of family life, and was intended to ease the lot of the breadwinner and to improve the situation of his dependants. Yet it supported this particular form of family life - a breadwinner and dependants - simply because no-one thought of any other way of doing things. The return of the soldier from the battle front was the return of the father to the hearth and home, but - whatever else could it have been? In any case, hopes for a better world for men, women, and children masked, to some extent, the conflict, uncertainty, and division over women's place.<sup>85</sup>

With reference to those women who graduated with degrees in medicine, dentistry, architecture and veterinary science, it would appear that if women remained single they made progress in their professions. Married women were able to remain in paid employment, although the majority did so on a part-time basis, which limited their progress in their chosen field of medicine. The evidence contained in this chapter argues that after both World Wars there was a slight change in the attitudes of society towards the employment of women, but because of their sex they were confined to specific areas of employment which did not bring them into competition with their male colleagues. The following chapter will discuss the problems which were encountered by women when they entered professions which were male dominated.

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<sup>85</sup> Wilson, *op.cit.*, p 16.

## **Chapter Eight**

### **The professional experiences of women graduates**

The previous chapter examined the various spheres of activity which women from the University of Liverpool entered on the completion of their higher education. This chapter on the professional experiences of women graduates will begin by considering the problems encountered by women lecturers. It will be argued that, although the authorities of the University of Liverpool welcomed the admission of women students, they had a very different attitude towards the women members of its academic staff. The evidence will show that women lecturers were in a minority, that they often felt isolated and upon marriage they were expected to withdraw from employment. The previous chapter highlighted the difficulties which were experienced by women in the teaching and medical professions. This chapter will discuss the problems which were encountered by women when they attempted to enter the professions of veterinary science and dentistry. It will become apparent that until the passing of the 1919 Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act women were prevented from entering professions which were considered to be male occupations; and even after the 1919 Act came into force, women continued to encounter problems in professional life. The reasons to account for these difficulties will be discussed.

The first women lecturer in the college was also Warden of University Hall. Of the first six Wardens, two, namely Miss A Dorothy Pease (1899 to 1900 ) and Miss Dorothy Chapman ( 1911 to 1931) combined their duties as Warden with a lecturing position

within the University itself. Miss Pease was Tutor in Education, while Miss Chapman was a Tutor in Classics. Graham indicates:

In the session 1910-1911 Miss Butler resigned and the Committee, in proceeding to appoint the next Warden, took the opportunity of appointing a lady who held a teaching post at the University. The committee had long felt the desirability of their Warden being in close touch with the students' work at the University. Consequently they appointed Miss Dorothy Chapman...<sup>1</sup>

Chapter Five revealed that the women who were involved in the founding of University Hall created a sphere of influence within the University itself. In 1911, they attended a meeting which was held by the Council of the University to consider the proportion of women members of staff. At that meeting it was recommended that their numbers should be increased. By appointing a Warden who also held a teaching post at the University, the University Hall Committee were working towards making this recommendation a reality.

Apart from the two Wardens of University Hall holding lecturing positions at Liverpool, the evidence contained in the Vice-Chancellor's Letter-Books reveals that women lecturers were beginning to be employed by University College Liverpool as early as 1902. From a survey of the Letter-Books it is also evident that the authorities tended to favour the employment of women who had been students at the College. The first woman to take up a lecturing position in the University Day Training College was Miss C.C. Graveson. In 1905, the Vice-Chancellor provided a testimonial for her when she applied for a position as Vice-Principal and Mistress of Method in the New Cross Day Training College which was being established by the Goldsmiths' Company. In this testimonial the Vice-Chancellor wrote:

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<sup>1</sup> Graham H.T, *op.cit*, p13.



Miss Graveson, who had been a student of University College Liverpool, came back to us rather more than four years ago, when we first admitted women to our Day Training College. I well remember the impression that she produced when she appeared before the Committee of Selection. Those, who like myself, saw her for the first time, felt that we had found exactly the kind of colleague we needed to take charge of our new department...No one could have been more helpful to the students in her charge, to her colleagues or to the university. Her success as Mistress of Method led our Council and Senate to establish a lectureship in education.<sup>2</sup>

Miss Graveson was successful in her application, and upon her departure from Liverpool Miss O. C.M Iles was appointed as Mistress of Method in the Day Training College. Miss Iles was not a graduate of the University, but she has been included in this chapter because the circumstances of her resignation are important. She had been a student at Newnham College Cambridge from 1898 to 1901. After passing both parts of the Moral Science Tripos she became a research worker at the London School of Economics. In 1903 she entered the Cambridge Training College for Women and gained a Certificate in Education in 1904. Prior to her appointment to the staff at Liverpool she was an assistant mistress at Winchester High School. Miss Iles held her appointment at Liverpool until she resigned in 1906; the reasons for her resignation will be discussed later in this chapter. The successor to Miss Iles was Sarah Melhuish, who had been a student at University College Liverpool from 1886 to 1890, graduating with a BA Honours in History.<sup>3</sup> In the Annual Report of the Vice-Chancellor in 1907 it was indicated: ‘ Miss Melhuish, a former student of ours, and lately Tutor in History at Somerville Hall Oxford has succeeded Mrs Meriedith (nee Iles) as Mistress of Method and Lecturer on the Art of Education.’<sup>4</sup> It is apparent that Miss Melhuish became increasingly unhappy with her position at the University. In a letter to Professor Campagnac, who was the Professor of Education, dated December 1907, the Vice-Chancellor wrote:

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<sup>2</sup> Vice-Chancellors Letter-Book, Ref, ULA, S2318, 1904 -1905, p507.

<sup>3</sup> University College Magazine, Ref, ULA, C5, July 1890, p 112.

<sup>4</sup> University of Liverpool Annual Report, 1907, p11.

Many questions may keep but some are urgent. (1) Miss Orange, an Assistant Lecturer in Education, has resigned. She is nominated by Miss Melhuish and is directly responsible to her. The place must be filled; but it might be well, I think, to make a temporary appointment up to the end of this session, leaving us free to consider the whole organisation of the department. (2) Miss Melhuish came to see me about the matter, and urged that we should *at once* accept the principle of having some woman beside herself on the staff of the department. I believe we should have two; but as things stand at the moment, I should be unwilling to bind the University in this way, even if I had the power to do so. Before saying anything more to Miss Melhuish, I should like to have a talk with you about the matter. So far as I can judge, she is thoroughly efficient, and it would be a calamity to lose her, but just now she is feeling restless, and if we cannot tell her that she will not be left alone, I fear that she will go elsewhere - in fact she said as much...<sup>5</sup>

In a letter to Miss Melhuish, the Vice-Chancellor wrote:

The Council, by resolution, had decided that temporary arrangements should be made for supplying Miss Orange's place. The salary should not exceed the same amount that Miss Orange would have received for the remaining two terms of this session. Will you take such steps as you may think necessary and submit a recommendation in due course? The future arrangement should be discussed with Professor Campagnac as soon as he has had time to master the facts of the situation. I do not think that you need feel any fear of being left "a lovelorn, solitary female"...<sup>6</sup>

The use of the words 'lovelorn solitary female' by the Vice-Chancellor in his letter to Miss Melhuish are somewhat puzzling. Was he attempting to console Miss Melhuish and support her in her determination not to be the only woman member of the academic staff in the Day Training College? Or was he attempting to make little of the difficulties she was obviously encountering? The answer to this question is impossible to discover, but from a survey of the Letter-Books, there is evidence that a male member of the academic staff was attempting to confine women lecturers to the teaching of women students. In January 1907 the Vice-Chancellor wrote to Professor Ramsey Muir, stating :

I hear that Strong is trying to limit Miss Mason's work to women students. This was a point to which I laid some stress before the appointment was made. You will remember my asking that in the division of work, the principle of mixed classes should be safeguarded.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Vice-Chancellors Letter-Book, Ref, ULA, S 2331, p 775-776.

<sup>6</sup> ibid., p 829-830.

<sup>7</sup> ibid., S2330, p828.

It is most likely that Vice-Chancellor Dale was in fact highly supportive of Miss Melhuish's wish for another woman to be appointed to assist her. Nevertheless, Miss Melhuish resigned from her position at the University when in 1910 she became head of the Training Department of Education at Bedford College.<sup>8</sup> Throughout the years under review, women members of the academic staff at Liverpool were very few, and the evidence suggests that they often felt isolated.

Kelly provided an indication of the actual number of women who were members of the academic staff at Liverpool, stating:

From 1906 onwards women began to be appointed to other departments, and by 1910 there were seven - two in Education, three in Social Science, one in Classics and one in Botany...In 1913-14 there were still only a dozen women members of staff, and twenty years later we can still count only 34, more than two-thirds of them in the Faculty of Arts. Only one of the 34 held a rank higher than that of Lecturer, the exception being Dr Margery Knight, Senior Lecturer in Botany.<sup>9</sup>

Kelly draws attention to the fact that women members of the academic staff had little contact with their male colleagues. He recalls that male members of staff had a common room on the ground floor of the Ashton Building, and the women lecturers had a tiny room in the same building. Staff House, a building which provided accommodation for all members of the academic staff to enable them to socialise, was not established until 1942. From the recollections of Mary Stocks who was the wife of Vice-Chancellor J.L Stocks, it is apparent that the Vice-Chancellor was responsible for the scheme for establishing Staff House, and that the main motive behind its founding was that : 'He found that

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<sup>8</sup> Minutes of Council, 28th July, 1910.

<sup>9</sup> Kelly, op.cit, p 206, 207.

women members of staff had almost no day-to-day opportunities for social contacts with their male colleagues.’<sup>10</sup> Mary Stocks herself stated:

There appeared to be no senior common room life - indeed, as far as I can remember , no senior common room. This was because members of the university staff achieved such contacts as members of an excellent club not far from the university at which they mixed with the leading civic and business personalities. Such mixing was of great value to the city and the university, But it was hard on the university women, because club membership was exclusively male. They could not even lunch with their academic colleagues, except as occasional guests.<sup>11</sup>

The recollections of Miss D’Lara, a lecturer in Spanish who was employed by the University from 1931 until she retired in 1971, give an insight of the position of women members of staff during the 1930s. Miss D’Lara believed there was no prejudice towards women students but, with reference to women who were members of staff she recalled: ‘The only prejudice of gender I found in the University itself was in the Arts Faculty. I was told it was better in other Faculties, but in the Arts Faculty for instance we could not have coffee together.’ Miss D’Lara explained that the coffee room for women lecturers was situated: ‘ In a broom cupboard in the Victoria Building...The men had their common room but we were not allowed in there...But apart from that there weren’t any differences, I think it was pretty good.’<sup>12</sup> Upon marriage, however, the authorities of the University enacted a marriage bar which prevented such women from remaining in employment at the University.

In 1933 the Vice-Chancellor, who was by that date Hector James Wright Hetherington, stated in his Annual Report : ‘Before the summer of 1932, no woman member of staff had married without immediately tendering her resignation...’<sup>13</sup> This statement was, in fact

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<sup>10</sup> ibid, p214.

<sup>11</sup> ibid

<sup>12</sup> Messenger S, Taped interview with Miss D’Lara, 30.9. 1995.

<sup>13</sup> University of Liverpool Annual Report, 1933, p18.

incorrect. Miss Iles who was, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, a Lecturer in Education and Mistress of Method in the Day Training College, created a controversy amongst the authorities of the University when, in July 1905, she informed the Vice-Chancellor that she was to be married, and that she wished to retain her post at the University. It had always been an accepted fact that women lecturers would resign from their positions on the staff when they married. This fact is confirmed by Graham, who stated: 'The close of the first year of the Hall's life saw a change of Warden. Miss Pease (Mrs Charles Sanger) resigned on her marriage...'<sup>14</sup> Miss Iles was challenging this supposition, and the authorities were clearly unsure how to deal with this situation. In 1905 the Vice-Chancellor wrote to Mr E.K Muspratt, stating: 'Miss Iles is to be married in July and she wishes to keep her lectureship after her marriage. This raises a new and difficult question. I propose to call a meeting of the Special Purposes Committee...'<sup>15</sup> A similar letter was sent to Mr Alsop indicating: 'She wishes to keep her lectureship. Can she do so without our consent?'<sup>16</sup> After a meeting of the University Council, two letters were sent to Miss Iles from the Vice-Chancellor. The first stated:

I have again consulted the Committee of Council on the subject of your letter. Though the arrangement is not one that they would make if their hands were free, they feel they have no choice but to accept what you propose:- that you should retain your lectureship until September 1907, on the understanding that you would resign it at an earlier date, should you *yourself* find that your work in the University is suffering from the conflict of other duties and claims. May I ask you to be good enough to let me have a formal answer on these two points.<sup>17</sup>

In a personal letter to Miss Iles, he wrote:

The letter that comes with this is official and therefore formal. I should like to add a few words of my own. The Committee and representatives of the Training College do not like the arrangement, and in any future appointment, they will certainly include a clause to guard against its recurrence...<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Graham H.T, *op.cit.*, p 12.

<sup>15</sup> *Vice-Chancellors Letter-Book*, S 2318, p911.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*, p 912.

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*, S2329, p 14.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, p15.

Miss Iles married Hugh Owen Meriedith, a Fellow of King's College Cambridge. Her husband was not a member of the academic staff at Liverpool; it is probable that she formed a relationship with him while she was at Cambridge. In December 1906 she resigned from her lectureship a full nine months before her contract with the University came to an end. Her decision to do so is not documented; perhaps she found it difficult to combine her duties at the University with marriage, or perhaps her position was made intolerable. According to the Newnham College Register, Mrs Meriedith later combined marriage and the birth of three children quite successfully with employment as a Lecturer at various educational institutions.<sup>19</sup>

In 1932 the position of women lecturers who married and wished to retain their positions at the University once again came into question. Two women, namely Dr Margaret Miller, Lecturer in Commerce, and Dr Jean Wright, Lecturer in French married, and they informed the authorities of the University that they had no intention of resigning from their positions. Dr Miller's correspondence is deposited in the University archives, and it is clear that she and Dr Wright received support from a number of individuals and various groups. Amongst those who supported their action were Professor Lyon Blease, Mrs Adami and Miss Eleanor Rathbone. The groups who were involved included the British Federation of University Women and The North Western Federation of Societies for Equal Citizenship.

From a series of letters which were written by Dr Miller and those which were sent to her it is apparent that the University was determined that the two women, once married,

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<sup>19</sup> Newnham College Register, Vol. 1, pp 160,161.

would not retain their posts. Dr Miller's husband, C. Douglas Campbell, wrote the following statement:

In the consideration of Dr Miller's case special mention has frequently been made of the exceptional difficulty arising out of the fact that we are both in the same department. I wish to make it clear that there is absolutely no substance in the difficulty, for the following reasons; 1. Neither of us has any kind of administrative power in which collusion is possible. We merely give lectures and mark examination papers. 2. In order to obviate any possible objection; I saw Professor Dewsnup before the discussion of Dr Miller's case by Faculty, Senate and Council, explaining that if the only reason for not re-appointing her on a normal basis was the fact that we were in the same department, I was prepared to resign my post. Professor Dewsnup assured me that the "same department" argument had not influenced the University authorities at all and would count for nothing. At subsequent meetings of the University authorities my offer was not mentioned, though the argument was used against Dr Miller's re-appointment.<sup>20</sup>

Dr Miller was in regular correspondence with Mrs Adami, whose husband had been Vice-Chancellor of the University from 1919 to 1926, and who herself had been a member of the University Hall Committee. In a letter to Mrs Adami, Dr Miller clearly provided an account of the frustration which she felt towards the authorities of the University when she wrote:

One of the worst features of this whole situation is the realisation that one is up against a blank wall of ignorance, injustice and stupid prejudice, against which reason and logic are helpless. My efficiency in the past is sufficiently obvious. It should be equally obvious that my efficiency in the future will be very much greater, since my husband and I are admirably equipped for joint work, and find our greatest happiness in doing research together...On the economic side our position is as desperate as anything can be. They cannot accuse my husband and I of "profiteering" at the expense of the University, since my University income is £400 per annum, and his is £340! As you know my mother is entirely dependent on me. I took her out to California last summer and left her there with friends...Before I could get her visa for the United States last May, I had to produce a statement from my Professor certifying that I was a permanent member of the staff of the University: both at Liverpool and at Los Angeles I had to make a sworn statement before the American Consul that I would send £150 a year for my mothers support. If I cease to do this, and my mother becomes a "charge on the public funds" in the United States, she will be deported as an "undesirable alien". You can also imagine how I feel about having to reveal all these intimate details of my private life as the sole hope of being "allowed" to retain my job...<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Archive Deposit of Dr M Miller's papers, Ref, ULA, D384, p310.

<sup>21</sup> ibid, p5132.

In an attempt to retain her position, Dr Miller gathered evidence regarding other women who had married and held positions at the University. Dr Miller sought information from Miss Frances Collie, a lecturer in the Department of Education, to enquire if she knew of any instances when married women had retained their posts. The following reply was sent from Miss Collie to Professor Lyon Blease:

Miss Miller tells me you are asking for information about married women on the staff. I saw Mrs Brisbee today and the facts of her case are not quite as the Vice-Chancellor gave me to understand. He said she resigned and was re-appointed. Mrs Brisbee tells me she resigned at the end of the summer term and withdrew her resignation during the vacation. Professor Herdman told her her resignation had been in time- There was no question of re-appointment- the question of marriage was not raised and she told me that she asked Mr Graham, in the academic department once if her position was the same as before and he looked it up in the Appointments Book and said there had been no alteration. Mrs Brisbee tells me her marriage has since been annulled but I am the first person to be told this. The University authorities have never enquired into the matter. There was a Miss Latache on the Botany staff who married and remained on the staff. This was during the war but I do not know if the University authorities raised the question. If they did not it seems to me that there is a precedent established by these two cases and that Miss Miller and Miss Wright are justified in thinking that their positions are secure...<sup>22</sup>

Dr Miller also wrote to the Professor, providing further information which related to women who had married and remained in their posts at the University. It appeared that at least two other women apart from Mrs Brisbee and Miss Latache had married and continued to lecture.<sup>23</sup> They were Mrs O'Higgins and Mrs Powell-Bigland: the previous chapter indicated that Dr Bigland's employment came to an end on the death of the head of department, and the reorganisation of the Department of Pathology. From the evidence obtained, it appeared that women had no legal right to retain their post and the University had the right to terminate their employment whenever it wished to. The British Federation of University Women provided Professor Lyon Blease with the answers they had received from questionnaires that had been sent to 23 universities and colleges. In every institution women who had been appointed were, after their marriages, able to retain their positions;

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<sup>22</sup> Correspondence of Professor Lyon Blease, Ref, ULA, D 55/4, 1931-1939.

<sup>23</sup> ibid.



a number of married women had been employed after they had married and the terms regarding the employment of women who were married and single were the same as those for male members of the academic staff of these institutions. It was also revealed that : 'There are no cases on record of dismissal at the time of or in consequence of marriage.'<sup>24</sup>

Dr Miller was informed that the following resolution had been passed by the University Council at its meeting on the 7th of February 1933:

That, in all statements of the conditions of appointment to teaching posts in the University, the following Clause shall be incorporated:- " The appointment is open to men and women, and subject to the conditions of tenure and renewal prescribed either by resolution of the Council at the time of appointment, or by the Council's general scheme for the appointment and remuneration of lecturers. In the event of the appointment of a woman, the contract of service will be for the term of years prescribed by the resolution or scheme, or until she shall marry, whichever period shall be the shorter. Lecturers whose contracts are terminated on marriage are not debarred from becoming candidates for the vacancy thus created, but the Council undertakes no obligation to give preferential consideration to their claims". The Vice-Chancellor also asks me to say that if there is any general desire that he should do so, he will be glad to meet the women members of staff at an early date and make a statement on the resolutions which have led the Council to adopt this resolution...<sup>25</sup>

The Vice-Chancellor was called upon by the women members of staff to provide a statement and he discussed the reasons which had led to the resolution which was passed by the Council, stating:

Why should Council hesitate to make the same concession to women as to married men? Marriage is an undertaking of a different kind for a woman. She normally resigns because of: 1. Possible maternity. 2. The burden of social obligations incidental to marriage, which falls on the woman much more than on the man. For these reasons marriage is unlikely to be consistent with a whole-time job. Legislation must proceed in accordance with the normal case, but the Vice-Chancellor maintains that there is plenty of room for the exceptional case. Why not wait until the difficulty arises ( Miss Eleanor Rathbone's point ). Maternity is not the only difficulty. The Vice-Chancellor is of the opinion that it would be quite intolerable to say that a woman might retain her post as long as there were no children. Nor is it practicable to wait for inefficiency to begin, because it is very hard to determine at what point it does begin...Mobility. The University here (and elsewhere) does not desire that the younger members of its staff should stay in one University for long. Marriage interferes with mobility, especially when the woman marries a professional man: it is especially undesirable between two young persons in the same department, who should be moving. It is bad for them and worse for the University...<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Dr Miller's Papers, op.cit.

<sup>26</sup> ibid.

From this evidence regarding of the position of women who married and wished to remain in the employment of the University the overwhelming impression is that Liverpool was not as accommodating towards them as other Universities and Colleges. In her survey of the position of women academics, however, Dyhouse suggests a significant number of them were employed as: 'part-time assistants and demonstrators, as well as teachers of non-academic subjects such as domestic science, physical education and handicrafts, often associated with diploma work in the day training departments.'<sup>27</sup> It could be argued that the University of Liverpool was in fact following the trend which was evident at other universities. The authorities at Liverpool were willing to employ women on its academic staff, but would not tolerate their continued full-time employment upon marriage. It would appear that Dr Miller and Dr Wright were not re-appointed to their positions and both women were forced to seek employment away from Liverpool. With regard to Dr Wright, there is no documentary evidence to indicate her subsequent employment. In the case of Dr Miller, Dyhouse states:

1934 saw Margaret Miller looking for new jobs. She was 37 years old, with three scholarly books to her credit. In January she contemplated work on house property management. In June she applied for a job in an insurance society. She kept her memories of the Liverpool affair (in a scrapbook stuffed with correspondence) for the rest of her life.<sup>28</sup>

The controversy which surrounded this subject did not go away. In 1933 the June edition of the Chronicle, a magazine which provided information of interest to graduates of the University, published the following article. The full text of this article has been included here because it provides an indication of the various viewpoints relating to this subject.

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<sup>27</sup> Dyhouse, op.cit., p138.

<sup>28</sup> ibid., p167.

The University have decreed that women members of the staff shall automatically resign their positions upon marriage. They may apply for re-appointment, but there is no guarantee that they will obtain it...Naturally this sweeping measure has caused a great deal of controversy and disapproval, within and without the university. We print here two letters, one by kind permission of the Editor of *The Liverpool Post* and the other from Convocation, which between them sum up the general situation as various people see it.

#### Liverpool Women Citizens' Protest.

May we, the Liverpool Women Citizens' Association Council, add our feeling of deep concern to that already expressed at the action of the University in deciding that the contracts of women members of the staff are to terminate on marriage. Apart from the injustice and hardship in the case of Dr Margaret Miller, we wish to draw attention to the general principles involved. As a society we have always held that the community can best be served if all its members, men and women, are free to give to it those services for which, by experience, training, and interest they are best fitted. We have hitherto, been proud that our University has upheld this principle, and has, in common with all other modern universities, maintained the tradition that all posts in the University are open to both men and women, and that selection shall depend on merit and qualification irrespective of sex. We look to our Universities to be in the van rather than at the rear of progress, and that Liverpool should be the first, and we believe the only university to take this step is, to our minds, deplorable and completely at variance with social development. It is a direct attempt, entirely contrary to the best thought of the times, to throw women back into economic dependence on men. That the prestige of Liverpool University will suffer, and, indeed, has already suffered, few can doubt. Women of academic distinction are hardly likely to apply for posts in a university which may force them to choose between marriage and the profession which they love, and to which they have probably given many of the best years of their life. The University will lose the benefit not only of long years of research, but also the maturer and more balanced outlook gained by age and experience, to say nothing of that gained by marriage. That women's student life will suffer is equally inevitable. What stimulus is there to a woman to put in any energy or enthusiasm into her work, or to spend years on the study and research necessary to qualify her for a university post if she knows that if she marries it will all go into the melting pot? It will inevitably encourage her to be dilettante, and to regard her work as a stop-gap occupation until matrimony claims her. We are far from wishing to deny the desirability of marriage, but it is well to face facts. Nowadays, with small families almost an established custom and machinery reducing the effort and interest required of the mistress, matrimony is no longer a whole-time job unless the wife undertakes the whole domestic work, and we must realise that every woman is not fitted for this; a woman who had won a university post has almost certainly great love for her work and exceptional ability, and her contribution may well be in the sphere in which she has already proved her usefulness. The slender income of most young men wishing to marry is insufficient to support both a wife and a maid, and the woman, therefore, by being deprived of her work in the university which she loves and in which she excels, is forced into domestic work whether she is fitted for it or not. There is another danger to society of which we must beware. Those men and women who, while wishing to live together as man and wife, also desire to continue their occupations as before, may be forced to dispense with the marriage ceremony; and the case of those who already question the wisdom of marriage as a social institution will be strengthened.

#### Convocation's Views.

That the University Council's recent ruling on the marriage of women members of the staff and its effect on their appointments has raised a volume of criticism and approval alike was manifest by the warmth and length of the discussion at the Annual Meeting of

Convocation held at the University on March 17th 1933. The matter was not on the Agenda paper but arose out of the report of Mr H.E.Potts, the representative of Convocation on Council. It was first mentioned by the Vice-Chancellor, who, speaking at an early stage of the proceedings, anticipated that the point was bound to arise at some point during the progress of a meeting of graduates. Dr Hetherington said that he took a full measure of responsibility for the decision. There was nothing new in the principle that the marriage of women members of staff should automatically terminate their existing appointments, but that, in certain circumstances, the Council might reconsider their re-appointment. The resolution of the Council simply stated in black and white, as a result of specific cases, what had always been the principle of the University, a principle, moreover, which had been obtained in other Universities. It could not be construed into an attack on the employment of women graduates; the Council were anxious to leave every possible avenue open freely to women. The Vice-Chancellor further pointed out that, while the staff enjoyed full liberty of action as lecturers within the confines of the university, any outside work undertaken by male members of the staff was controlled by the Council. He considered that marriage for women members of staff constituted a substantial subsidiary employment. Mr H.E Potts' report to the meeting on his activities as their representative on Council consisted almost wholly of a statement of his action and views on the question raised. He said that he considered himself as the representative and not the delegate of Convocation Council. He had acted as such, using his personal judgement in this, as in all other Council matters. While he usually found himself in the minority, in this case he supported the Council resolution. He considered not merely the graduated body, but the University as a whole and submitted that the claims of the University were paramount. A real practical difficulty was involved in the consideration of the effect of marriage on the appointments of women lecturers. The terms of her contract, when a women lecturer marries, should depend not on herself but on the University. In his view, marriage altered fundamentally the conditions of the original contract. It was true that appointments were made to cover fairly long periods, but he doubted whether that fact could justify a continuance of the contract. He emphasised that the resolution was not a question of sex distinction nor was it retrogressive since it embodied what had always been the Council's principle. He again insisted on the right of the University to decide such matters. Mrs Conway asked for specific cases which had led to the Council's resolution. Miss Carr's intervention in the discussion took the form of three questions. She enquired how many women were on the University Council, whether the resolution had been submitted to Convocation or any other graduated body, and whether marriage, in the case of women lecturers could not be treated on the same basis as extra-University work for male members of the staff. Mr Rideout then submitted that there was no case for the representative of Convocation on Council to answer. Mr Conway saw in the Council's action the entanglement of the University authorities in the backwash of reaction which was taking place everywhere. He considered that the decision of the Council was an interference with the liberty of the subject. Mr Webster supported the Council's ruling. Mr Edward Carey welcomed the addition of women members of staff, but thought it right that discretionary powers should be retained by the Council. On the whole, he thought that the decision of Council would react favourably on women candidates for University posts. Dr Margery Knight claimed that the decision of Council was contrary to the Charter of the University and that it created an invidious distinction between men and women. It was a retrograde step and there was a real danger that not only would women graduates ban Liverpool in favour of other universities where such a condition of employment did not hold, but that the women undergraduate population of the University might be restricted. She maintained that there had been no need for Council to legislate on the matter, but that their decision represented an injustice to women. Mrs Stallybrass suggested that a special meeting of Convocation should be called to test the feeling of the graduate body of the University. The resolution of Council was a grave infringement of individual rights and there was no necessity for any such resolution. In her opinion, women who were unable to discharge fully the duties of a lecturer would have the common decency to resign. Did the same practice hold for men? She challenged the statement that the practice now to be followed in Liverpool was the same as that of other Universities, and

asked Mr Potts if he had received a copy of a circular drawn up on the subject by the Federation of University Women and which had been transmitted to Council. There were eighteen married women holding appointments in other Universities. Mr Potts answered briefly the points raised by the various speakers. The Chairman ruled that a vote on the subject was out of order as the question was not a part of the Agenda of the meeting. Thorough discussion was not usual on the report of the representative of Convocation Council, he had allowed it in this case in view of the strong convictions held by some of the graduates.

#### Reply

In the report of Convocation's meeting the Vice-Chancellor promised that "in certain circumstances the Council might consider the re-appointment of married women lecturers." What circumstances? To specify them would no doubt, make it difficult for Council to withdraw from this promise. He claims that the resolution of the Council "stated in black and white, as a result of specific cases, what had always been a principle moreover, which obtained in other Universities." Unfortunately, the Vice-Chancellor is unable or unwilling to substantiate these statements. This is quite understandable, for the careful research of several persons has been unable to discover any such "specific cases" in our University, or any legislation in other Universities, which debar women from holding positions on their staffs. He considered, too, that "marriage for woman members of the staff constituted a substantial subsidiary employment." Not necessarily, for a married woman would be financially in a position to relegate all her domestic duties to servants. This being so, marriage constitutes for her no more substantial subsidiary employment than it does for a man. Mr H.E Potts emphasised that "the resolution was not a question of sex distinction." Why is it, then, that the regulation applies only to women?<sup>29</sup>

In her analysis of the problems encountered by women lecturers in universities, Dyhouse highlights evidence contained in the publications of Bruce Truscot, which were published in the 1940s. She suggests that Truscot acknowledged that there were not enough women lecturers employed within universities, and that they were treated unfairly. In his opinion women themselves were to blame for this situation. Dyhouse provides an indication of Truscot's solution to this problem which he believed lay in their own hands when he wrote: 'A determined and unanimous series of attacks by the combined body of university women teachers would probably win a comparatively easy victory'.<sup>30</sup> From this account of women lecturers at Liverpool, it is clear that they did attempt to rectify the unfair

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<sup>29</sup> The University of Liverpool Society Chronicle, Ref, ULA, C5, Vol 1, No 4, June 1933, p 6,7.

<sup>30</sup> Dyhouse, op.cit, p245.

treatment which they were receiving, and that they did not 'win a comparatively easy victory' in fact, they lost the battle.

Apart from the problems which were encountered by women who were employed as members of the academic staff at Liverpool, it appears many of its women graduates who attempted to enter other professions which were male dominated also encountered a number of obstacles.

Women students had been allowed to read for law degrees at the University since 1911. As the chapter on the social lives of women students indicated, the first woman to graduate with a law degree was Mrs Share-Jones in 1914. She was prevented from entering the legal profession because the Law Society refused to admit women. Franz states that the Law Society: '...Found it easy to view the entry of women as repugnant.'<sup>31</sup> She argues that during the First World War women were employed in solicitors' offices, and this was recognised by two male speakers at a general annual meeting of the Bar in 1918. Mr Holford Knight:

Spoke of the extraordinary capacity women had shown during the war engaged in many spheres of activity. That they had occupied positions of responsibility that required mental qualities, integrity, dignity and civic responsibility. Many women had proved they were fit to be members of the bar. Another male drew attention to the fact that in France women had had the right to practise since 1900. In Sweden they could practise until they married. Since 1906, Denmark, Switzerland, Finland, Norway, the Argentine Republic, Netherlands, New Zealand, parts of Canada, USA and Australia all had women practising. Even in Russia four women had been admitted to the bar.<sup>32</sup>

Despite these comments the vote to admit women was defeated: only 44 members supported the entry of women out of a total of the 200 who were present. Even after the passing of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act in 1919, the admission of women to

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<sup>31</sup> Franz N.A, English Women Enter The Professions, Columbia University Press, 1965, p274.

<sup>32</sup> ibid., p276.

membership of the Law Society was withheld until 1921. Male opposition remained: Franz believes that male members were hostile towards the entry of women because it was feared the meetings of the Society would have to change, and that male customs would no longer be appropriate when women were present and that the exclusive nature of the Law Society would be broken when women achieved membership. Franz indicates that the Law Society imposed a number of regulations with regard to the clothes which were worn by its women members. They were to be long dark clothes with white high-necked blouses, wigs and gowns. Franz argues that these clothes were in fact flattering to women, and women barristers attracted a great deal of public attention when they were in court. She also suggests that women who practised law were low down the list of professional women who actually married, and that such women were willing to forgo marriage in order to remain in their chosen profession. There were, however, a few women who combined marriage with practice. One such woman was Rose Heilbron, the first woman to graduate with a First Class honours degree in law from Liverpool. She combined marriage, childbirth and her profession very successfully. Other women in this profession made the choice to withdraw from employment to become wives and mothers. This fact is confirmed in the 1931 edition of the Chronicle, which reported:

In May of this year Mr Leonard R. Mullen, LLB and Miss Agnes Neville, were married at Liverpool...Miss Neville has now retired from practice and Mr Mullen is a junior partner in the firm of which her father is head. A presentation was made by the Solicitors of Liverpool, to whom Mrs Mullen, acknowledging the gift, happily referred as "her brothers in the law."<sup>33</sup>

In her review of this profession, Franz argues that the number of women entering it increased steadily, though they were most active in the legal aspects of divorce, children and family law. It is unlikely that a significant number entered criminal or business law, as these arenas were male-dominated and probably remain so today. The various avenues of

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<sup>33</sup> The University of Liverpool Society Chronicle, Ref, ULA, C5, Vol, no 1, July 1931, p 27.

It is also apparent that women who entered the University to read for degrees in subjects such as medicine and veterinary science that they came from a wealthier class than those who entered for three-year degree courses. The degree courses which required more than three years' study were beyond the financial means of many parents, and grants for women intending to enter for a medical degree were not available until 1918. A small number of scholarships, and assistance from the University hardship fund, enabled some women who would otherwise have been denied a higher education to enter the University. Most of scholarships, however, channelled women into the teaching profession. In a recent paper considering the entry of women into teacher-training departments within civic universities, Dyhouse indicated: 'After 1910, the Board of Education's scheme for training secondary teachers allowed students who pledged their intention to teach to be eligible for grant support over four years, which covered tuition fees and a maintenance allowance'.<sup>5</sup>

By 1903 women were admitted into the Faculty of Medicine, by the 1920s the University was leading the way in the field of social work by providing social science courses. The majority of women by 1903, entered Liverpool with the intention of reading for a degree. The B.A degree was the dominant course throughout the years 1883 to 1887, 1903 to 1907, 1923 to 1927 and 1933 to 1937. Although women had always shown an interest in science subjects, the number who actually read for a degree in science was quite small. The dominant factor to account for this was that the teaching of science at secondary level was in many respects inadequate. Even when schools for girls improved this aspect of

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<sup>5</sup> Dyhouse C, 'Signing the pledge? Women's investment in university education and teacher training before 1939', History of Education, 1997, Vol 26, No.2, p208.



full course and proved herself competent in all subjects'.<sup>36</sup> The campaign to allow women to become members of the RCVS, which had begun in 1897, continued, and Ford indicates that in 1915 the Registrar of the University of Liverpool approached the Council of the RCVS to enquire if women veterinary students at Liverpool could be admitted to the College. His enquiry was met with a blank refusal. Mr, later Professor Share-Jones, who was on the staff at Liverpool, began to question this refusal. In the previous chapter it was shown that this Professor had encouraged his wife to read for a law degree at the University, and he obviously found the negative attitude of the RCVS distasteful. He made his views on the subject quite clear in a speech to university women at Sheffield: 'He argued that there was no reason why any branch of veterinary work should be unsuitable for women, as skill rather than strength was required, and he hoped the RCVS would soon admit women.'<sup>37</sup> In her account of the career of Aileen Cust, Ford indicates that Professor Share-Jones was called by the Animals' Guardian: 'an impractical academic who had no idea of the rigours of veterinary work'. She also notes that The Times in 1915 published the following article, which stated:

In view of the recognition of women in the medical services, and the rank of Major bestowed on Dr Garrett-Anderson for her work at the military hospital which she and Dr Flora Murray are opening in Endall Street, it is curious to find that the RCVS still refuse to admit women. The matter was recently referred by the College to a solicitor and he decided that as only men students were admitted at the time the charter was granted, only men students could be admitted in future. The number of veterinary surgeons is not very large, only about 3,400 being on the register, and the demand from the Army and the Civil Authorities appears to be greater than the supply.<sup>38</sup>

Another enquiry was made by the University of Liverpool in 1918, and once more the enquiry was met with a refusal. By this date Miss Edith Gertrude Knight had taken an examination for a Diploma in Agriculture at the Reading Agricultural College; in 1920 she

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<sup>36</sup> ibid. p23.

<sup>37</sup> ibid. p66.

<sup>38</sup> ibid. p67.

entered the University as a Veterinary Science student. Miss Knight graduated with a BVSc. in 1926. A newspaper article which is contained in her student dossier reveals:

**First woman Vet. B.V.S.c. Took Her Degree in Plus Fours.**

Wearing plus fours and a Norfolk jacket beneath her academic gown, Miss Edith Gertrude Knight, of Bruton, Somerset, was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Veterinary Science at a graduation ceremony at Liverpool University yesterday. She is the first woman student in England to obtain this degree, and her fellow students gave her a rousing cheer. Miss Knight, who is 29, is the daughter of Mr W.A Knight, a Headmaster of a school in Bruton. She has always been fond of life in the open, is an expert horse woman, and since the age of 18 has dressed like a boy, as she could not do her work in a skirt. She took a Diploma in Agriculture at Reading University seven years ago, and then went as a "cow man" at £1 a week, on a farm at Wycombe, Bucks. She rose to manager. Two years ago she became MRCVS, and visited South Africa, and qualified to practise as a veterinary surgeon in that country. Although slight in build, she had no fear in tackling defiant animals and even intractable bulls. She expects to take up a post at Hereford.<sup>39</sup>

Miss Knight was able to become a member of the RCVS after the 1919 Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act was enacted. The RCVS was no longer in a position to bar women as it would have been contravening this Act. Miss Cust eventually gained membership to the RCVS in December 1922. Nevertheless, in her survey Ford indicates that although they were members of the RCVS, women continued to encounter obstacles when they attempted to enter their profession. She states: 'No matter how competent and well qualified women were, the vast majority of male veterinary surgeons refused to employ them.'<sup>40</sup> With reference to Miss Knight, in 1929 she married Mr E.L Taylor who had been a fellow veterinary student at Liverpool. Her husband specialised in parasitology, and Miss Knight set up her own veterinary practice. In addition to running her practice she had three children. After her third child was born she took into partnership a Miss Marjorie Jordan, who had qualified in London, and eventually withdrew from the practice because of her family commitments.

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<sup>39</sup> Student Dossier, EG Knight, Senate House, University of Liverpool.

<sup>40</sup> Ford, op.cit, p.76.

The number of women entering the veterinary profession increased, albeit slowly. Ford indicates that:

Several obtained work by marrying male veterinary surgeons, and there were some fruitful partnerships on this basis. Most of the others set up on their own and employed other women as soon as they needed assistants or locums. In this way employment opportunities gradually widened, although it was many years before their prospects were as good as men's. Even today a woman has to be rather better than the available men in order to obtain promotion in large organisations such as the Ministry of Agriculture or the major drug firms.<sup>41</sup>

The previous chapter of this thesis supports these statements that women veterinary surgeons either married men in that profession, thus enabling them to enter into joint practice, or set up practices on their own and employed other women. Although the 1919 Act enabled women to become official members of the RCVS, they faced problems when they sought paid employment within the profession itself. For women entering the medical and dental professions a similar pattern emerges.

The first woman doctor was Elizabeth Blackwell who, although British, gained her medical training in America. She was followed by Elizabeth Garrett Anderson and Sophia Jex-Blake; the obstacles which they had to overcome to gain admission to the medical profession have been well documented. The previous chapter of this thesis, using evidence which relates to medical women who graduated from the University of Liverpool, has suggested that women doctors who remained single entered spheres of medicine such as missionary work and the health of women and children. Women who married tended to marry men who were in the same profession, and they were able to continue in their profession either in partnership with their husbands or by undertaking part-time work in

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<sup>41</sup> *ibid.*, pp.78,79.

hospitals. Married women occasionally continued in full-time work by employing nannies or with assistance from grandparents.

Women who entered the dental profession appear to have followed the same pattern as women in the medical profession. According to the research carried out by Fox and Stewart, women had been practising dentistry in England since the 1740s. A Mrs Gilies entered this profession initially as an eradicator of superfluous hair; by 1752 she was also cleaning and preserving teeth. Before 1878 there was no requirement for qualifications in this profession in England. The United States allowed women to enter for qualifications, the first to achieve a qualification being Lucy Hobbs, who eventually graduated in 1866. It would appear that, despite opposition, in 1887 five dental colleges in the United States admitted women and a number of them returned to England to practise. In 1885, The British Journal of Dental Science stated: ‘ In England the prospects of women dentists lies far in the future, and the merit of their participation, even at subordinate levels, is open to debate’.<sup>42</sup> In their survey, Fox and Seward state that the first woman to graduate in Britain was Lillian Murray, from the Edinburgh Dental Hospital in 1895. Other women began to enter this profession slowly but steadily. In Chapter Two of this thesis, it was indicated that a Mr Latarche had applied to the University of Liverpool on behalf of his daughter who wished to read for a dental qualification.<sup>43</sup> Mr Latarche was informed that the University did not have the necessary accommodation to enable his daughter to enter. In the 1913 edition of The British Dental Journal it was revealed:

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<sup>42</sup> Fox B and Seward M, ‘Dentistry’, in Silverstone R and Ward A, Careers of Professional Women, Croom Helm, London, 1980, p.84, 85.

<sup>43</sup> Chapter Two, p 43.

## Women in Dentistry.

The recent successes of two ladies, Miss Pain and Miss Latarche, in gaining dental qualifications, seems to have created some surprise, not to say excitement, in the lay Press, which appears to be unaware that the lady L.D.S. has long won her "place in the sun." To one of the first paragraphs, with a portrait, in the *Daily Telegraph*, and headed, "The First Lady Dentist", the Editor of this journal was courteously accorded a correction sufficient for the purpose; but so numerous have been the subsequent articles and comments all over the country, that we are obliged in these pages to briefly set forth the facts, and correct in one case an unfortunate misrepresentation. At least eight lady registered dental practitioners have been welcomed as members of the British Dental Association at different times since 1895... Miss Lily F. Pain is, of course, the first lady to obtain the diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and Miss Kate Latarche is similarly distinguished in regard to the B.D.S. of the Victoria University of Manchester. We quote a few extracts from the Press. Under the heading of "Women as Dentists," the *Queen* says:- "For the first time in English history a woman has been admitted by the Royal College of Surgeons as a lady licentiate in dental surgery, and in the honour done to and earned by Miss Lily Fanny Pain all English women are honoured. By this most important step forward and upward in the mental emancipation and social evolution of women, not only is a new and honourable career and profitable profession opened to intelligent and capable women, but an opportunity of obtaining skilled care and attention in what is only too often a painful and distressing necessity is given to children and to women from one of their own sex. Delicacy of touch as well as firmness is wanted, while gentleness, sympathy, and care are essential in a good dentist. Women, therefore, are particularly adapted to this profession, and it is a thing to wonder that they have never before been allowed or have determined to take up as licentiates of the Royal College of Surgeons. ...We see at once that one of the directions into which many lady dentists might, and doubtless will, direct their newly-acquired powers, and that is in the clinics now being established in connection with many of our elementary schools. Yet another factor in the case, and reason for more dental practitioners, is the growing practice of paying periodical visits to the dentist, whether one has toothache or not...Thus from every point of view - avoiding pain, preventing illness, keeping oneself in health and beauty - it is most desirable that visits at stated intervals should be paid to one's dentist, and if that person be a lady - talented and gentle, capable and kindly - it is one reason more that many should be found ready to pay the generally dreaded visit. The creation of women dentists is in any case a most desirable thing, and we heartily welcome the advent of the first lady dental surgeon, and hope it may be the precursor of very many more."<sup>44</sup>

This article presents a positive view of women entering the dental profession. The author, who is unknown, suggests that women were particularly suited to this profession especially with regard to the treatment of women and children. By 1913, the state was playing an increasingly active role in providing health care for children, and it would appear that women who were qualified in dentistry had the opportunity to practise. Other articles taken from various newspapers were also included in the 1913 Journal. With

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<sup>44</sup> The British Dental Journal, Vol XXXIV, 1913, pp.35,36,37.

reference to Miss Latache, the following information was obtained from The Manchester

Courier:

Medical Degree Day had particular interest in that for the first time a woman student, Miss Kate Latache, received the degree of Bachelor of Dental Surgery, and was the first woman on whom such a degree had been conferred. Miss Latache is a Liverpool girl, but when she wished to begin her course there for the similar degree Liverpool University was not ready, and, in fact, not equipped in that department for the reception of women students. Manchester was, and she came here. The B.D.S has been taken by a number of men here, and entails a very comprehensive and, indeed, difficult course of study, the possessors of which are something much more than what the public visualise in the word dentist... in his address, the Vice-Chancellor said: " Last summer women students were very prominent in medicine, and that day a lady would be admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Dental Surgery..."<sup>45</sup>

Miss Pain spoke upon the subject of women entering the dental profession in an interview with a reporter from The Women's Platform, stating:

I hope as time goes on, that women will enter the profession in increasing numbers, as it is one for which they are very well suited. I believe most women and children would prefer to be attended by women, and the increasing attention paid to children's teeth and the establishment of school clinics are all opportunities for the women dentist.<sup>46</sup>

Upon this subject The British Dental Journal in 1913 indicated:

Our latest fair colleague having been accorded, to our greatest satisfaction, an ethical celebration which her ambition entitles her to, we have but to congratulate her, and to the conservative Royal College of Dental Surgeons of England, in the further hope that encouragement may be afforded to the teaching institutions in London who are still "thinking about" the revolutionary notion of affording a career for women, even if a stalwart feminist should on occasion be called upon to alleviate the lot of a metropolitan constable... That more than half of our educated community should be practically excluded from an eminently suitable pursuit in this country is an anomaly unlikely to survive in these times.<sup>47</sup>

The articles above present an extremely positive view of women entering the dental profession, contrasting strongly with the position of women in professions such as law, medicine and veterinary science. It is also apparent that the University of Manchester was ahead of Liverpool in admitting women as dental students. Although women were entering this profession, however, the evidence indicates that, like their colleagues in other

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<sup>45</sup> ibid., p37.

<sup>46</sup> ibid., p38.

<sup>47</sup> ibid., p38.

professions which were male dominated, they were not competing directly with men. Women in this profession were confined to the dental treatment of women and children. In their survey, Fox and Seward argue that women were eventually admitted to the dental hospitals in London during the First World War because there was a shortage of male students.<sup>48</sup> They also suggest that women dentists who remained single were more likely to obtain senior positions within the profession than their married counterparts. The demand for women dentists increased after 1928, when dental treatment was covered under the National Insurance Scheme. In addition, by the 1930s there was an increase in school dental clinics and Mother and Child Welfare Centres. The Second World War further expanded employment opportunities for women dentists, as they began to fill positions which had previously been held by men; the government assisted them by providing nurseries for married women with children and, therefore, such women could return to their profession. In 1948, the National Health Service was established, and as dental treatment became available free of charge, the demand for this service increased dramatically; therefore, further employment opportunities became available for women in the dental profession.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, a survey as late as 1968 showed that, although there were employment opportunities for women in this profession, many women were not returning to the workplace. The reasons given by women for this situation included:

A shortage of available part-time jobs within a reasonable distance of home, difficulty in finding suitable household help at an affordable cost and lack of confidence to resume a career following a break in continuity of practice...Once the problems of raising a family were removed, most women generally returned to their profession.<sup>50</sup>

If this was the situation for professional women in the late 1960s, it is almost certain that the same problems were in evidence and to a much greater extent in the earlier decades;

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<sup>48</sup> Fox B and Seward M, *op.cit.*, p.86.

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*, p.86-88.

<sup>50</sup> *ibid.*, p.88,89.

however, it could be argued that suitable household help for women wishing to return to this profession would have been more accessible and cheaper in the earlier decades than it was in the later years.

From the evidence contained in this chapter, relating mainly to the professional experience of women graduates, it is clear that they encountered a significant number of obstacles after they had graduated and entered professional life. With reference to women employed on the academic staff at Liverpool, the evidence has shown they were a minority group who were often isolated from contact with their male colleagues. Marriage closed this avenue of employment, though at the University of Liverpool women began to challenge the marriage bar as early as 1906. It was not until the 1930s, however, that women lecturers really fought to retain their positions, and despite support from influential individuals and women's groups this battle was lost. From a survey of the entry of women into other professions which had traditionally been male dominated it becomes apparent that women were prevented from making progress because they were excluded from professional societies. Membership of such societies was important, as it provided proof of professional competence, and was essential in order to develop networks for business purposes. The 1919 Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act enabled women to gain admission to professional societies, but male hostility was particularly strong, and women were forced to create their own spheres of influence within their chosen professions. The evidence suggests that women in the veterinary profession were forced either to set up their own practices, where once established they employed other women, or to marry men already in the profession and go into practice with them. In dentistry women made progress, but they largely confined their expertise to the care of women and children. This



survey of the experiences of women graduates contributes to existing knowledge of women entering the professions, and helps to build up a body of evidence with regard to their higher education and experiences in professional life.

## Chapter Nine

### Conclusion

In 1992, Morse stated:

Five years ago, virtually nothing had been published on the history of civic or provincial universities, except for commemorative histories of individual institutions, written on the occasion of a centennial or other milestone in the institution's history. The limitations of this medium were such that none was able to offer a balanced view of the civic university in its social or historical setting... Since 1986, there have been reassuring indications that this vacuum is slowly being filled: doctoral research (especially in the United States, a geographic perspective of some importance), publications and ongoing non-commemorative research by scholars at the civic universities promise a shift in perspective away from an exclusive concentration on the ancient universities.<sup>1</sup>

In 1994, Gibert stated:

The history of Oxbridge and London women's colleges has attracted considerable attention from historians of women and education. College histories, as well as more general works like Vera Brittain's *The Women at Oxford* and Rita McWilliams-Tullberg's *Women At Cambridge*, draw heavily on recollections like Crowther's to support their scholarly accounts of the building of women's colleges and of their extended campaign for academic recognition. In *Independent Women* Martha Vicinus places women's colleges in a broader and deeper context, analysing them not merely as academic institutions but as alternative communities in which women developed 'leadership skills, friendship networks, and a power base for public work'. Less attention has been paid to the development of the civic universities' alternative pattern of higher education for the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century women in England. The universities of Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield played an important though frequently unmentioned part in the advance of female education.<sup>2</sup>

Until Gibert's research the only substantial work which had been undertaken into the experiences of women students who attended civic universities belonged to Tylecote. Gibert's research widened knowledge of this subject and more recently, Dyhouse has contributed to this area of research with her study of women as students and members of staff at civic universities in England, Scotland and Wales.

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<sup>1</sup> Morse EJ, *op.cit* , pp178,179.

<sup>2</sup> Gibert JS, 1994, *op.cit.* p406.

It is interesting to note that these two scholars have arrived at different conclusions with regard to women students at civic universities even though they have consulted almost the same sources, namely official university records, student publications and recollections which have been deposited in various university archives. Neither Gibert nor Dyhouse has used oral evidence, which despite its weaknesses can provide an important dimension with which to qualify and extend information which is gained from documentary sources. During the research for their doctoral theses at Liverpool, both Messenger and Aiston have made extensive use of this method of research, and both have been kind enough to allow me access to their work.

In her study of 'Women at the University of Liverpool 1944-1960', Aiston revealed that had she consulted solely the Guild Gazette in order to gain an insight into women students at Liverpool during those years: '...a rather bleak picture would have been painted. The constant jibes against women and the bickering between the sexes, which varied in intensity and tone, was constant throughout the years under consideration.'<sup>3</sup> Despite this depressing picture, when being interviewed, Aiston's respondents described how much they had enjoyed their University experiences. To discover why such a diverse picture of student life was evident between published accounts at the time and recollections from women some years later, Aiston observed what the women's attitudes were towards the Guild Gazette. She provided her respondents with two articles from the Gazette: one was entitled 'A Woman's Place', in which it was argued that women should be excluded from employment; the second, entitled 'Report on Women in the University', drew attention to

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<sup>3</sup> Aiston S. 'I didn't look at it that way': oral history and the historical study of women at the University of Liverpool 1944-1960', History of Education Society Bulletin, No.63, May 1999.

the fact that there were two types of university women and indicated that neither type was liked. After showing her respondents the articles Aiston found:

The overall response to the articles from the respondents was that the sentiment was very 'tongue-in-cheek' and was not taken seriously. They were written to be provocative, and many jokes were 'cooked up' in 'Varsity' to promote discussion. There was no recollection of the articles being reflective of how university women were thought of.<sup>4</sup>

It is interesting to note that, although Aiston's research is focused on the 1940s and beyond, not one of the woman interviewed regarded herself as discriminated against whilst a student at the University of Liverpool. The same opinions were expressed by women students from the 1920s and 1930s interviewed by Messenger and for this thesis. The evidence clearly supports the findings contained within this thesis, with reference to the extent to which women at Liverpool were integrated members of their University. The use of oral evidence has, therefore, been a valuable asset to the research for this thesis and its conclusions.

From the combination of interviews, returns from questionnaires and documentary sources, I formed the opinion that women students at Liverpool were far more fortunate than their colleagues at Manchester. From the very beginning they played an active role in the academic and social life of their university; and it would appear that they continued to do so, well after the years in which this thesis is based. The dominant factors which led to differences in attitude towards women students were undoubtedly related to circumstances which were evident at the time. For example, at Manchester, the way in which Owens College was founded and the actual wording of Owen's will clearly prevented the admission of women to the College. Conversely, University College Liverpool was founded at a much later date, by a group of local citizens who were willing to allow their

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

daughters' attendance. The Principals of the two colleges had very different attitudes towards the entry of women students. Principal Greenwood, as we have seen, whilst not disliking women, was very concerned about the effects an academic education would have upon their health, and the suitability of the sexes attending the same lectures. Principal Rendall at Liverpool was more adventurous, as he could afford to be: by 1881, the year in which the college was founded, there had been a considerable shift in attitude towards the higher education of women. In addition to this, he had the influential support of his wife and the approval of the founders of the College to allow the entry of women.

From the analysis of the academic careers of women who were students during specific years, a number of interesting facts have emerged. It is evident that the new University College, especially during the period 1883 to 1887, served the interest of its female students: it enabled those who wished to widen their educational horizons without reading for a degree to do so; others used it as a spring-board into the more prestigious women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge; and increasing numbers of women entered with the sole intention of reading for a degree. From 1903 onwards the function of the University began to change: the number of women entering to widen their educational horizons began to decline, and those seeking admission to the women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge did so directly from their secondary schools. By the 1920s the University had become an institution in which the majority of its women students were reading for degrees and higher educational qualifications.

The number of women attending Liverpool increased until the 1933 to 1937 period, when there was a decline. The factors which may have contributed to this include the financial

hardship of parents, unemployment within the teaching profession and the expansion of employment opportunities for women which did not require a higher education. It is also apparent that the attitudes of parents towards their daughters entering higher education changed over the period from 1883. In the late nineteenth century parents were concerned about the effects such an education would have upon their daughter's health and marriage prospects; while from the 1920s a significant number of parents encouraged their daughters to read for degrees and to take up paid employment. Throughout, the majority resided within the parental home, and attended the University as day students. The reasons to account for women attending their local University appear to have been first, that parents preferred their daughters to remain at home; second, the cost of a higher education away from the locality was simply beyond the financial means of many parents; and third, that the University offered a wide range of subjects which attracted women.

The evidence on the social status of women students indicates that during the period 1883 to 1887, the majority of women attending University College came from very wealthy backgrounds. A significant number of their fathers had played an instrumental role in the founding of University College. Many of the mothers of these students played an active role in both educational and philanthropic ventures in Liverpool. From 1903 onwards, however, increasing numbers of women students were attending the University from more varied social backgrounds. By this date, the largest proportion of women were either students at the University Day Training College or attending teacher-training colleges: a significant number of these were reading for degrees at the University, even though they were students at Edge Hill and Mount Pleasant Teacher Training Colleges, which had by this date been affiliated to the University.

It is also apparent that women who entered the University to read for degrees in subjects such as medicine and veterinary science that they came from a wealthier class than those who entered for three-year degree courses. The degree courses which required more than three years' study were beyond the financial means of many parents, and grants for women intending to enter for a medical degree were not available until 1918. A small number of scholarships, and assistance from the University hardship fund, enabled some women who would otherwise have been denied a higher education to enter the University. Most of scholarships, however, channelled women into the teaching profession. In a recent paper considering the entry of women into teacher-training departments within civic universities, Dyhouse indicated: 'After 1910, the Board of Education's scheme for training secondary teachers allowed students who pledged their intention to teach to be eligible for grant support over four years, which covered tuition fees and a maintenance allowance'.<sup>5</sup>

By 1903 women were admitted into the Faculty of Medicine, by the 1920s the University was leading the way in the field of social work by providing social science courses. The majority of women by 1903, entered Liverpool with the intention of reading for a degree. The B.A degree was the dominant course throughout the years 1883 to 1887, 1903 to 1907, 1923 to 1927 and 1933 to 1937. Although women had always shown an interest in science subjects, the number who actually read for a degree in science was quite small. The dominant factor to account for this was that the teaching of science at secondary level was in many respects inadequate. Even when schools for girls improved this aspect of

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<sup>5</sup> Dyhouse C, 'Signing the pledge? Women's investment in university education and teacher training before 1939', *History of Education*, 1997, Vol 26, No.2, p208.

teaching, the returns of questionnaires completed by women who were students in the 1920s and 1930s show that women entering to read for a degree in either medicine or science required extra tuition to enable them to cope with their studies. The survey of the schools which were attended by women prior to their admission to the University has revealed that during the 1883 to 1887 period, the majority of women students were educated at small private schools or received private tuition within their own homes, where science teaching would not be available. By 1903 to 1907, the majority of women students entered the University from pupil-teacher training colleges. During the later years, 1923 to 1927 and 1933 to 1937, most women had attended secondary, high or grammar Schools, with a wider curriculum.

This research has revealed that most women students completed their courses and increasing numbers of women achieved honours in their chosen degree. The evidence relating to the number of women graduates from Liverpool clearly indicates that from the 1923 to 1927 period onwards increasing numbers of women entered a further course of study after completing their degree course, the most popular courses being the Diploma in Education and Certificates and Diplomas in Social Science.

With regard to the founding of the first hall of residence for women at Liverpool, this thesis argues that, although the authorities of University College were sympathetic to the idea of such an establishment, the finance was not available to provide one. The absence of a hall of residence was rectified by the efforts of wealthy women from within Liverpool society. Newnham College Cambridge was the model upon which University Hall was based; many of the women who were members of the hall committee had links with this



college, and the first two wardens of hall had themselves attended Newnham. The founding of University Hall enabled many of the women involved in this venture to gain a sphere of influence within the College itself. They attempted to use their influence to good effect by proposing that the proportion of women lecturers at the University be increased, and by supporting the continued employment of women lecturers at the University upon their marriages. Neither of these proposals, however, was successful. The wardens of University Hall had a difficult task: they were expected to supervise the women in their care, and yet the academic activities of women students took place at the University, as did the vast majority of their social activities. It is apparent from the recollections of women who resided in University Hall that hall wardens made a lasting impression upon them: the majority recall their kindness, intelligence and dignified demeanours. It is also evident that if a warden attempted to impose a regime which women students considered to be too harsh or restrictive, they exhibited their disapproval by simply seeking ways to overcome such rules. Residence in University Hall was, from the evidence provided by past students, a very important part of their experience of university life. Whilst there women students formed close friendships which often lasted a lifetime; they were able to be independent of their parents, to interact with women from different social backgrounds, and a significant number of them remained in contact with the hall through its annual newsletters when their university lives came to a close.

In her work on women who attended civic university colleges, Dyhouse argues that they were discriminated against because of their sex. From the evidence provided in this thesis, it is argued that at Liverpool such discrimination with regard to women students was largely absent. From the survey of the social lives of women at Liverpool, it is interesting to note that while women formed societies which were of specific interest to themselves,

they also entered into joint societies with their male colleagues. They were active in the publication of student magazines, and they had equal representation within the Guild of Students. Male student hostility towards the university women's suffrage movement and their admission into the medical student's debating society were quickly overcome; it would appear that women within the university setting were eager not only to participate on equal terms with their male colleagues, but also believed they did share equality with them. The thesis by Messenger on the lives of middle-class women who were young and single between the war years in Liverpool has confirmed the viewpoint taken in this thesis, which is that women students believed they enjoyed the same opportunities as their male colleagues, and that there was no discrimination of sex. It is apparent, however, that throughout the period being studied, very few women students actually challenged social conventions.

Although women who were students at Liverpool were able to participate fully in student life, it appears that the authorities of the University were far less accommodating towards the women in their employ. Women lecturers were largely excluded from developing social contacts, on the ground of gender, not only with their male colleagues, but also with influential citizens from within local society, because they were excluded from the clubs where male lecturers socialised. In her work on women lecturers, Dyhouse indicated the problems which they encountered, and identified the obstacles which were placed in the way of women lecturers at the University of Liverpool when they married, and sought to retain their positions. Dyhouse focuses upon the 1930s as being the decade in which women lecturers began to challenge the authorities of the University of Liverpool with reference to its policy regarding the employment of married women. This research has revealed that one woman actually challenged the authorities of the University as early as

1906. Although women lecturers in the 1930s attempted to retain their positions upon marriage, and had support from influential individuals and groups, they lost their campaign. It is interesting to note that this happened at a time when tensions between male and female students were beginning to become increasingly more noticeable.

Despite their lack of support for female academics, there is no doubt that successive Principals (of University College Liverpool) and Vice-Chancellors (of the University of Liverpool) supported the higher education of women. The first, Principal Rendall, welcomed the presence of women students at the college. A journalist in 1895 wrote: ‘...The Principal himself is, of course, as fully in favour of co-education as his wife, and has exercised great influence in maintaining it in the College...’<sup>6</sup> Vice-Chancellor Dale was also eager to ensure that women students were treated equally, hence his intervention when Professor Strong attempted to divide the Latin lectures according to gender. His successor was Dr John George Adami who, according to Kelly:

...was a friendly and out-going man, anxious to meet people and get to know them. He was especially happy with the students. ‘He saw life’, wrote his widow, ‘from their angle, understood their problems and their plans, and only lamented that he saw so little of them.’<sup>7</sup>

Adami died in 1926, and his successor, HJW Hetherington, took up office in 1927. With reference to Hetherington Kelly indicates: ‘To staff and students alike he was always friendly and approachable...’<sup>8</sup> It is interesting that none of these Vice-Chancellors, despite their liberal attitudes towards the higher education of women, was prepared to support women staff who wished to continue their work after marriage.

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<sup>6</sup> Tooley SA, *op.cit.* p8.

<sup>7</sup> Kelly T, *op.cit.* p189.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.* p201.

The evidence regarding the postgraduate activities of women who were students at Liverpool has revealed, as found elsewhere, that the majority entered the teaching profession, though some took up occupations becoming available to women, such as social work and clerical work. Women who had read for degrees in subjects such as medicine, dentistry, architecture, veterinary science and law, entered these spheres of employment after graduation, although there is evidence that they had to overcome obstacles which were placed in the way of their progress. For example, this survey has revealed that although women were able to read for law degrees, they were prevented from entering the legal profession because the Law Society refused to allow them admission. Women who read for degrees in veterinary science encountered the same problems as their colleagues in the legal profession. In both cases women were only able to become members of professional societies after the 1919 Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act was enforced. Medical women who remained single pursued their chosen profession; those who married also continued, albeit on a part-time basis. Women in dentistry tended to confine their skills to specific areas which did not bring them into direct competition with their male colleagues, whereas women who became veterinary surgeons were forced, from male hostility, to set up practices either on their own or with their husbands. The expansion of employment opportunities in this profession occurred only as successful women veterinary surgeons employed other women as partners. The evidence indicates that women who chose to remain unmarried in all of these professions were able to progress within them, whereas their married colleagues combined part-time employment and family responsibilities which restricted their progress. Marriage not only affected the employment opportunities of women employed by the University of Liverpool, it also ended the careers of women in professions such as teaching and the civil service. The marriage bar remained in force until after the Second World War: then the evidence

indicates that increasing numbers of women in the teaching profession began to re-enter the work force, albeit on a part-time basis.

The research undertaken to date on the admission and experiences of women at civic universities has used evidence from Manchester (Tylecote); and Bristol, Birmingham and Manchester (Morse and Gibert). Dyhouse has examined a wide range of sources from English, Scottish and Welsh Universities. This thesis has focused upon a single civic university, namely Liverpool. As a case study, it adds to and qualifies still further our knowledge of the academic, social and postgraduate lives of women who were students there. This University was open to men and women alike when founded, and early Vice-Chancellors put into practice, with very little recorded opposition from academic colleagues, the policy of equal access written in the College charter. Examples cited in the thesis, both from written and oral evidence, support the argument that, unlike their fellows at Manchester, Liverpool women students from the beginning regarded themselves as fully-fledged members of the University College, later the University of Liverpool, with very little evidence of any sense of discrimination. Empirical and feminist historians will view this evidence from different theoretical viewpoints, and may come to different conclusions, but whichever approach is taken, the student experience at Liverpool contributes further to our knowledge of women in civic universities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

1. Social Class using both Gibert's occupational grading and the Registrar

General's statistics

Professional

accountant, almoner, architect, armed forces, banker, civil engineer, clergy, composer, consulting chemist, dentist, district commissioner, doctor, farmer, forester, gentleman, independent means, landowner, lecturer, principal of college, professor, solicitor, surgeon, veterinary surgeon, vice-chancellor.

Manufacturers and Merchants

auctioneer, brewer, broker, business, coffee planter, company director, contractor, dealer, factor, iron founder, jeweller, manufacturer, manufacturing wholesalers, merchant, proprietor, ship owner, soap maker, sugar refiner.

Semi-professional

agent, bookkeeper, buyer, cashier, clerk, civil servant, commercial traveller, curator, draughtsman, headmaster / mistress, head postman, financier, inspector of schools, insurance adjuster, journalist, manager, police sergeant, probation officer, railway official, rate collector, registrar, school master, school mistress, secretary, sub-editor, postmistress, surveyor, superintendent, tax assessor, underwriter, various inspectors ( police, railway, RSPCA, sanitary gas etc).

Trades and Special Skills

baker, blacksmith, butcher, builder, bookseller, cable maker, cabinet maker, chemist, clothier, coach builder, confectioner, dairyman, draper, engraver, furrier, florist, grocer, decorator, iron monger, joiner, mason, master machine and tool maker, mountmaker, pawnbroker, printer, sail maker, sheetmetal worker, shop keeper, tailor, tanner, tobacconist.

Probable Artisans

caretaker, cart owner, cotton doubler, engine driver, engineers, foreman, gardener, grazer, housekeeper, mechanic, railway foreman, sailor, ships steward.

## **2. Social Class using Gibert's occupational grading<sup>1</sup>**

### **Professional**

accountant, almoner, architect, armed forces, banker, civil engineers, clergy, consulting chemist, dentist, doctor, farmer, gentleman, independent means, judge, landowner, M.P, principal of college, professor, solicitor, surgeon.

### **Merchants and Manufacturers**

autioneer, company director, contractor, dealer, factor, iron founder, jeweller, manufacturer, merchant, ship owner, sugar refiner, wholesale grocer.

### **Semi-professional**

agent, assurance, bookkeeper, buyer, cashier, clerk, commercial traveller, gas inspector, inspector of schools, manager, railway official, rate collector, school master, superintendent, surveyor, secretary.

### **Trades and Special Skills**

bookseller, baker, blacksmith, builder, butcher, chemist, clothier, dairyman, draper, engraver, grocer, house decorator, joiner, mountmaker, tailor, tanner.

### **Probable Artisans**

caretaker, engine driver, engineer, foreman, grazer, mechanic, railway foreman.

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<sup>1</sup> |Gibert JS, PhD Thesis.

### **3. Social Class using Sanderson's occupational grading<sup>2</sup>**

#### **Professional**

accountant, army, auctioneers, almoner, bailiff, factor, agent, art director, town clerk, bank manager, consulting brewer, clergy, government inspectors, civil engineers, doctor, dentist, manager, organist, professor, physician, solicitor, schoolmaster, surveyor, surgeon.

#### **Manufacturers and Merchants in large or expensive trades**

basket manufacture, cycle manufacture, builders, chandelier makers, manufacturing chemist, contractor, paper maker, flour merchant, diamond merchant, farmer, hat manufacturer, iron founder, iron master, 'manufacture's', safety-pin manufacturers, wine merchant.

#### **Semi-professional white collar literacy-using occupations**

bookkeepers, clerk, commercial traveller, cashier, journalist, printer's reader, secretary, verger.

#### **Trades and Special Skills**

butcher, bookseller, blacksmith, baker, cabinet maker, confectioners, grocers, clothiers, china guilders, drapers, decorators, engravers, goldsmith, goldbeater, jeweller, mountmaker, miller, pawnbroker, photographer, silversmith, tea dealer, tailor, tobacconist, tool maker, watch maker, beer dealer, boiler inspector.

#### **Probable Artisans**

engine driver, engineers, foremen, gardener, grazier, gas engineers, wire drawers, joiner, mechanic, machinist, miner, metal worker, packer, quarryman, turner, weigher

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<sup>2</sup> Sanderson M, op-cit.



Previous Schools1. Public, Independent, GPDST and Boarding Schools

	1903-7	1923-7	1933-7
Baliol, Sedborough	0	2	0
Badminton, Bristol	0	0	1
Bedford High School	0	1	0
Belvedere High School GPDST	8	28	14
Bolton High School	1	0	0
Birkenhead High School GPDST	3	4	14
Blackburn High School	1	3	1
Bradford Grammar School	0	0	1
Channing House, London	1	0	0
Cheltenham Ladies College	8	1	11
Christ's Hospital School, Hertford	1	0	0
East Liverpool High School	6	0	0
Edgebaston High School	0	0	1
Harrogate College	0	3	1
Holy Trinity, Bromley	1	0	0
Howells School, Denbeigh	0	5	9
Hulme Grammar School, Oldham	1	0	0
Hull GPDST	1	0	0
King Edward VI, Birmingham	0	1	1
Liverpool College, Huyton	3	5	15
Lowther College	0	2	2
Malvern College	0	2	0
Manchester High School	0	2	4
Merchant Taylors, Great Crosby	4	9	12
North London Collegiate	0	1	0
Orme Girls School, Newcastle	1	2	0
Polam Hall, Darlington	0	2	0
Penrhos, Colwyn Bay, North Wales	1	3	5
Queen Annes, Blackheath	1	0	0
Queens School, Chester	1	1	1
Roedean	0	1	0
Rhudlan College, North Wales	0	0	0
Sheffield High School	0	0	2
<i>Shrewsbury High School</i>	2	0	0
St Annes, Windermere	0	1	0
St Leonards, St Andrews, Fife	5	2	3
St Marys Hall, Brighton	2	0	1
St Pauls, London	0	3	0
St Winifreds, Eastbourne	2	0	0
St Elphins, Essex	0	0	1
St Elphins, Matlock	0	0	1
The Cowley Schools, St Helens	11	10	2
The Mount School, York	3	2	0
Wimbledon GPDST	0	1	0
Walhampton Hall, Kent	0	0	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>104</b>

## 2. High and Grammar Schools

	1903-7	1923-7	1933-7
Accrington Grammar School	0	0	1
Aigburth Vale High School	0	20	14
Aintree High School, Liverpool	1	0	0
Alloa Academy	1	0	0
Arundel Ave. High School, Liverpool	1	0	0
Ashton-in-Makerfield Grammar School	0	4	1
Balshaws Grammar School, Leyland	0	0	1
Barrow-in-Furness Grammar School	0	0	2
Barnsley High School	0	1	0
Bedford College, Liverpool	5	1	0
Beverley High School	0	1	0
Birkenhead Convent High School	0	3	2
Bishop Auckland County School, Durham	0	0	1
Bishop Stafford High School	0	1	0
Bellerive Convent High School, Liverpool	2	1	4
Bingley Grammar School	0	1	0
Blackpool High School	0	1	3
Blenindale High School	1	0	0
Bolton Grammar School	0	1	0
Brae St. High School	4	1	0
Bradford High School	0	0	1
Broughton High School, Salford	0	0	1
Burnley High School	0	1	0
Burton-on-Trent Grammar School	0	0	1
Bury High School	0	0	1
Calder High School, Liverpool	0	1	5
Carlisle County High School	0	7	0
Church High School, Wigan	1	0	0
City and County School, Chester	1	1	1
Clapham High School	0	0	1
Claremount High School, Wallasey, Wirral	1	0	0
Clitheroe Royal Grammar School	0	1	1
Conamur School, Kent	0	0	1
Convent Highgate, London	0	0	1
Convent High School, Cork	1	0	0
Convent High School, Darlington	0	0	1
Convent High School, Dublin	0	0	2
Convent High School, Warwickshire	0	0	1
Convent High School, Wolverhampton	0	0	1
Convent High School, Wigan	1	0	0
Convent, Wrexham	0	0	1
Cowley Hill Grammar School, St Helens	1	0	0
Crewe Convent High School	0	1	0
Doncaster High School	0	1	0
Gainsborough High School	0	2	0
Greenhead High School, Huddersfield	0	2	0
Grove Street, Liverpool	12	10	9
Hales Owen Grammar School	0	1	0

Haslingdon Grammar School	0	1	0
Holly Lodge High School, Liverpool	0	0	12
Holt Hill Convent, Birkenhead	2	1	1
Higher Tranmere High School, Birkenhead	6	8	7
Huddersfield High School	0	1	0
Ilford High School, Essex	0	0	1
Immaculate Conception School, Darlington	0	1	1
Kendal High School	0	4	1
Lady Manners Grammar School, Bakewell	2	0	0
Lancaster Grammar School	0	3	1
Leamington High School	0	1	0
Leicester High School	0	0	1
Leigh Grammar School, Manchester	0	1	1
Lichfield High School	0	1	0
Liverpool Institute Blackburn House	9	14	14
Loretto High School, Manchester	0	0	1
Ludlow High School	0	1	0
Lymm Grammar School, Warrington	0	0	1
Macclesfield High School	1	0	0
Meols High School, Wirral	0	1	0
Manchester Central High School	0	1	0
Manchester Grammar School	0	1	0
<i>Mavis Stella High School, New Brighton</i>	0	3	2
Middlesborough High School	0	2	0
Nantwich Grammar School	0	2	0
New Brighton High School, Wirral	1	0	0
Newcastle High School	0	1	0
Norfolk Grammar School	0	1	0
North-on-Deane Grammar School	0	1	1
North Wales High School	0	0	2
<i>Notre Dame Convent HS, Birkdale</i>	2	6	3
Notre Dame Convent HS, Blackburn	0	2	3
Notre Dame Convent HS, Clapham	0	0	1
Notre Dame Convent HS, Everton Valley	6	19	16
Notre Dame Convent HS, Leeds	0	1	0
Notre Dame Convent HS, Manchester	0	5	1
Notre Dame Convent HS, Mount Pleasant	8	13	12
Notre Dame Convent HS, Plymouth	0	1	0
Notre Dame Convent HS St Helens	0	14	3
Notre Dame Convent HS, Sheffield	0	2	1
Notre Dame Convent HS, South Devon	0	1	0
Notre Dame Convent HS, Southwark, London	0	0	1
Notre Dame Convent HS, Teignmouth	0	0	1
Notre Dame Convent HS, Wigan	1	10	10
Nuneaton High School	0	1	0
Ormskirk Grammar School	0	2	0
Oulton High School	0	17	8
Paisley Girls High School	1	0	0
Princess Mary High School, Halifax	0	0	1
Ramsey Grammar School, Isle of Man	0	0	2
Redcar High School	0	1	0
Rotherham High School	0	2	0
Queen Ethelberg School, Harrogate	0	0	1
Queen Elizabeth High School, Middleton	0	1	0

Queen Margarets High School, Scarborough	0	1	0
Queen Mary High School, Liverpool	0	16	8
Queen Mary High School, Walsall	0	0	1
St Antonys, Sherborne, Dorset	0	0	1
St Dominics HS, Stoke-on-Trent	0	1	1
St Helens High School	0	0	1
St Johns, Bootle	1	0	0
St Josephs, Birkenhead	1	0	0
St Josephs, Birkdale	2	0	0
St Marys Convent, Middlesborough	1	0	0
St Mary, St Annes High School, Abbots Bromley	0	0	1
St Pauls, Bolton	0	0	1
Scarborough High School	0	2	2
Seabank High School, Liscard, Wirral	5	0	2
Skipton Girls Grammar School	1	1	0
Southport High School	0	3	3
Steaton Hill High School, London	0	1	0
Stockton Lodge School, Warrington	0	0	1
Stourbridge High School	0	0	1
Southampton Grammar School	0	0	1
The Park School, Preston	0	2	2
The Park School, Glasgow	0	1	0
Thomlinson Grammar School, Cumberland	0	2	0
Ulverston Grammar School	0	2	1
Uttoxeter High School	0	0	1
Victoria High School, Londonderry	1	0	0
Wade Decon Grammar School, Widnes	0	0	2
Wallasey High School	8	14	18
Warrington Grammar School	1	0	0
Wakefield High School	0	1	0
West Hartleypool High School	0	0	1
West Kirby Grammar School, Wirral	0	7	2
Whitchurch High School	0	1	0
Wigan High School	0	4	5
Windsor High School, Liverpool	13	4	0
Wolverhampton High School	0	1	2
TOTAL	106	245	227

### 3. Higher Grade, Council, Secondary, Colleges and Technical Schools

	1903-7	1923-7	1933-7
Abbeydale Secondary School, Sheffield	0	0	1
Anfield Rd. School	1	0	0
Arnot St Council School	1	0	0
Barrow-in-Furness Secondary School	0	4	0
Belle Vale Secondary School, Bradford	0	3	0
Birkenhead Secondary School	0	19	15
Birmingham Board School	1	0	0
Birmingham School of Art	0	0	1
Birmingham Secondary School	0	0	1
Blackpool Secondary School	0	5	0
Bootle Secondary School	0	10	3

Bolton Secondary School	0	2	1
Bowerham Council School, Lancaster	1	0	0
Bradford Secondary School	0	2	0
Brighouse Secondary School, Halifax	0	0	1
Brighthelmiston Secondary School	0	0	1
Brighton Secondary School	0	1	0
Buchen Secondary School, Isle of Mann	0	0	2
Caernarvonshire Secondary School	0	0	2
Cardigan County School	0	1	0
Carlton Secondary School, Bradford	0	3	0
Chorley Secondary School	0	1	0
Clapham Secondary School	0	0	1
Clint Road Council School	1	0	0
Crewe Secondary School	0	3	3
Cumberland Secondary School	0	0	1
Doncaster Secondary School	0	1	0
Elm Hurst Council School, Rock Ferry, Wirral	1	0	0
Erdington Secondary School	0	0	1
Ernest Bailey Secondary School, Matlock	0	0	1
Felixstowe College	0	0	1
Gerard St School, Derby	1	0	0
Grimsby Higher Grade School	1	0	0
Hawarden County School	3	0	0
Hebdon Bridge Secondary School	1	0	0
Hillcroft College	0	0	1
Huddersfield Technical College	0	1	0
Hull Technical School	1	0	2
Jarrow Secondary School	0	1	0
John Bright Secondary School, North Wales	0	1	0
Liverpool City School of Commerce	0	0	1
Liverpool Technical School	0	0	1
Llanfyllin Secondary School, North Wales	0	1	0
London Secondary School	0	1	0
Lowestoft Secondary School	0	1	0
Luton Secondary School	0	2	0
Manor Road Council School, Liscard, Wirral	1	0	0
Morecome Secondary School	0	1	0
Nelson Secondary School	0	2	0
Netherthorpe Council School	0	1	0
Norwich Secondary School	0	2	0
Oldershaw Secondary School, Wallasey	0	4	3
Pennygroes Council School	0	0	1
Pontypridd Intermediate School	0	0	1
Preston R/C Secondary School	0	2	0
Reigate County School	0	1	0
Rochdale Higher Grade School	1	0	0
Runcorn Secondary School	0	1	1
St Anthonys Secondary School, Sunderland	0	3	1
St Augustines Secondary School, Norwich	1	0	0
St Catherines, Wigan	2	0	0
St Edmunds College, Liverpool	0	6	8
St Johns Council School, Rochdale	0	0	1
St Josephs College, Bradford	0	0	2
St Lawrences Elementary School, Kirkdale	0	1	0

St Marys, Birkenhead	1	0	0
St Margarets Higher Grade School	5	0	0
St Michaels Hamlet Board School, Liverpool	1	0	0
St Pauls R/C Secondary School, Birmingham	0	1	0
Salford Secondary School	0	2	2
Saltley Secondary School, Birmingham	0	0	1
Seafeld Esecondary School, Liverpool	0	0	1
Secondary Board School, Douglas, Isle of Man	2	7	0
Sefton Park Council School	3	0	0
Selburn Secondary School	0	1	0
Southend Secondary School, Darlington	0	0	1
Southport Secondary School	0	12	0
Stowbridge Secondary School	0	2	0
Stockton Secondary School	0	2	0
Stockton-on-Sea Secondary School	0	0	2
Todmorden Secondary School	0	0	1
Upper Park Council School	1	0	0
Vine Street Council School	1	0	0
Warrington Secondary School	0	1	1
Waterloo with Seaforth Secondary School	0	7	0
Welsh Pool Girls College	0	0	2
Welsh School	0	0	1
Whitehaven Secondary School	0	3	0
Widnes Secondary Day School	3	4	0
Workington Secondary School	0	4	0
TOTAL	35	133	71

#### 4. Pupil Teacher Training Colleges

	1903-7	1923-7	1933-7
Accrington	1	0	0
Birkenhead	1	0	0
Birmingham	1	0	0
Blackburn	3	0	0
Bolton	2	0	0
Bradford	8	0	0
Burnley	2	0	0
Derbyshire	1	0	0
Grimsby	1	0	0
Lancashire, Edge Hill	47	0	0
Lancaster	1	0	0
Leeds	1	0	0
Liverpool, Clarence Street	34	0	0
Liverpool, Colquitt Street	4	0	0
Liverpool, Mount Pleasant	16	0	0
Manchester	2	0	0
Pupil Teachers (no previous school noted)	9	0	0
Rochdale	3	0	0
Salford	1	0	0
Wallasey, Wirral	2	0	0
Workington	1	0	0
TOTAL	141	0	0

## 5. Private Schools, Study Abroad and Private Tuition

	1903-7	1923-7	1933-7
Ayr Academy	0	0	1
Ackworth, Bolton	0	1	0
Benendon School, Kent	0	0	1
Brentwood, Southport	1	2	3
Convent of Compassion, Birmingham	0	1	0
Convent of the Holy Cross, Blackpool	0	1	0
Convent of the Sacred Heart of Mary, Gt Crosby	0	2	3
Dagfield School, Birkdale	0	0	1
Dee House Convent, Chester	0	1	1
Dr Williams School, Dolgelly, North Wales	0	1	1
Edcliffe School, Eastbourne	0	0	1
Eversley, Southport	0	0	1
Farringtons School, Lancashire	0	1	0
Girls College, Formby	0	4	1
Hebrew School, Liverpool	1	0	0
Herbert Strutt School, Belper, Derbyshire	0	0	2
Highfield School, Darwin	2	0	0
House of Education, Ambleside	1	0	0
James Allen Girls School, London	0	1	0
Kensington House, Birkenhead	0	3	1
Larkhill Convent, Preston	0	0	3
Larkhill House, Preston	0	0	1
La Sagesse Convent, Grassendale, Liverpool	0	2	2
Layton Hill Convent, Blackpool	0	1	0
Lonsdowne House, Llandudno	0	1	0
Linwald, Heswall, Wirral	2	0	0
Loretto College, Manchester	0	5	1
Malreu Girls College, Southport	0	0	1
Maywood, Surrey	1	0	0
Metfield School, Southport	0	2	0
Michlefield School, Kent	0	0	1
Miss Birchs School, Chester	1	0	0
Mount View, Hampstead	2	0	0
Overstone, Northamptonshire	0	0	1
Paddock House School, Accrington	0	0	2
Private Schools (Not Named)	4	1	0
Private Tuition	20	2	1
Red Gables, Carlisle	0	0	1
Riverstead, Waterloo, Liverpool	1	0	0
St Andrews Hall, Southport	0	1	0
St Georges, Hants	0	1	0
St Hildas, Edinburgh	1	1	1
Sandford, Blundellsands	1	2	0
Saxenholme, Birkdale	0	1	0
Seafeld House, Crosby	0	1	0
Simon Longtons School, Canterbury	0	0	1
Southlands College, London	1	0	0

Study Abroad	4	3	2
Summerfield, Alexandra Dr., Liverpool	2	0	0
Sunny Hill School	0	1	0
The Laurels, Rugby	2	1	0
Trinity Hall, Southport	0	4	0
Uplands School, St Leonards on Sea	0	0	1
Waterloo Park School, Liverpool	0	0	3
Waterloo Wesleyan Day School	4	1	0
West Heath, Richmond	0	2	0
Wernerth School, Oldham	1	0	0
Woodford School, Southsea	0	1	0
Wyndhurst, Blundelsands	0	2	0
TOTAL	52	54	39

## 6. Universities and Other Institutions for Higher Education

	1903-7	1923-7	1933-7
Aberystwyth University	1	0	1
Edinburgh University	0	1	1
Newnham College, Cambridge	1	1	0
Royal Holloway College	2	0	2
Somerville College, Oxford	1	0	0
University College, Dublin	1	0	0
University College, Liverpool	30	0	0
TOTAL	36	2	4
GRAND TOTAL	438	531	445
NUMBER IN SAMPLE	484	588	487
NOT KNOWN	46	57	42



**Careers of Graduates**

**1883 to 1887**

The following sources were consulted during the construction of individual biographies :  
University College Magazine, The Sphinx, The Register of Graduates (The Victoria University 1883-1903), The Recorder, The University of Liverpool Society Chronicle, The Friends Newsletters, The University Hall Association Newsletters, Newnham College Register, Girton College Register, The Directory of Women Teachers, Medical Registers.

- AULD, Jessie.** Born 1869. Father - James Auld, Accountant.  
BSc[Vict], Honours 1889. MSc [Vict] 1891.  
Career: 1889 to 1891 - Teacher, Weirfield School, Taunton.  
1891 to 1892 - Student, Cambridge Training College.  
1892 to 1895 - Senior Mistress, Girls' High School, Blackburn.  
1895 to 1900 - Headmistress, County Girls' School, Llandovey.  
Since 1900 - Principal [With Miss Skeat PhD] of Baliol School, Sedbergh.
- BEAUMONT, Fanny Constance.** Born 1868. Father - Reverend George Beaumont,  
BA [Vict] 1890, MA[Vict] 1893.  
Career: 1890 - Assistant Mistress, High School for Girls', Liverpool.  
Since 1903 - Joint Headmistress, South Liverpool School for Girls'.
- BECKETT, Elizabeth.** Born 1866. Mother - Mrs Beckett, School Teacher.  
BA [Vict] 1888.  
[Mrs Kerr] Career: 1888 - Teacher until marriage in 1898 to James Kerr.
- BIRCH, Sarah** Born 1859. BA [Vict] 1888.  
[Mrs Hull] Career: 1890 to 1891 - Assistant Mistress, Holly Hill School, Hampstead.  
1891 to 1895 - Second Mistress, Halifax High School.  
1895 to 1900 - Headmistress at Heath High School. Married 1898.

**BURN, Mary** Born 1869. Father - Richard Burn, Insurance Broker.  
BA [Vict] 1889. MA 1901.  
Career: 1891 to 1900 - Assistant Mistress, Liverpool Institute  
Girls' School.  
1900 to 1905 - Headmistress, High School for Girls', Leek.  
1905 - Headmistress, County High School for Girls', Maidenhead.

**ELLISON,  
Florence.** Born 1868. Father - Christopher Ellison, Architect and Surveyor.  
BA [Vict] 1890.  
Career: Morning Governess.

**HOLT, Jane  
[ Mrs Herdman ]** Father - Alfred Holt, Ship Owner.  
BSc First Class Honours [ Lond ] Experimental Physics - 1891.  
Career: One of the founders of University Hall, a residence for  
women students: married Professor Herdman.

**JAPP, Eliza  
[ Mrs Laurie]** Father - John Japp, Merchant.  
BA [Lond] 1890.  
Career: Headmistress, Edgbaston High School for Girls', until  
marriage.

**OWENS,  
Elizabeth Jane** Born 1867.  
BA [Vict] 1888, MA 1901.  
Career: 1890 to 1894 - Assistant Mistress, Milton Mount College,  
Gravesend.  
1894 to 1901 - Senior Mistress, County Intermediate School,  
Barmouth.  
1901 - Headmistress, County School for Girls', Bala, North Wales.

## CAREERS OF GRADUATES

1903 to 1907

- ALDERSON SMITH  
Constance Maria** Born 1886. Educated - Wallasey High School.  
Father - James Alderson Smith, Gentleman.  
BA 1905. Dip.Ed. 1906.  
Career: Assistant Mistress - Girls' Modern School, Bedford  
Salary: £145 per annum.
- ALLEN, May** Born 1880. Educated - Huyton College.  
Father - Robert Allen, Agent.  
BA 1903, Dip.Ed., 1905.  
Career: Librarian, University of Liverpool, Department of  
Zoology - 1908 to 1945. Died 1969.
- ALLISON, Margaretta** Born 1885. Educated - Pupil Teacher College, Clarence  
Street.  
Father - William Henry Allison, Chief Steward, Cunard Co.  
BA 1909, Dip.Ed. 1912.  
Career: 1915 - Assistant Mistress, County School.  
1916 - Geography Mistress, Secondary School for Girls',  
Davenport.  
Salary: £150 per annum plus £10 yearly incs.
- ANDERSON, Anne Irene** Born 1885. Educated - St. Winifreds, Eastbourne.  
Father - James Edward Anderson, Ship Owner.  
BSc 1906.  
1913 Newnham College, Cambridge as a Graduate student.  
Career: 1914-1917- Demonstrator in Physics, Royal  
Holloway College, London and Head of x-ray dept -  
Red Cross Hospital, Englefield Green and at Guildford War  
Hospital 1917 to 1918. 1918 to 1922- Assistant Lecturer  
Technical Institute, London.
- ASTON, Olive Alice** Born 1885. Educated - St Michael's Board School.  
Father - Oliver Aston, Coachman.  
BA 1907, MA 1909.  
Career: Temporary teaching - Holt Secondary School.

- AULD, Muriel** Born 1881. Mother - Ellen Park Auld.  
BA [Hons] History 1904. Dip.Ed. 1905.  
Career: Teacher - Secondary School, Birkenhead.  
1915 - Head of Municipal High School for Girls', West  
Hartlepool.
- BARTON, Alice** Born 1886. Educated - Edge Hill College.  
Mother - Mary Anne Barton.  
BA 1905. MA 1909.  
Career: 1912 Teacher, Municipal Secondary School.
- BARTON, Ethel** Born 1886. Educated - Sefton Park Council School.  
Father - Henry Barton, Mineral Sampler.  
BA 1908.  
Career: 1908 Selected by the Liverpool Education  
Committee.
- BENNETT, Blanche  
Millard** Born 1883. Educated - Edge Hill Training College.  
Father - Albert Theo. Bennett, Agent.  
BA 1905.  
Career: Teacher, The Friend's School, Ackworth.
- BEAVAN, Ada** Born 1887. Educated - Wallasey High School.  
Father - William Charles Beavan, Caretaker.  
BSc 1909.  
Career: Certificated Assistant Teacher, St. Helens  
Wesleyan School, resigned due to ill health.  
1916 - Clerk, West Lancashire Separation Allowances.

- BRADSHAW, Jane** Born 1883. Educated - Bolton High School.  
 Father - Jonas James Bradshaw, Architect, FRIBA, JP.  
 Mother - Hannah Barlow, Music Teacher.  
 Newnham College Cambridge 1902 to 1905, Part One and Two of the History Tripos 1905. Student of English, University of Liverpool 1905 to 1909, MA [L'pool] 1914.  
 Career: Tutor 1909; Assistant Mistress, Sunderland Municipal High School.  
 1909 to 1913 - Fulham [LCC] Secondary School.  
 1915 to 1918 - Walthamstow Secondary School.  
 1919 - Lecturer - Homerton Training College, Cambridge.  
 1920 to 1923 - Temporary Assistant English Professor, Smith College, USA.  
 1927 - Inspector - Board of Education in Birmingham.  
 1931 to 1932 - Senior Woman Inspector for Bradford LEA.
- BUTTERWORTH, Elsie Mary** Born 1882. Educated - Pupil Teacher College, Leeds and Edge Hill Training College.  
 BA 1905, MA 1923.  
 Career: Lecturer, Training College, Lincoln.  
 1917 - Teacher, High School, Clewer.
- CARRIER, Elsie Haydn** Born 1879. Father - E J Carrier, Wesleyan Minister.  
 BSc 1903, MSc 1905.  
 Career: 1904 - Mistress of Science and Mathematics.  
 Became an eminent Geographer.
- CARTER, Hilda Mary** Born 1881. BA 1903, MA 1904.  
 Career: 1905, Assistant Mistress, Wimbledon High School.  
 1906 - Mistress in the Preparatory Department of the Boys' School, Nottingham.
- CONGDON, Emily Mary** Born 1883 - Educated - Edge Hill Training College.  
 Father - Joseph William Congdon, Book-keeper.  
 BA 1906.  
 Career: 1917 - Assistant Mistress, High School, Manchester.

- CONWAY, Gladys** Born 1885 - Educated - County School, Hawarden.  
 Father - Thomas Garrett Conway, Mariner.  
 BA 1907.  
 Career: 1907 Teacher Secondary School, Bangor.  
 1911 - Assistant Mistress, Queen Mary High School,  
 Liverpool.
- COOKE, Mary  
 Braithwaite** Born 1887. Educated - Windsor High School, Liverpool.  
 Mother - Mary Elizabeth Cooke.  
 BA 1908.  
 Career: 1909 - Teacher, Holt Secondary School.
- CORNISH, Kathleen Mary** Born 1886. Educated - Windsor High School, Liverpool  
 Father - Edwin Sutton Cornish, Civil Engineer, South  
 Africa.  
 BA 1908.  
 Career: 1908 to 1916 - Assistant Mistress, High School,  
 Manchester.  
 1916 - Vice Principal, Girls' School, South Africa.
- CROWE, Eleanor  
 Gertrude** Born 1880.  
 Mother - Mrs Crowe.  
 BA 1901 [University of Liverpool BA 1904].  
 Dip.Ed. 1905, MA 1909.  
 Career: 1903 to 1905 - Assistant Mistress 'Strathallan'  
 Brighton.  
 1905 - Teacher, Bedford College, Liverpool.
- DEAN, Mary Griselda** Born 1885. Educated - St Margarets' Higher Grade School.  
 Father - John Dean, Buyer.  
 BSc. 1908.  
 Career: 1908 - Selected by the Liverpool Education  
 Committee for supply teaching.

- DEAN, Susannah** Born 1880. Educated - Church High School.  
 Mother - Ann Dean.  
 BA 1906.  
 Career: 1906 to 1908 - Assistant Mistress, Leigh Grammar School.  
 1906 to 1911 - Teacher, France.  
 1911 - Senior French Mistress, Eastern District Secondary School.  
 Salary: £150 per annum.
- DOVEY, Helen Margaret** Born 1888. Educated - Pupil Teacher College, Wallasey.  
 Father - Edwin Henry Dovey, Manager.  
 BA 1909.  
 Career: 1913 - Assistant Mistress, Southgate Secondary School, Middlesex.  
 1914 - Headmistress, New Brighton.
- DUDLEY, Dorothy** Born 1885. Educated - Seabank High School, Wallasey.  
 Father - Frederick Henry Dudley, Clerk.  
 BA [Hons] History 1908.  
 Career: 1908 to 1909 - Teaching History, Secondary School, Coventry.  
 1909 - Temporary post in Bangor, North Wales.  
 1909 - Secondary School in Tiverton.
- DUGUID, Agnes** Educated- Claremount High School, Wallasey.  
 BA 1909.  
 Career: 1909 - Selected by the Liverpool Education Committee for supply teaching.  
 1909 - Teaching at Harvington Council School.  
 Salary: £79.4shillings, plus £5 University Exam.
- EARLAM, Olive Maud** Born 1884. Educated - Edge Hill Training College.  
 Father - Matthew Earlam, School Master.  
 BA 1905.  
 Career: Lecturer, County Training College, Crewe.

- EDWARDS, Elizabeth Mary** Born 1888. Educated - East Liverpool High School.  
 Father - George Henry Edwards, Estate Agent.  
 BA 1909. MA 1912.  
 Career: 1909 to 1912 - English Assistant in Germany.  
 1912 to 1914 - English Scholar at Bryn Mawr College, USA  
 1913 to 1914 - Tutor in Modern History, Philadelphia, USA  
 1914 to 1916 - Lecturer in Modern History and Economics, City of New York, USA.  
 1916 to 1917 - Tutor - Elementary Economics, Liverpool School of Social Science.  
 1917 - Clerical work in her fathers' office, releasing her brother for military service.
- EDWARDS, Ethel Susanna**  
 [Mrs Viggars] Born 1880. Educated - Orme Girls' School, Newcastle and Newnham College Cambridge.  
 1900 to 1903 - Mathematical Tripos Parts one and two  
 1903 to 1904 University of Liverpool - Diploma in Education 1904.  
 Career: 1903 to 1906 - Assistant Mistress, High School Maidenhead. Died 1921.
- EMMOTT, Mary King** Born 1882. Father - George Henry Emmott, Barrister at Law.  
 BA 1904. MA 1905. Dip.Ed. 1905.  
 Career: 1905 to 1906 - Lecturer at British and Foreign School Society's' Training College, London.  
 1906 - Headmistress, Sidcot School, Somerset.
- FAWN, Lilian** Born 1884. Father - Frederick C Fawn, Chemist.  
 BA 1905.  
 Career: 1913 - Vice-Principal Training College, Salisbury  
 1914 - Lecturer, Edge Hill Training College.
- FIELDING, Hilda Grundy** Born 1885. Educated - Pupil Teacher College, Bolton and Edge Hill Training College.  
 Father - Daniel Fielding, Cotton Agent.  
 BA 1909.  
 Career: 1909 - Assistant Mistress, Higher Elementary School Manchester.



- FLETT, Edith Binnie** Born 1883. Educated - Windsor High School, Liverpool.  
 Father - Robert Gilbert Flett, School Master.  
 BA 1903. Dip.Ed. 1904  
 Career: 1904 - Supply Teacher at the Pupil Teacher College,  
 Birkenhead.  
 Salary: £80.
- FOTHERGILL, Edith** Born 1882. Father - William Henry Fothergill,  
 Congregational Minister.  
 BA 1905.  
 Career: Lecturer, Pupil Teacher College in Middleton.
- GEARING, Eliza Annie  
 Luckman** Born 1884. Educated - Birchfield Road Board School.  
 Father - Edward Joseph Gearing, Registrar of Births  
 and Deaths.  
 BA 1908.  
 Career: 1908 to 1909. Teacher Birchfield Road School.  
 1909 - Teacher at St Margaret's School, Princess Road,  
 Liverpool.
- GENNER, Dorothy** Born 1883. Father - Benjamin Genner, School Master.  
 BA 1907.  
 Career: 1909 - Lecturer - Training College, Norwich  
 1912 - Mistress of Method Training College, Darlington.  
 1918 - Inspector of YMCA Canteens [Munitions]
- GIBSON, Florence  
 Margaret** Born 1885. Educated - Sefton Park Council School  
 Father - John Gibson, Accountant.  
 BA - 1909.  
 Career: Teacher, Salisbury Road Boys School.
- GREENWOOD, Florence** Born 1885. Father - John William Greenwood, Mill  
 Manager.  
 BSc. 1906.  
 Career: 1914 Assistant Mistress, Secondary School,  
 Manchester.

- HARTLEY, Beryl Victoria** Born 1887. Educated - The Cowley Schools, St. Helens.  
 Father - the late Samuel Henry Hartley, Superintendent Registrar. Mother - Sarah Jane Hartley.  
 BA 1908.  
 Career: Teacher - The Salt School, Shipley.  
 Gave up her post and lived at home.
- HEGINBOTHAM, Martha** Born 1880. Father - William Heginbotham, Grocer.  
 [Mrs Middleton] BA 1904.  
 Career: Teacher. Married in 1909.  
 1926 - Voluntary work and member of the Women's International League.
- HENDERSON, Hilda** Born 1883. Educated - Bedford College, Liverpool.  
 Father - John Henderson, Dentist.  
 BA 1905.  
 Career: 1906 Assistant Mistress, Bolton, Lancashire.
- HILL, Isobel Lucy** Born 1888. Educated - County School Hawarden.  
 Father - Richard George Hill, Coachman.  
 BA [Hons] 1908.  
 Career: 1909 - Teacher, High School, Liskeard, Cornwall.  
 1914 - Intends to become an Inspector of Factories and Workshops.
- HINDSON, Mary** Born 1885. Educated - Pupil Teacher College, Lancaster.  
 Father - James Crosby Hindson, Farmer.  
 BA 1908.  
 Career: 1912 - Assistant Mistress, Higher Grade School, St. Helens.
- HIRST, Ethel** Born 1886. Educated - Pupil Teacher College, Workington.  
 Father - Joseph Sanderson Hirst, Provision Merchant.  
 BSc. 1908.  
 Career: 1917 - Research work, Woolwich Arsenal.
- HONEYBURNE, Mary** Born 1874. BA [Hons] 1897 MA 1904.  
 Career: 1898 to 1899 - Mistress, Victoria High School, Londonderry.  
 1908 - Junior Inspectress of Schools, Bengal.

- HOWLETT, Ethel Hughes** Born 1883. Father - Thomas Edward Howlett, Iron Maker.  
BSc. 1905.  
Career: 1913 - Science Mistress, Secondary School,  
Clapham.
- JONES, Mary McCulloch** Born 1884. Educated - Edge Hill Training College.  
Father - Robert Jones, Forester.  
BA 1907.  
Career: 1907 Teacher, Secondary School, London
- KELLY, Margart Duncan** Born 1880. Educated - Elm Hurst, Rock Ferry.  
[Mrs Coxhead] Father - James Kelly, Coal Merchant.  
BA [Vict] 1903. Dip.Ed. 1904.  
Career: 1904 to 1905 - Assistant Mistress, Liverpool  
Institute.  
1906 - Married G E S Coxhead.
- KERMODE, Helen Sybil** Born 1888. Educated - Notre Dame High School, Mount  
Pleasant, Liverpool.  
Father - John Kermode, retired.  
BA 1910.  
Career: 1915 to 1938. Member of the University of  
Liverpool Teaching Staff, Department of Education.
- LEECH, Jane.** Born 1880. Father - Richard Leech.  
BSc. 1903.  
Career: 1904 Teacher, South Liverpool School for Girls.
- LLOYD, Jane** Born 1880. Father - Thomas Lloyd, Private Manager.  
BA 1904.  
Career: 1909 - First Assistant Mistress, Higher Elementary  
School.
- LUCAN, Amy** Born 1879. Father - Thomas Lucan, Engineering Agent.  
BA [Vict] 1899. Dip.Ed. 1904. MA Philosophy 1906.  
Career: 1901 - Assistant Mistress, Higher Tranmere  
College, Birkenhead.  
1904 to 1906 - English Mistress.  
1908 - Geography Mistress, Widnes Secondary School and  
Pupil Teacher Centre.

- McLEAN, Margaret.** Born 1886. Educated - The Cowley School, St. Helens.  
 Father - John McLean, Plumber.  
 BA 1908.  
 Career: 1914 - Headmistress, Elementary School,  
 Manchester.
- MAJOR, Mary Beatrice** Born 1883. Educated - Ursuline College of Upton.  
 Father Thomas Major, Collector.  
 BA. 1907  
 Career: Mother St Michael Major taught at the Pupil  
 Teachers Centre until 1913.
- MOSS, Dorothy Margaret  
 Victoria** Born 1881. Educated - Pupil Teacher College, Clarence  
 Street.  
 Father - Arthur Moss, School Master.  
 BSc. 1908.  
 Career: 1914 - Teacher, Secondary School, Bishop  
 Auckland.
- NICHOLLS, Alice** Born 1886. Educated - Pupil Teacher College, Manchester.  
 Edge Hill Training College 1905 to 1908.  
 BSc. 1908.  
 Career: 1915 - Lecturer, Bangor Training College, North  
 Wales.
- OLLEVANT, Edith** Born 1886. Educated - Edge Hill Training College.  
 Father - Edward Ollevant, Brass Founder.  
 BA 1907.  
 Career: 1909 - Assistant Mistress, Rotherham.
- RAYTON, Lena** Born 1881. Educated - Wesleyan Day School.  
 Father - James Rayton, Draughtsman.  
 BA 1904.  
 Career: 1909 - Assistant Mistress, Pupil Teacher Centre,  
 Accrington, Lancashire.  
 1917 - Senior Mistress, Secondary School, Suffolk.
- REED, Louisa** Born 1881. Father - Jacob Reed, Tailor.  
 BA 1904.  
 Career: 1904 - Teacher, Pupil Teacher College, Clarence  
 St.  
 Died 1910.

- RIDLEY, Hilda Mary**  
[Mrs Wood] Born 1888. Educated - Pupil Teacher Centre, Clarence Street.  
Father - John Ridley, Traveller.  
BA 1909.  
Career: 1909 - Assistant Mistress - Infant Department, Council School, Liverpool.  
1914 - Married.
- SCRIMIGER, Gertrude**  
Elsie Born 1884. Educated - Windsor High School, Liverpool.  
Father - Richard John Scrimiger, Insurance Broker.  
Career: 1909 - Assistant Mistress, Cowley Girls' School, St. Helens.
- SHALCROSS, Elizabeth**  
Mary Born 1888. Educated - Anfield Road School.  
Father - William Shalcross, Grocer.  
BA 1909.  
Career: Council School, Durham. Salary: £85 plus £5 University examination.  
Since 1914. Headmistress, Pupil Teacher College, Co. Durham. Salary: £140 p.a.
- SHERWIN, Agnes** Born 1888. Educated - Orme Girls School Newcastle.  
Father - Arthur Sherwin, Tile Manufacturer.  
Newnham College 1902 - 1905 Med and Mod. language Tripos 1905.  
Dip. Ed. 1906 - University of Liverpool. MA 1923.  
Career: 1906 to 1907 Assistant Mistress, Wakefield High School.  
1909 to 1941 - Rochester Girls' Grammar School.  
Died 1958.
- SMITH, Daisy Ellen** Born 1887. Educated - Pupil Teacher College, Clarence Street.  
Father - John Jacob Smith, Pharmaceutical Chemist.  
BA 1909.  
Career: 1909 - First Assistant Mistress, Infants School, Stoke-on-Trent.  
Salary: £105 p.a.

- SMITH, Theresa Abigail** Born 1885. Educated - Pupil Teacher College, Bradford.  
Edge Hill Training College 1906 - 1909.  
BSc. 1909.  
Career: 1914 Teacher, Central School, Manchester.
- SOUTHERST, Mary  
Frances** Born 1885. Educated - Public Higher Grade School,  
Blackburn.  
Edge Hill Training College 1905 to 1909.  
BSc. 1909.  
Career: 1912 Assistant Mistress, Pupil Teacher Centre,  
Cleethorpes.
- STOCKVIS, Gertrude** Born 1887. Educated - Pupil Teacher Centre, Clarence  
Street.  
Father - John Isaac Stockvis, Chartered Accountant..  
BA 1909.  
Career: 1909 - Teacher Kempsey School, Worcester.  
Salary: £70 p.a . plus £5 University Exam.  
1916 - Mill Street Higher Grade School, Macclesfield.  
Salary: £110.00 p.a.
- STOTT, Alice** Born 1884. Educated - Edge Hill Training College.  
Father - Robert Stott, Accountant.  
BA 1906.  
Career: Assistant Mistress, Southfield Mixed School,  
London.
- STOTT, Ellen Mary** Born 1883. Educated - Edge Hill Training College.  
Father - William Stott, Teacher.  
BA 1905.  
Career: Lecturer, Bangor Training College.  
1915 - Senior Mistress, Girls' School, Rye, Sussex.

- SUMMERS, Beatrice** Born 1883. Educated - Edge Hill Training College.  
 Father - Julius Summers, Book-keeper.  
 BSc. 1906.  
 Career: 1917 Senior Science Mistress, High School, Manchester.  
 1926 - Ill health - forced to resign from teaching, lived on a pension. Died 1927.
- THOMAS, Constance Kate** Born 1882. Educated - St. Margaret's Higher Grade School.  
 Next of Kin - Sarah Anne Roberts.  
 BA 1904.  
 Career: 1905 to 1906 - Assistant Mistress, Southport High School for Girls'.  
 1907 - Assistant Mistress, Rhyl County School.
- TOLSON, Ethel Sarah** Born 1882. Educated - Edge Hill Training College.  
 Father - Jonah Tolson, Master Plumber.  
 BA 1905.  
 Career: 1909 Assistant Mistress Pupil Teacher Centre, St. Helens.
- TROTTER, Bessie** Born 1886. Educated - Cowley School, St. Helens.  
 Father - John Trotter, Book-keeper.  
 BA 1907.  
 Career: 1908 - Teacher, Municipal Secondary School.  
 1909 - Teacher, Collegiate Secondary School.  
 1914 Geography Mistress, Trafalgar Institute High School for Girls', Canada.
- TROTTER, Nellie** Born 1888. Educated - Cowley School, St. Helens.  
 Father - John Trotter, Book-keeper.  
 BA 1909.  
 Career: 1909 - Teacher in France.  
 1910 to 1913. Assistant Mistress, Halstead Grammar School, Essex.  
 1913 to 1915 - Assistant Mistress, London Orphans' School, Hertfordshire.  
 1915 - Assistant Mistress, Aigburth Vale High School, Salary £115 p.a.

**WALKER, Martha  
Robinson**

Born 1884. Educated - Edge Hill Training College.  
Father - George Campbell Walker, Shipping Agent.  
BA. 1906. MA. 1909.  
Career: 1911 - First Assistant Mistress - Queen's Road  
Infant School, Liverpool.

**WARD, Edith Marjorie**

Born 1886. Educated - private tuition.  
Father - Henry Ward, Gentleman.  
BSc. 1908.  
Career: University lecturer.  
1955 - Miss E.M Ward; former Tutor in the Department of  
Geography died.

**WATTERSON, Lizzie  
Beatrice**

Born 1888. Educated - Douglas Secondary School.  
Edge Hill Training College 1906 to 1910.  
Father - Douglas Watterson, Baker and Confectioner.  
BSc. 1910.  
Career: 1914 - Assistant Mistress, Municipal Secondary  
School, Manchester.

**WATTS, Amy Kathleen**

Born 1888. Educated - Private School and Sefton Park  
Council School.  
Father - Charles Arthur Watts, Master Mariner.  
BA 1909. Dip. Ed. 1910.  
Career: 1910 to 1912 - Various temporary teaching posts in  
Secondary Schools.  
1915 - Mistress, John Dean's Grammar School, Nantwich.  
Salary £130 p.a.



## CAREERS OF GRADUATES 1923 TO 1927

- ADAMS, Kathleen** Born 1907. Educated - Lowestoft Secondary School.  
**Gertrude** Father - Thomas H Adams, Teacher.  
**[Mrs K Difford]** BA 1929, Certificate in Education 1930.  
 Career: 1932 - Teacher.
- ADAMSON, Euphemia** Born 1903. Educated - Merchant Taylors' school for Girls, Crosby.  
 Father - James Francis Adamson, Engineer.  
 BA 1907, Dip.Ed., 1928.  
 Career: 1933 - Teacher, Cheshire Education Committee.
- ALLAN, Alfreda Lillian** Born 1907. Educated - Queen Mary High School.  
 Father - Alfred Edward Allan, Commercial Traveller.  
 BA 1932. Dip.Ed., 1933.  
 Career: 1935 - Teacher, Liverpool Education Committee.
- ALTY, Sarah Margaret** Born 1908. Educated - Wigan Girls' High School.  
 Father - Henry Alty, Retired .  
 BSc [Hons] Mathematics 1929. Dip.Ed. 1932. MSc Mathematics 1933  
 Career: 1934 - Teaching, Saskatchewan, Canada.
- ANDERSON, Mary Agnes** Born 1908. Educated - Secondary School, Workington.  
 Mother - Eleanor M Anderson.  
 BA 1926, BA[Hons] Social Science 1930.  
 Career: 1932 - Rent Collector in Sheffield.
- ANDREWS, Agnes [Mrs Utley]** Born 1904. Educated - Nelson Secondary School.  
 Father - William Edwin Andrews, Tobacconist.  
 Certificate in Education 1927. BA 1931.  
 Career: 1929 - Teaching in Liverpool. 1930 and 1931 Teaching in Barrowford.

- ARTHURSON  
Nora Lambert** Born 1906. Educated - Aigburth Vale High School.  
Father - Magnus Arthurson, Superintendent Engineer.  
BA[Hons] French 1928. Dip.Ed. 1929. Honorary MA 1963.  
Career: Director, Owen Owen Ltd. Member of University Council.  
Well known figure in Personnel Management. JP City of Liverpool.
- ASHMAN, Mary  
Isobel** Born 1905. Educated - Barrow Secondary School.  
Father - Thomas Ashman, Hairdresser.  
BA 1927. Dip. Ed. 1928.  
Career: 1929, 1931 and 1932 - Teaching. Involved in Youth Hostel  
Movement. Died 1950.
- BAILEY, Marjorie  
Alice** Born 1907. Educated - Middlesborough High School.  
Father - Harold Bailey, Teacher of Science.  
BA 1929. Dip.Ed. 1930.  
Career: 1965 - Assistant Teacher in Sheffield.
- BARNSLEY,  
Theodora** Born 1904. Educated- Holt Secondary School.  
Father - Walter Barnsley, Minister of Religion.  
BA [Hons] English Literature 1926, Dip.Ed. 1927.  
Career: 1929 - Teacher, Grammar School, near Wigan.
- BATESON,  
Marjorie  
[Mrs Leggatt]** Born 1903. Educated-Merchant Taylor's School for Girls'Crosby.  
Mother - Isobel Margaret Bateson.  
BA [Hons] French 1926.  
Career: 1926 - Teacher, Waterloo Girls Secondary School.  
1954 - Teacher, The Belvedere School, Liverpool.
- BENNETT-JONES  
Noreen** Born 1908. Educated - The Belvedere School, Liverpool.  
Father - William J Bennett-Jones, Doctor.  
BA [Hons] German 1931. MA 1934.  
Career: 1954, 1960 - Teacher employed by Birkenhead Education  
Committee.
- BETTS, Gertrude  
Florence** Born 1908. Educated - Stockton Secondary School.  
Father - Samuel Betts, Bootmaker.  
BA 1930, Dip.Ed 1931.  
Career: 1932, 1933, 1935, 1953 - Teaching.

- BLACKBIRD, Edna Winifred** Born 1906. Educated - County Secondary School, Runcorn.  
 Father - William Blackbird, Tailor's Cutter.  
 BA 1927, Dip.Ed. 1928, MA English Literature 1934.  
 Career: 1930s - Meols High School, Hoylake.  
 1955 - Teacher, Manchester.
- BOOTH, Elsie Eileen [Mrs Turner]** Born 1905. Educated - North London Collegiate.  
 Father - Colonel Augustus Clinton Booth, Civil Servant .  
 BA[Hons] Geography 1927. Dip.Ed 1928.  
 Career: 1930 - Geography Mistress, Cowley Girls' School, St. Helens.  
 Married, December 1930.  
 1950 - Governor of a Girls' Grammar School.
- BREARLEY, Molly Root** Born 1905. Educated - Blackburn High School.  
 Father - Herbert Brearley, Doctor of Music.  
 BA 1927, Cert. Ed., 1928.  
 Career: 1930 - English Teacher.  
 1931 - Teacher, Kettering High School.  
 1938 - Lecturer in Principles and Mistress in charge of a Kindergarten in Bedford.  
 1948 - Lecturer in Education, Birmingham University.  
 1955 - Principal of the Froebel College at Roehampton.
- BROCKHOUSE Doreen** Born 1894. Educated - King Edward's School.:  
 Mother - Amy Brockhouse.  
 Further education Horticultural College, Warwickshire - Diploma in Horticulture.  
 1925 - Diploma in Social Science.  
 Career: 1935 - Working in Russia.
- BROMLEY, Edith** Born 1907. Educated - Southport Girls' Secondary School.  
 Father - Samuel Bromley, Factory Manager, retired.  
 1930 BA Hons, French.  
 Career: 1954 Teacher, Grammar School, Lancashire.

**BROOK, Constance** Born 1905. Educated - Huddersfield High School.  
**Freda [Mrs Money]** Father - Henry Brook, Goods Agent.  
1928 - BSc Hons Botany. 1929 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teaching in Reading.  
1942 - Married, involved in war work in Cardiff.

**BUTTLE, Laura** Born 1907. Educated - Lancaster Girls' Grammar School.  
**[Mrs Brundrit]** Next of Kin - Alfred Booth, Draper.  
1929 - BSc Hons Chemistry. 1930, Dip.Ed.  
Career: 1931 - Water Analyst, Cellulose Acetate Silk Works.  
1933 - Teaching Science - Central School, Liverpool.

**CAMPLNG, Muriel** Born 1908. Educated - Norwich Secondary School.  
**Edith** Father - William H Campling, Newspaper Compositor.  
1929 - BA. 1930 Dip. Ed.  
Career: 1931 - Teaching, Stuart Central School, Norwich.  
1932 - Teaching - Boys' School, Thornton Heath.  
1934 - Teaching in Croydon.

**CHAMBERS,** Born 1907. Educated - Haslingdon Grammar School.  
**Kathleen Mary** Father - Lawrence Chambers, School Teacher.  
**[Mrs Colquhoun]** 1928 - BA Hons, French. Dip.Ed. 1926.  
Career: 1930 - Teacher in Whiston.

**CHORLTON, Joan** Born 1907. Educated - The Belvedere GPDST.  
**Knowles** Father - John H Chorlton, Architect.  
1928 - Certificate in Social Science. 1928 - Woman House Property  
Managers' Certificate. 1937 - Diploma in Public Administration.  
Career: 1930 - Assistant House Property Manager employed by  
Bebington Urban District Council.

**CLARKSON, Elsie Mary** Born 1906. Educated - Rotherham High School.  
Father - Irving Clarkson, Master Monumental Sculptor.  
1927 - BSc Hons 1928 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: 1929 - Teacher of Science, Ryhope Secondary School, Rotherham.  
1931 - Teacher of Chemistry and Physics, Wheelwright Grammar School for Girls'.

**CLARKSON, Maria Kane** Born 1908. Educated - Blackburne House School.  
Father - John Clarkson, Fruit Porter.  
1928 - BA.  
Career: 1946 - Clerk, Housing Department, Liverpool Corporation.

**CLEMENT, Agnes Caughtrie** Born 1906. Educated - Secondary School for Girls', Barrow in Furness.  
Father - William F. Clement, Engineering Manager.  
1928 - BA, 1929 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: 1930 - Governess, Melton Mowbray.  
1932 - Teaching, Leelands Girls' Preparatory School, Walmer, Kent.

**COWIN, Katherine Elizabeth** Born 1905. Educated - Douglas Secondary School.  
Mother - Alice Cowin.  
1927 - BA Hons, History, 1928 Certificate in Education.  
Career: 1958 - Teacher, High School for Girls', Isle of Man.

**CRABTREE, Clara** Born 1901. Educated - Technical School.  
Mother - Ellen Crabtree.  
1928 - Diploma in Social Science.  
Career: 1933 - Industrial Welfare Work in Bolton.

**CRADDOCK, Gladys Mary Bettney** Born 1905. Educated - Girls' Secondary School, Birkenhead.  
Father - Samuel B Craddock, Postal Worker.  
1929 - BSc. 1930 - Cert. Ed.  
Career: 1932 - Teacher in Barnstaple.

- DAVIES, Gertrude Emma** Born 1909. Educated - St. Anne's School, Windermere.  
 Father - W Davies, Accountant.  
 1930 - BSc Hons, Chemistry. 1931 - Dip.Ed.  
 1932 - Diploma in Cookery, Laundry Work and Housewifery at the Calder College of Domestic Science in Liverpool.  
 Career: 1948 - Teaching, Kingston upon Thames.
- DAVIES, Jessie** Born 1902. Educated - Cowley Girls' School.  
 1926 - BSc.  
 Career: 1930 - Higher Grade Teacher in St. Helens, Nature Study, General Science.  
 1931 - Geography Teacher in St. Helens.
- DAVYS, Grace Magdalene [Mrs Thwaite]** Born 1906. Educated - Girls' College, Formby.  
 Father - H. Davys, Retired Engineer.  
 1928 - BSc Honours. 1929 - Dip.Ed.  
 1929 - Married Mr James Willis Thwaite, MSc, University of Liverpool Veterinary Surgeon.  
 Career: Prior to marriage, Mrs Thwaite was a Zoologist.
- DEACON, Ariel Rainsford Stewart [Mrs McElrey]** Born 1904. Educated - Roedean.  
 Mother - Mary Ariel Stewart Deacon, Doctor.  
 1928 - MBChB. 1930 - Diploma in Tropical Medicine.  
 Career: Doctor - Married, went with husband to China as Medical Missionaries.  
 Returned to Liverpool to give birth to her second child and died in childbirth in 1933.
- DODD, Jessie** Born 1907. Educated - Orme Girls' School.  
 Father - John Dodd, Printer.  
 1929 BA Hons. 1930 Dip Ed.  
 Career: 1932 Geography Teacher.  
 1934 - Teacher, Penrhos College, Colwyn Bay.
- DOWNIE, Phyllis** Born 1904. Educated - Girls' Secondary School, Birkenhead.  
 Father - George Downie, Coffee Planter in Central America.  
 1926 - BA Hons 1927 - Dip. in Librarianship 1931 - MA, University College, London.  
 Career: Librarian - University of Edinburgh.

- DUNDERDALE, Josephine Mary** Born 1906. Educated - Roman Catholic School, Preston.  
 Mother - Mary Agnes Dunderdale, Teacher.  
 1927 - BA.  
 Career: 1931 - Teacher in Westminster.
- EAGLE, Mary Katherine** Born 1909. Educated - Trinity Hall, Southport.  
 Father - Rev. J Eagle, Wesleyan Minister.  
 1930 - BSc Hons in Botany. 1931: Dip.Ed.  
 Career: 1932 - Teaching in Scotland.  
 1933 - Teaching in North Wales.
- EDDY, Dorothy** Born 1908. Educated - Carlisle High School.  
 Mother - Lydia Eddy, Teacher.  
 1929 - BA Hons, Classics. 1930 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: 1931 - Teaching, Secondary School, Ipswich.
- EDMUNDS, Hebe Phyllis Eileen [Mrs Smith]** Born 1907. Educated - Norwich Municipal Secondary School.  
 Father - Martin Edmunds, Retired Farmer.  
 1928 - BA 1929 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: 1930 - Teacher, Stockton on Tees.
- EDWARDS, Annie** Born 1903. Educated - Queen Mary High School, Liverpool.  
 Father - John Edwards, Clerk.  
 1926 - BA. 1927 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: 1950 - History Teacher, Londonderry High School.
- EVANS, Eleanor Morfydd** Born 1907. Educated - Kendal High School.  
 Father - Owen T. Evans, Teacher.  
 1929 - BA.  
 1930 - Attended a Secretarial College in London.  
 Career: 1931 - World Student Christian Association in Geneva.  
 1932 - In charge of Publications and Library at the above.
- FLETCHER, Ada Frances** Born 1905. Educated - Blackburne House, Liverpool Institute.  
 Father - Alexander Fletcher, Engineer.  
 1927 - BA. 1928 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: Honorary Treasurer - Liverpool Teachers' Association.

- FLETCHER, Muriel Ellen** Born 1901. Educated - Grove Street School.  
1927 - Certificate in Social Science.  
Career: 1954 - employed as Social Worker in Delrow House Approved School for Girls.
- FRANCKEL, Beatrice Leah** Born 1907. Educated- Aigburth Vale High School.  
Father - B H Franckel, Merchant Tailor.  
1931 - BA.  
Career: 1948 - Teacher in Liverpool.
- GASS, Mabel Winifred** Born 1906. Educated - Waterloo with Seaforth Secondary School.  
Father - John Gass, Engineer and Machinery dealer.  
1930 - BA. 1931 - Cert. Ed.  
Career: 1931 - Teaching.  
1954 - Teaching.
- GLANVILLE-GRAYSMITH, M [Mrs Garrett-Smith]** Born 1906. Educated - Secondary School, Brighton.  
Father - Ralph Glanville-Graysmith, Art Teacher.  
1928 - BA Hons, French. 1929 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: 1930 - Teacher, Burton-on-Trent.  
1955 - Teaching in Middlesex.
- GORTON, Eva [Mrs Potter]** Born 1907. Educated - Grammar School, Bolton.  
Father - Joseph Gorton, Cloth Examiner.  
1929 - BSc. 1932 - Cert. Ed.  
Career: 1948 - enters work as Teacher at Manchester Central Grammar School - husband ill, unable to work. Widowed in 1954.  
Three children - youngest has TB. On Doctor's advice goes to Jamaica. In 1965 applies for position as Headmistress of Kasama Secondary School in Zambia.
- GOUGH, Beryl** Born 1906. Educated - Secondary School, Birkenhead.  
Father - Albert E Gough, Clerk.  
1928 - BA Hons, English. 1929 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: 1931 - Teaching in Barrow-in-Furness.



- GRAHAM, Phyllis** Born 1906. Educated - Kendal High School.  
**[Mrs Carr]** Father - John Graham, Doctor.  
 1928 - BA.  
 Career: Secretary in Singapore.  
 1935 - Married, Michael H Carr.
- GREEN, Phyllis** Born 1907. Educated - Gainsborough High School.  
 Father - Leonard P Green, Headmaster.  
 1928 - BA. 1929 Dip.Ed.  
 Career: 1930 - Temporary Teaching, Market Rasen.  
 1931 - Teacher, Bury St. Edmonds.
- HAIGH, Ruth** Born 1904. Educated - Greenhead High School, Huddersfield.  
**[Mrs Wheeler]** Father - Nathan Haigh, School Attendance Officer.  
 1927 - BA. 1928 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: 1929 - Teacher at Grammar School.  
 1931 - Teaching.  
 Married during War years.  
 1959 - Two daughters', one at St. Anne's Oxford.  
 1962 - Part-time teaching in Devon.
- HARRISON, Emily** Born 1905. Educated - Grammar School, Ashton-in-Makerfield.  
**[Mrs Bunney]** Father - William Harrison, Miner.  
 1927 - BA Hons, English. 1928 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: 1930 - Teacher of English at Denton Central School,  
 Manchester.  
 1931 - Married, became a housewife.
- HAUGHTON, Nora** Born 1908. Educated - Aigburth Vale High School.  
**Evelyn [Mrs Adey]** Father - Wilfred J Haughton, Master Mariner.  
 1928 - BA Hons - History.  
 Career: Teaching in Montgomeryshire.
- HEUGHEN, Janet** Born 1906. Educated - Secondary School.  
**Glen [Mrs Minney]** Father - Robert H Heughan, Engineer.  
 1928 - BA. 1929 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: 1949 - Teaching in Surrey.

- HOBSON, Ethel** Born 1905. Educated - Girls' Secondary School, Birkenhead.  
 Father - Frederick Hobson, Insurance Agent.  
 1927 - BSc. 1928 - Cert.Ed.  
 Career: Teacher, Queen's School, Nigeria.
- HODGE, Winifred** Born 1906. Educated - Luton Modern School for Girls'.  
 Father - Frederick Hodge, Carpenter and Joiner.  
 1928 - BA Hons, History. 1929 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: 1930s - Teacher in Chatham.  
 Died in 1931.
- HODGKINSON, Aline** Born 1907. Educated - Secondary School, Southport.  
 Father - Thomas B Hodgkinson, Clerk.  
 1928 - BSc Hons, Botany. 1929 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: 1936 - Teaching.
- HOLROYD, Mary** Born 1904. Educated - Sowerby Bridge Secondary School.  
 Father - James Holroyd, Butcher.  
 1926 - BA. 1927 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: 1929 - Teacher, Girls' County School near Wakefield.  
 1930-31 - Teacher, English and History, Intermediate School, Darlestone.
- HOWARTH, Ethel Josephine** Born 1905. Educated - Aigburth Vale High School.  
 Father - William Howarth, Vice Consul for Brazil.  
 1927 - BA. Hons. 1928 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: 1946 - Teacher, Henry Smith School, Durham.
- HOWELL, Ethel Craig [Mrs Venables]** Born 1906. Educated - Middlesbrough High School.  
 Father - Alfred Howell, Secretary.  
 1927 - BSc Hons, Chemistry. 1928 - MSc. 1929 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: Teacher. Married Dr. P F Venables, a Lecturer, Royal Salford Technical College.

- HUMPHRIES, Muriel** Born 1904. Educated - Blackburne House, Liverpool Institute.  
 Father - Thomas Humphries.  
 1926 - BA. Hons, History.  
 1970 - MA. History.  
 1970 - Retired School Teacher, living in Blackpool.
- HUNT, Elsie Beatrice [Mrs Knox]** Born 1905. Educated - Whitchurch High School.  
 Father - John William Hunt, Bootmaker [proprietor].  
 1926 - BA Hons, English Lit. 1927 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: 1929 - 1931, Teacher Andover Grammar School.  
 1941 - Married. During War Assistant Librarian at Reading University, part of work in the Department of Education. Invited to continue working.
- HUTCHINSON, Nora [Mrs Hayward]** Born 1907. Educated - Secondary School, Whitehaven.  
 Father - James Hutchinson, Accountant.  
 1930 - BA Hons, Classics.  
 Career: 1956 - Teaching in Somerset.
- INGLIS, Dorothy** Born 1908. Educated - Queen Mary High School.  
 Father - John Inglis, Clerk in Holy Orders.  
 1929 - BA Hons, English. 1930 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: 1931 - Teacher, St Katherine's, Wantage.
- JOHNSON, Nancy Howe** Born 1907. Father - Tom Johnson, Income Tax Collector.  
 1928 - BA. 1929 - Dip Ed.  
 Career: Elementary School Supply Teacher, Carlisle.
- JONES, Ena** Born 1906. Educated - Secondary School, Stockton.  
 Father - Ernest Jones, Boilersmith.  
 1928 - BSc. 1929 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: Teaching Science and Games, Girls' School, Stockton on Tees.

- KELLY, Marjorie** Born 1907. Educated - Cowley Girls' School.  
 Father - Edward J Kelly ,Teacher.  
 1928 - BSc Hons, Mathematics. 1929 Dip.Ed.  
 Career: Teacher, High School, Manchester.
- KNIGHT, Marjorie** Born 1907. Educated - Grammar School, Nantwich.  
 Father- Samuel Knight , Clerk.  
 1930 - Cert Ed. 1931 - BA.  
 Career: Assistant House Mistress, Belvedere School.  
 1933 - Teacher in Northwich.
- LEE, Mary** Born 1904. Educated - Stockton Secondary School.  
 Mother - Margaret Lee, Manageress.  
 1927 - BA. 1928 Cert Ed.  
 Career: Teaching Latin, Middlesborough High School.  
 1931 - No post at present - sickness at home.  
 1932 - Teacher at Lowther College.  
 1934 - Teacher in West Riding of Yorkshire.
- LINDSAY, Emily** Born 1906. Educated - Douglas Secondary School, Isle of Man.  
 Mother - Ada Lindsey.  
 1927 - BA. 1928 - Cert. Ed.  
 Career: 1929 - 1930, Teaching in Liverpool.
- MAGDEN, Minnie  
 Constance** Born 1907. Educated - Oulton Secondary School.  
 Father - William Magden, Methodist Minister.  
 1928 - BA. 1929 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: Teacher in Sheffield.
- MAGGS, Christine  
 [Mrs Baron]** Born 1908. Educated - Municipal Secondary School, Norwich.  
 Father - Arthur J B Maggs, Clerk in Holy Orders.  
 1929 - BA Hons, French. 1930 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: Teacher, Orange Free State, South Africa.  
 1948 - Assistant Professor of English Language, University of Tucumón, Argentina.  
 1958 - Teacher in Liverpool.

- MANNASSI, M**      Born 1905. Educated - Blackburne High School.  
**[Mrs Gerrard]**      Father - Benjamin Mannassi, Merchant.  
                          Career: Teacher in Liverpool.  
                          1932 - Married.  
                          1933 - Teaching in London.
- MARSH, Elizabeth** Born 1905. Educated - Wallasey High School.  
                          Father - Oliver Marsh, Pharmaceutical Chemist.  
                          1927 - BA Hons, Classics. 1928 - Dip.Ed.  
                          Career: Teacher, Cheshire County Council.  
                          1944 - Teacher, Lancaster Girls' School.  
                          1951 - Senior Classics Mistress, Lancaster Girls' Grammar  
                          School.
- MATHEWS, Ruth**      Born 1903. Educated - The Park School, Preston.  
                          Father - Thomas Mathews, Doctor of Medicine.  
                          1926 - BSc.  
                          Career: 1928 - Teaching in Eastbourne.
- MILLER, Eleanor**      Born 1904. Educated - Kendal High School.  
**Josephine**              Father - Edward J Miller , Clerk in Holy Orders.  
                          1927 - BA. 1928 - Dip.Ed.  
                          Career: Teaching in Dublin.
- MITCHELL,**              Born 1906. Educated - Luton Modern School.  
**Gertrude Mary**        Father - William Mitchell, Accountant.  
                          1929 - BA Hons, English. 1930 - Dip.Educ.  
                          Career: 1931 - 1954, Teaching.
- MOULD, Dorothy**      Born 1906. Educated - Secondary School, Isle of Man.  
                          Father - Richard A Mould, Marine Engineer.  
                          1927 - BA. 1928 - Dip.Ed.  
                          Career: Teacher, Private School, Douglas, Isle of Man.  
                          1931 - Teacher, Ripon Boarding School.  
                          1954 - Reading for external degree in Italian at the University of  
                          London.

- MORTON, Olive** Born 1906. Educated - Wallasey High School.  
 Father - William Morton, Art Master.  
 1927 - BA. 1930 - MA, French.  
 Career: Assistant Lecturer, West Bromwich Technical College.
- MORGAN, Phyllis** Born 1904. Educated - County Secondary School, Crewe.  
 Father - William T Morgan, Railway Clerk.  
 1926 - BA Hons, Geography.  
 Career: Secretarial Work at Crewe.  
 1930 - Married and living in Nantwich.
- McCARTHY, Ada** Born 1905. Educated - Blackburn High School.  
 Mother - Ada Ellen McCarthy, Housewife.  
 1927 - BA Hons, English Literature. 1928 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: Teacher, Blackburn.
- McLEISH, Grace** Born 1907. Educated - Waterloo-with-Seaforth Secondary School.  
 Father - Henry McLeish, School Master.  
 1928 - BSc Hon, Botany. 1929- Dip.Ed. 1930 - MSc.  
 Career: Teacher in Middlesex.
- MOORHEAD, Norah Hamilton** Born 1908. Educated - St. Helens School.  
 Father - Ernest Moorhead, Doctor.  
 1929 - BA. 1930 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: Teaching in Canada.
- MORATH, Alice** Born 1909. Educated - Marris Stella Convent High School, New Brighton.  
 Father - Leo L Morath, Jeweller.  
 1931 - BA Hons, German. 1932 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: Teacher in Leyton.

- MURRAY, Lilian** [Sister Josephena] Born 1908. Educated - Immaculate Conception School, Darlington.  
 Father - Martin Murray, Police Officer.  
 1929 - BA Hons, History. 1933 - MA. Med. History.  
 1960 - PhD.  
 Career: Fulltime Lecturer, Mount Pleasant Training College.  
 1960 - Head of History, Mount Pleasant Training College.
- NIXON, Nancy** Born 1904. Educated - High School for Girls, Redcar.  
 Father - Robert Nixon, Commercial Traveller.  
 1926 - BA Hons, English Literature. 1927 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: Teaching in Birmingham.  
 1931 - Teaching at Boarding School near Warwick.
- O'DONNELL, A** [Mrs Alward] Born 1908. Educated - Convent of the Sacred Heart, Great Crosby.  
 Mother - Alice O'Donnell.  
 1930 - BA Hons, Economics.  
 Career: Teacher in Lancashire.
- ORMANDY, Gladys** [Mrs Geary] Born 1907. Educated - Aigburth Vale High School.  
 Father - George W Ormondy, Accountant.  
 1927 - BSc, Hons, Mathematics. 1929 - MSc.  
 Career: After graduation entered the Civil Service as an Inspector of Taxes, one of the few women to hold that position.  
 Also held appointments in Liverpool and Warrington
- OVEREND, Hilda** Born 1908. Educated - Holt Hill Convent, Birkenhead.  
 Father - Joseph Overend, Shipwright.  
 1929 - BA. 1930 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: 1948 - Teacher in Birkenhead.
- PARKE, Mary** Born 1908. Educated - Notre Dame Collegiate, Everton Valley, Liverpool.  
 Next of Kin - Mary M Parke.  
 1929 - BA Hons, Botany. 1932- PhD. Botany.  
 Career: Biologist - Member of the Marine Biological Association.

- PERRY, Phillipa Rose** Born 1906. Educated - Queen Mary High School, Liverpool.  
Mother - Florence M Perry.  
1928 - BA Hons, Geography, First class. 1929 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teacher.
- POPPLETON, Marian A.** Born 1904. Educated - Bingley Girls' Grammar School.  
Father - J R Poppleton, Salesman.  
1926 - BA Hons, English Literature. 1927 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teacher in Infants School, Liverpool.  
1931 - Ill health forces her to withdraw from teaching.
- PRELLE, Mary Louise** Born 1908. Educated - The Mount School, York.  
Father - John Prella, Export merchant.  
1931 - LL.B.  
Career: Solicitor. Articles with Dodds Ashcroft and Cook in Liverpool.
- PRESTON, Mary Philomena** Born 1905. Educated - Notre Dame High School, Liverpool.  
Next of Kin - Mrs Ellen Preston Yardley, Owner of Flats.  
1926 - BA Hons, History.  
Career: Teaching in Leyton, London.  
Became a playwright. Died in 1976.
- REES, Mary Rebecca** Born 1907. Educated - Howells School, Denbigh.  
Father - John H Rees, Manufacturing Agent.  
1929 - BSc. 1930 - Dip.Ed. [Oxford].  
Career: Teacher in Ireland.
- RIMMER, Monica Mary [Mrs Wilson]** Born 1908. Educated - Notre Dame High School, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.  
Guardian - Thomas P Gibbons, Police Inspector.  
1930 - BA. 1931 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: 1947 - Teacher, employed by the Liverpool Education Committee.



- ROBERTS, June** Born 1905. Educated - Birkenhead Girls' Secondary School.  
 Father - John O Roberts, Sports Outfitter.  
 1927 - BA Hons, First Class. 1928 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: Teaching in Birkenhead.  
 1960 - Teaching in Birkenhead.
- ROBSON, Elizabeth B. [Mrs Dowell]** Born 1903. Educated - Huddersfield Technical College.  
 Father - John H Robson, Horticulturalist.  
 1928 - MBChB, Hons.  
 Career: Married Dr. T Leslie Dowell - in joint practice.
- ROBSON, Violet Hannah Mair** Born 1907. Educated - Bedford High School.  
 Father - William Robson, Clergyman.  
 1929 - BA. 1931 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: Teacher, Ross on Wye.  
 1960 - Teaching in Bournemouth.
- SANDERSON, Alfreda Margaret [Mrs Müller]** Born 1905. Educated - Workington County Secondary School.  
 Father - Alfred James Sanderson, Departmental Manager for Co-operative Stores.  
 1927 - BA Hons, German. 1928 - Cert.Ed.  
 Career: Commercially Employed in Germany.
- SANDS, Ethel Mrs** Born 1894. Educated - Netherthorpe Council School.  
 Husband - Joseph H Sands, Dentist.  
 1927 - LDS.  
 Career: Before entry had been an apprentice in her husband's Dental Surgery. Both were members of the Incorporated Dental Society in joint practice.
- SEPHTON, Amy Ethilda Gwyn** Born 1908. Educated - County Secondary School, Crewe.  
 Father - John H Sephton, Electrical Engineer.  
 1928 - BA Hons, English. 1930 - Dip.Ed. 1946 - MA. English Language.  
 Career: Teacher, Birkenhead Secondary School.  
 1946 - Principal, Derby Diocesan Training College.

**SHEDLOCK, Kathleen M**  
[Mrs Llewelly-Jones] Born Educated  
Father  
1927 MRCVS.  
Career: House Surgeon London College.  
Private Practice in Esher.  
Married Dr Llewellyn Jones in 1936. Entered the University of  
Liverpool as a medical Student, completed all but the fourth year of  
study when ill health prevented her from continuing.  
Died in 1948.

**SIMPSON, Winifred**  
Born 1904. Educated - Doncaster Municipal School.  
Father - Alfred P Simpson, Colliery Agent.  
1929 - Cert.Ed.  
Career: Private coaching in Barnsley.  
1931 - Governess in Selby.

**SISSONS, Winifred**  
[Mrs O'Toole] Born 1905. Educated - Secondary School, Douglas, Isle of Man.  
Father - G F B Sissons, Bookseller.  
1926 - BSc Hons. 1927 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teaching, Douglas, Isle of Man.  
1931 to 1932 - Teaching in Sheffield.  
1933 - Teaching, Holly Lodge School, Liverpool.  
1948 - Married. Teaching at Holly Lodge School, Liverpool.

**SKIPPERS, Elsie**  
[Mrs Earlam] Born 1906. Educated - St. Andrew's Hall, Southport.  
Father - Frank Skippers, India Merchant.  
1927 - BSc. 1928 - Cert. Ed.  
Career: Teacher, Liverpool.  
2nd October, 1929 - From Liverpool Echo - married Dr Francis  
Earlam also a student at Liverpool University. Dr. Earlam has a  
Practice in Mossley Hill, Liverpool.

**SMALLEY, Muriel** Born 1908. Educated - Lancaster Girls' Grammar School.  
Father - Robert Smalley, Pharmaceutical Chemist.  
1929 - BA Hons, English. 1930 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teacher.

- SMITH, Ruth  
Winifred** Born 1906. Educated - Thomlinson Girls' Grammar School.  
Father - Ernest O Smith, Draper.  
1929 - BA Hons, Geography. 1930 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teacher, Wirral County Grammar School.  
1954 - Headmistress, Secondary School, Cumberland.
- STARMER,  
Mildred** Born 1906. Educated - Nuneaton High School for Girls'.  
Father - Ewart W. Starmer, Shopkeeper.  
1927 - BSc. failed. 1928 - Cert.Ed.  
Career: Teacher, Elementary School, Nuneaton.
- STONE, Dorothy** Born 1907. Educated - Bootle Secondary School for Girls'.  
Father - William J Stone, Building Surveyor.  
1929 - BSc Hons, Maths. 1930 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teacher in Ireland.
- STOYEL, Margaret  
Edith Josephine** Born 1904. Educated - Wimbledon High School, GPDST.  
Father - John E J Stoyel, Insurance.  
1926 - BA.  
Career: Intelligence Department of a Bank - Translator.  
1933 to 1934, Dorothy Chapman Studentship - Italian and Russian.
- SWIRES, Elin** Born 1904. Educated - Carlton Secondary School, Bradford.  
Mother - Elizabeth Ann Swires, Card minder/wool sorter.  
1926 - BSc. 1927 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Elementary Teacher and Demonstrator in Botany at  
Bradford Technical College, evening work.  
1931 - Teacher at Convent School, Scarborough.  
1954 - Teacher, West Riding of Yorkshire.
- TATTERSALL,  
Nellie [Mrs Hindle]** Born 1905. Educated - Chorley Municipal Secondary School.  
Father - James Tattersall, Foreman of Destructor Works.  
1926 - BA. 1927 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: 1928 - Supply teacher in Chorley.  
1959 - Teacher in Chorley.

**TAYLOR, Marjorie Clyde [Mrs Brennand]** Born . Educated - Southport Secondary School.  
Father -  
1928 - BA. 1929 - Dip Ed.  
Career: 1930 Primary School Teacher, Bury Rd School, Birkdale.  
1933 - married.  
Resumed teaching during the war years.<sup>1</sup>

**TAYLOR, Ruth** Born 1906. Educated - Kendal High School.  
Father - John D. Taylor, Farmer.  
1928 - BA. 1929 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teacher in Scotland.

**TEMPERLEY, Margery** Born 1907. Educated - Grammar School, Manchester.  
Father - Ernest Temperley, School Teacher.  
1928 - BA. 1929 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Senior Mistress, Royal Orphanage Girls' School, Wolverhampton.

**THOMAS, Esmé Doreen** Born 1908. Educated - New Brighton High School.  
Father - Owen T Thomas, Marine Engineer.  
1930 - BA. 1931 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: 1964 - Teacher in Lincolnshire.

**WADDINGTON, L [Mrs Myercough]** Born 1906. Educated - Blackburn Convent of Notre Dame.  
Father - Joseph Waddington, Mill Owner.  
1927 - BA.  
Career: Teacher in Liverpool.  
1930 - married, no longer teaching.

**WHITELEY, Lily Doreen** Born 1908. Educated - Colne Municipal Secondary School.  
Father - Ernest Whiteley, Overseer, GPO.  
1929 - BA Hons, English.  
Career: Librarianship Course at University College, London.  
1931 - Librarian, British Institute in London. Assistant Editor of the Union Catalogue of the Northern Region.  
1932 - Librarian in Newcastle.  
1933 - In charge of the Public Library at Wallsend.  
Published a book - The Poor Student at the University.

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs Brennands' Recollections are to be deposited in the University of Liverpool Archives.

- WHITTLE, Alice**  
[Mrs Wilkinson] Born 1908. Educated - Leigh Grammar School for Girls'.  
Father - Thomas Whittle, Screen Room Foreman.  
1929 - BSc Hons, Zoology. 1930 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teacher employed by the British Families' Education Service of the Control Commission for Germany and Austria.
- WHITTAKER, Phyllis Hope** Born 1906. Educated - Blackpool Secondary School.  
Father - Thomas Whittaker, General Labourer.  
1928 - BA Hons, English. 1929 - Dip.Ed. 1932 - MA, Eng.Lit.  
Career: Teacher, Douglas High School.  
1931 - Studying for an MA and teaching.
- WILKINSON, Margaret Linda** Born 1907. Educated - St. Edmund's College, Liverpool.  
Father - Frederick T Wilkinson, Teacher.  
1930 - BA Hons, History. 1931 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: 1968 - Letter from Electrical Firm enquiring as to her qualifications. Had by this date possibly entered into employment as a Personnel Officer.
- WISSETT, Ida Emily** Born 1907. Educated - Oulton Secondary School.  
Next of Kin - Louisa Clarkson [Grandmother], Housekeeper.  
1928 - BA Hons, Geography. 1929 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: 1931 - Teacher of Geography.
- WOODHOUSE, Kathleen Mary**  
[Mrs Hallas] Born 1907. Educated - Greenhead High School, Huddersfield.  
Father - Alfred Woodhouse.  
1928 - BSc Hons, Chemistry. 1929 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teacher in Halifax.  
1947 - Teacher, Brighouse High School for Girls', Huddersfield.
- WYLIE, Helen M S** Born 1903. Educated - Carlton Secondary School, Bradford.  
Father - Thomas Wylie, Cost Clerk.  
1926 - BSc Hons, Botany, First Class. 1927 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teacher, Erdington Secondary School, Birmingham.  
1931 to 1932 - Teacher, Holly Lodge, Liverpool.  
1945 to 1948 - Lecturer, Exhall Emergency Training College in Coventry.  
1959 - Head of the East Hampstead Park Training College, Wokingham.

## CAREERS OF GRADUATES 1933 TO 1937

- ALLOT, Mirriam** Born . Educated  
Father -  
BA 1940. 1948 MA. 1949 PhD.  
Career : 1940- 1948 Teacher in a grammar school  
1948 -1950 Lecturer Dept of English, University of Liverpool.  
1950 -1970 Reader Dept of English.  
1973 Dr Allots' husband who was Professor Kenneth Allot died.  
The Andrew Cecil Bradley Chair of Modern English Literature  
became vacant. Dr Mirriam Allot was appointed to the chair in  
1974, upon doing so she became the first woman in the history of  
the University to succeed her husband to a chair.
- ASHLEY, Joyce** Born 1918. Educated - County Secondary School, Crewe.  
Father - John T Ashley, Retired Foreman.  
1939 - BA Hons, Geography. 1940 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teacher, Crewe County Grammar School.
- BAILEY, Monica** Born 1918. Educated - Marris Stella High School.  
**Mary [Mrs Callow]** Father - Percy Bailey, Retail Tradesman.  
1939 - BA. 1940 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teaching.
- BLACKLEDGE, Ann Rosemary** Born 1918. Educated - The Convent, Highgate Road, London.  
Father - James G. Blackledge, Managing Director.  
1938 - LLB.  
Career: Solicitor.
- BUSHELL, Eileen** Born 1915. Educated - Simon Longton School, Canterbury.  
**[Mrs Gidney]** Father - Frederick William Bushell, Licensee.  
1938 - BA Hons, Eng Lit/Lang. 1939 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teaching in Jerusalem.  
1955 - married, living in Scotland.  
1950 - Teaching at Grammar School in Scotland.

**COOPER, Marjorie** Born 1917. Educated - Girls' Secondary School, Birkenhead.  
**[Mrs Saunders]** Father - Thomas H Cooper, Labourer.  
1939 - BA Hons, French. 1940 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Married and teaching at Girls' School, Stratford-upon-Avon.

**COOKSON, Elsie** Born 1917. Educated - Trinity Hall, Southport.  
**[Mrs Sheppers]** Father - William H Cookson, Methodist Minister.  
1940 - BSc. 1941 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teacher in Birmingham.  
1966 - Married and teaching.

**COPE, Winifred G** Born 1915. Educated - Girls' High School, Uttoxeter.  
**[Mrs Slack]** Father - Percy Cope, Clerk.  
1938 - Failed BA. 1939 - Cert.Ed.  
Career: Teaching.  
1950 - Ill Health. 1959 - Died.

**CREWDSON, Mabel Emilie** Born 1915. Educated - Barrow Grammar School.  
Father - Frederick John Crewdson, Clerk.  
1937 - BA Hons, Eng Lang/Lit.  
Career: Secretarial course in London, employed at Broadcasting House.

**DANSON, Grace T** Born 1917. Educated - Wigan High School.  
**[Mrs Lennon]** Father - Robert H Danson, Manufacturing Chemist.  
1940 - MBChB.  
Career: Doctor. Lives on the Wirral has four children and carries out Child Welfare Clinics.

**DAVIS, Philla  
Barbara**

Born 1915. Educated - Badminton School, Bristol.  
Father - Alfred A Davis, Civil Engineer.  
1936 - Failed BArch exam - withdrew.  
Re-entered 1942 - 1944, Certificate in Social Science.  
1975 - Open University.  
Between 1939-1945 involved in War work. Interest in textiles and basketry. 1950s visited North Africa. 1970 visited South East Asia. Travelled around Asia alone using a horse and trap or a bicycle as modes of transport. A self-sufficient woman who even made her own luggage. She published two books upon the subject of straw work and corn dollies. After her retirement in 1975 she went back to University and was awarded a degree in 1981. Miss Davis continued to travel abroad until the late 1980s. After her death her extensive collection of textiles, basketry and photographs were taken to Hull.<sup>2</sup>

**FOSTER, Margaret** Born 1920. Educated - Convent of Notre Dame.  
**VIVIAN [Mrs Seed]** Father - William L Foster, Captain, Mercantile Marine.  
1939 - BA. 1940 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Married and teaching in Preston.

**HEANEY, Sheila** Born 1917. Educated - Huyton College.  
**Anne Elizabeth** Father - Francis J S Heaney, Surgeon.  
1938 - BA.  
Career: Joined WRAC.  
1970 - Brigadier.

**HOLLIS, Winifred** Born 1915. Educated - Queen Mary High School.  
Mother - Alice Hollis, Teacher.  
1937 - BSc Hons, Chemistry. 1938 - MSc.  
Career: Research Chemist employed by British Asphalt & Bitumen Co. Preston.

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<sup>2</sup> West A, 'Philla Davis - Traveller, Collector and Craftworker,' *Indonesia Circle*, No 69, 1996, p122-140.



- HORROCKS, Mary** Born 1918. Educated - St. Paul's Church School, Colton.  
**[Mrs Hesketh]** Father - Charles W Horrocks, Retired Fireman.  
 1939 - BA Hons, History.  
 Career: Teaching.  
 1959 - Married, two sons and teaching.
- HOSENDOFF, Isobel** Born 1917. Educated - St. Edmund's College, Liverpool.  
**[Mrs Woosey]** Mother - Ann Hosendoff.  
 1940 - BSc Hons. 1941 - Dip.Ed.  
 Career: Teaching.  
 1959 - Married, teaching in Middlesborough.
- HUGHES, Vera Rosamond** Born 1917. Educated - Birkenhead Secondary School.  
 Father - Arthur Hughes, Engine Driver.  
 1940 - BA Hons Eng. Lit/Lang. 1941 - Dip.Ed. 1944-1952, MA.  
 1977 - 1989, PhD.  
 Career: A teacher for 35 years. Became head of the English Department at Leigh Grammar School in Lancashire.
- JEFFERSON, Evelyn** Born 1916. Educated - Calder High School.  
 Father - Joseph Jefferson, Printer.  
 1939 - BA.  
 Career: Teacher in Surrey.  
 1954 - Teacher in Kent.
- Jones Dorothy Ada** Born 1914. Next of Kin - Ada Carson, Housewife.  
**[Mrs Collins]** 1937 - BSc Hons. 1939 - MSc.  
 Career: University Lecturer.  
 1976 - Mrs D Collins - retired from her post as a Lecturer in the Department of Chemistry, University of Hong Kong.
- MINETTE, Erica Josephine Edith** Born 1916. Educated - Collegiate High School, Leicester.  
**[Mrs Rathbone]** Father - Wilfred Thomas Minette, Draughtsman.  
 1939 - BA.  
 Career: Teaching in Cambridge.

**MOLLOY, Monica** Born 1914. Educated - Notre Dame School, St. Helens.  
Father - James Molloy, Cable Maker.  
1938 - BA. 1939 - Dip.Ed. 1957 - MA, Education.  
Career: Teaching.

**PARRY-EDWARDS** Born 1916. Educated - County School, North Wales.  
**Margaret E.** Mother - Doris Bishop Parry-Edwards.  
**[Mrs Leigh]** 1941 - MBChB.  
Career: Doctor married to an Ophthalmic Surgeon. Two daughters,  
yet is finding time to specialise in eyes at Moorfields Eye Hospital.  
Worked as a GP during the War.

**QUIRK, Queenie** Born 1916. Educated - Douglas High School, Isle of Man.  
**Olive [Mrs Blundell]** Father - John Thomas Quirke, Retired Butcher.  
1938 - BSc. 1939 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teacher in Stockport.

**SALMON, Marjorie** Born 1917. Educated - Higher Tranmere High School.  
**Dorothy** Father - Edgar H Salmon, Railway Inspector.  
1940 - BA Hons, Geography. 1941 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teacher, Southport High School for Girls'.  
1963 - Teacher in Cheshire.

**SIMPSON, Irene** Born 1918. Educated - Bellerive Girls' School, Liverpool.  
Father - Bernard A Simpson, Grain Broker.  
1943 - MB. 1947 - DPH.  
Career: Doctor. Chairman of the Liverpool Division of the BMA.  
Master of the Guild of St. Luke, SS Cosmos and Damien.

**TAYLOR, Marjorie** Born 1914. Educated - High School for Girls', Southport.  
**Keymer Ellis** Father - Walter J Taylor, Florist.  
1936 - BA. 1937 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teaching in Pontefract.

**WALTER, Jean Foster [Mrs Saxon]** Born 1917. Educated - Secondary School, Stockton.  
Father - John W Walker, Commercial Clerk.  
1939 - BA Hons. 1940 - Dip.Ed.  
Career: Teaching, Youth Organiser.  
1958 - Married. Carried out administration work in the Manchester Education Office.

**WALTERS, K M [Mrs Helin]** Born 1916. Educated - Lowther College.  
Father - John E Walters, Retired Businessman.  
1940 - MBChB.  
Career: Doctor.  
1960 - Lives in Blackpool and has an interest in the BMA.

**List of Respondents to Questionnaires**

Miss Allardyce, Isobel Catherine

Miss Andrews, Muriel Constance

Miss Arnold, June Pope

Miss Arthurson, Nora Lambert

Mrs Barrett-Lennard, Una

Miss Bennett-Jones, Noreen

Mrs Bonner, Eileen May

Mrs Brockett, Margaret

Miss Chadwick, Janie Maples

Mrs Courtheil Creighton Ducker, Victoire de

Mrs Evans, Mary

Miss Fitz-Patrick, Josephine

Mrs Garry Gibbons, Hilda Marie Claire

Mrs Hall, Elizabeth

Miss Harper, Elizabeth Mary

Mrs Hodge, Kathleen Mary

Miss Hughes, Vera Rosemond

Mrs Hugh-Jones, Jean Alison

Mrs Huxley, Florence Mary

Mrs Kerr, Elizabeth ( completed by her daughter Mrs E M Smith )

Mrs Long, Jennifer Ann

Mrs Martin, Frances Elizabeth

Mrs Matthews, Muriel Annie

Mrs McDonald, Alison Joan

Mrs Mercer, Edith Olive

Mrs Metford, Edith

Miss Miller, Constance Emma Marie

Mrs Morgan, Joyce Margaret Kathleen

Mrs Nainby, Gladys May

Mrs Rampling, Constance Mary

Mrs Rowson, Freda Milner

Mrs Smith, Elizabeth Marion

Mrs Stubbs, Elsie Margaret

Mrs Talbot Little, Jean

Mrs Taylor, Margaret Lilian

Mrs Kathleen Mawn Young

Taped Interviews

Miss Leta Jones and Mrs Margaret Simey

**Interviews carried out by Ms S Messenger**

Miss D'Lara, Mrs Ellis, Miss Holman, Miss L Jones, Mrs F Pledger.

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	A-Bo
Student Dossiers	Cad-Col
	Corr-Cra
	Com-Corn
	Cre-Cut
	Dab-Dav
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Sir Oliver Lodge	
Miss S. Dorothea Pease ( Hall Warden 1899-1900	
Miss MC. Staveley ( Hall Warden 1905-1907	
Vice Chancellor Dale	
Miss Eva Melly	
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Professor Lyon Blease.	D55
Miss Irving, I.	D180
Dr Hall, Stephen and Muriel	D213
Mrs ( Lady ) Simey, M.	D238
Mrs Elce, E	D349



Mrs Kerr, E	D360
Dr Miller,M.	D384
Mrs Hamer, EH.	D386
Mrs Huxley, F.	D424
Miss Stalker, FJ.	D429
Professor Hernshaw	D466
Mrs Hardman, B.	D483
Mrs Kerr, E and daughter Mrs Smith	D590

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The University of Liverpool Recorder

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Liverpool Dental Alumni Association Newsletters

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Vol 3. Kaddie- Pycraft

Vol 4. Pycraft-Z

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