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St. Mary's College, Durham,
and the Development of Women's Higher Education in England,
1895 - 1952.

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Elizabeth Ann Fox

Thesis submitted for the degree of M.A.

University of Durham - Department of History

March 1997



- 6 OCT 1997

Elizabeth Ann Fox

St. Mary's College, Durham, and the Development of Women's Higher Education in England, 1895-1952.

Thesis submitted for the degree of M.A. - March 1997

This thesis focuses on the women students of St. Mary's College, Durham, from the granting of the Supplementary Charter in 1895 admitting women to the university degrees and the subsequent foundation of St. Mary's as a hostel in 1899, through to the move into the new college buildings in 1952. The background to the growth of higher education for women is discussed, as are the general patterns of growth of St. Mary's College, in terms of student numbers. However, a thematic approach rather than a chronological one has been taken. The personal details of every student, as contained in the College register, were entered on a database, and, as a result, comprehensive information about the age, social class, and regional and educational background of the student body is presented. Other themes, such as the financial aid available, the courses studied and the degrees achieved, are also examined, in order to gauge the development of the market for women's higher education. A comparative element has been introduced by the inclusion of information from the contemporary St. Hilda's College, Oxford, founded in 1893. By breaking down the information on both colleges into smaller time periods it is possible to see how the recruitment pattern changed and the effect of national events such as World War and economic depression. The continued constraints upon women students, the numerous rules and regulations governing their lives at college and the male reaction to their presence, are also considered. Finally, investigation into the student's "after-lives", in terms of marital status and career after graduation, demonstrates how higher education affected the employment prospects and social class of the women involved, and allows an assessment to be made of the impact of collegiate based higher education upon the individual.

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Chapter 1. - The History of the Higher Education of Women in England

The higher education of women is an area of study which has only recently begun to receive the attention of historians. Although the amount of literature being published on the subject is gradually increasing, many areas of research remain largely neglected. The published works tend, in the main, to take one of four forms. First there is the general history, which, from the perspective of the social historian, focuses upon the subordinate and ill-educated position of women during the nineteenth century and traces the achievement of improved opportunities by the early twentieth century. Examples are Bryant and Burstyn,¹ whose books are both thorough and invaluable, providing an accessible background to the subject, yet remain chiefly chronological narratives focusing on the early developments. Second, there are the histories of the struggles of individual pioneers of women's education, such as Dorothea Beale or Anne Jemima Clough, and third, the histories of specific institutions or women's colleges. However, again, these works are chiefly chronological and descriptive, their narrow focus a result of their topic. Finally, there are the works of, for example, Sara Delamont, Lorna Duffin, Martha Vicinus and Carol Dyhouse. These historians have taken a thematic approach towards the actual experiences of female students and academics, the methods of gaining acceptance in male dominated institutions and the available support networks, within both the "red-brick" and Oxbridge universities. Yet their focus is one of gender differentiation and the removal of obstacles in the way of women's progress towards equality of opportunity with men.

Therefore, an area of research which has been largely overlooked to date is the study of the women students themselves. Only a few historians, such as Janet Howarth and Gillian Sutherland, are making use of the available information about the women students of the residential colleges. Sutherland²

¹ - Bryant, M. 1979. *The Unexpected Revolution*. London: University of London Institute of Education. and Burstyn, J. N. 1980. *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*. London: Croom Helm.

² - Sutherland, G. 1987. "The Movement for the Higher Education of Women: its social and intellectual context in England, c. 1840-1880." in P. J. Waller, (ed.) *Politics and Social Change in Modern Britain: Essays presented to A. F. Thompson*. Sussex: The Harvester Press. p. 91-116.

has examined the social location of the movement for the higher education of women between 1840 and 1880, and investigated the students of Oxford and Cambridge's women's colleges by age, father's occupation and careers after graduation. Howarth, with Mark Curthoys³, has studied the parental and educational background of a sample of the early women students at Oxford in order to assess the type of girl who went to university and establish whether they fitted the ideals of womanhood of the period. Daniel Greenstein⁴ has attempted to profile, in general, all of the undergraduates at the Oxford Colleges between 1900 and 1993 in his article in the *Twentieth Century* volume of the University's history, drawing comparisons between the men and women in terms of background, degrees and careers. Sarah Curtis⁵ has attempted to focus more specifically upon St. Hugh's College, Oxford, but the nature of her approach, by survey, has meant only a quarter of its students have been considered. Yet, studies of this type, concentrating upon the students, are by far in the minority, and it is their example which this thesis aims to follow and also develop by studying all the students at one residential college over a prolonged period of time.

St. Mary's College, Durham, is approaching its centenary year, 1999, and is one of the few remaining all women colleges of higher education. However, at present there is only one history of the college itself,⁶ which, whilst detailed and thorough, concentrates mainly upon the development of the college, its buildings, and the gradual increase in numbers, rather than the students. Founded in 1899 as a women's hostel, after the Supplementary Charter of 1895 granted their admission to the University of Durham, St. Mary's was established after the pioneering achievement of women's entry into higher education. Yet, it too became caught up in the struggle to gain the acceptance of women within

³ - Howarth, J. & Curthoys, M. 1987. "The Political Economy of Women's Higher Education in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain." *Historical Research*. Vol. 60 (142): 208 - 31.

⁴ - Greenstein, D. I. 1994. "The Junior Members, 1900-1990: A Profile." in Harrison B. (ed.) *A History of the University of Oxford, Vol. VIII.- The Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p. 45 - 77.

⁵ - Curtis, S. 1986. "Origins and Outcomes." in Griffen, P. (ed.) *St. Hugh's: One Hundred Years of Women's Education in Oxford*. Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd. p. 244 - 283.

⁶ - Hird, M. 1982. *Doves and Dons*. Durham: MacDonald Press Ltd.

university institutions and the recognition of their ability as students. Although the history of women students in Durham is not just the history of St. Mary's College alone, who the students of St. Mary's were in terms of their background and the nature of their studies, and also what they went on to do after graduation, is important. It widens our understanding of the advances made by women and the changing nature of residential provision the collegiate universities made for their female students.

In order to investigate whether these students were typical of women's residential colleges or unique to St Mary's a comparative element has been introduced to this study. This is also necessary in order to examine how the experience of St. Mary's students related to the higher education of women on a national scale and through time. Otherwise there is a danger of producing a purely insular work which does not recognise wider influences or general trends. St. Hilda's College, Oxford, is a near contemporary of St. Mary's, established in 1893, and it is also one of the few colleges, and the only one at Oxford, which remains an all female institution. It could, therefore, be expected that the two colleges would have to face similar problems in their development and be affected in the same way by national events. Whilst there are more studies of St. Hilda's and an excellent centenary history⁷, again the focus is more upon the college rather than the students themselves. Another interesting link between the colleges is that St. Hilda's has provided St. Mary's with three of its Principals: Miss Laura Roberts, Miss Rachel Eleanor Duff Donaldson, and the current Principal Miss Joan M. Kenworthy, all of whom attended St. Hilda's during the period to 1952 under study.

First, therefore, in chapter two, this study makes an assessment of the development of women's higher education, how it was achieved, and the opposition which remained by the 1890s. Next, chapter three looks closely at the different approaches resulting in the establishment of St. Mary's and St. Hilda's Colleges before analysing their patterns of growth throughout the period from 1893 to 1952. The academic year beginning in the Michaelmas term 1952 has

⁷ - Rayner. M. 1993. *The Centenary History of St. Hilda's College, Oxford*. Oxford: Lindsay Press Publishing Ltd.

been chosen as the final point for this study as it was the first year that St. Mary's spent in its new buildings on Charly-field Hill, its present location, which meant that a larger number of students could be admitted. Also, the post Second World War years to 1952 constitute a time period of adequate length to make comparisons with earlier year groups more effective.

Then, the focus will turn to investigate the actual students of St. Mary's and St. Hilda's Colleges. The main source of information for this work has been the matriculation books of each college. Both St. Mary's and St. Hilda's have a complete set in their archives containing a wealth of information on the personal details of every student, what they studied at the college and, in many cases, what they went on to do after graduation. Similar records, kept at the Durham County Record Office, for the students of St. Hilda's, Durham, between 1898 and 1907, have also been consulted. St. Hilda's was established in 1858 as a Church of England teacher training college, and from 1895 some of its students were able to offer two years of training as an equivalent to the first year of a university degree course.

There are inconsistencies in the information these matriculation books provide. For example, some students do not have a father's occupation listed which might mean that he was deceased, that the information was never supplied by the student or that it was simply omitted by mistake. It is probable that other confidential files and reports upon each student did exist at some point which could have been used to back up the matriculation information, but for St. Mary's these are missing until 1952. Much may have been lost as a result of moving between buildings, but no doubt more was lost during the Second World War and as a result of the paper shortage. Future study of St. Mary's from 1952 onwards will be made more interesting by the fact that just such records do exist for each student which will supplement the matriculation records. However, as long as the possible errors and omissions are recognised, the books are a unique source of evidence about the early women students of each college.

Other sources which have been used include the *Durham University Calendar* and publications such as the *Durham University Journal*, College and Old Girls' Society newsletters and annual reports, photographs, and

reminiscences of past students, tutors and principals. In addition, several “old girls” of St. Mary’s kindly agreed to answer a questionnaire on their time at college, which proved extremely helpful in providing a personal insight to their experiences. All of this information has been keyed into and sorted by the Access 2.0 database package for Windows. Without such a computer program the sorting of such a quantity of personal information, and accurate information retrieval, for 764 St. Mary’s students and 1791 St. Hilda’s students over the period to 1952 would involve a vast amount of paper shuffling, be too time consuming and prone to mistakes in calculation. The database ensures that the only errors are those of input, and careful data entry and checking should have eliminated all of these. The more universities and colleges which invest in converting their old records onto such a program then the more studies of this type can be made, and the history of the higher education of women can be made more exact.

Chapter four, therefore, studies closely the available information on age, parental occupation, and geographical background in both a thematic and chronological manner. The information has also been sorted within appropriate time periods to enable wider influences and national events to be taken into account and their effect upon each college compared more definitely. This chapter aims to assess whether St. Mary’s College was open to the market forces of supply and demand as Howarth and Curthoys have suggested, and if so determine what exactly this market was, and how it differed from St. Hilda’s. All of the studies of higher education within this period do recognise that it is essentially the study of the middle classes. Education and the ideals of womanhood were class based concepts within Victorian society and the original divisions of education into elementary, secondary and higher levels were made upon class lines rather than according to age. However the majority of these studies do not go on to investigate fully the actual sections of the middle classes who sent their daughters to university or whether, how, and when the pattern changed. Therefore, the different methods employed by the National Census⁸ of

⁸ - Census. 1956. *The Census of England and Wales 1951 - Occupation Tables*. London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office.

1951 to classify social class and socio-economic groups are used in this chapter to determine the social background of all the students at each college. The additional comparative element of St. Hild's College, Durham is also introduced here to compare the recruitment of university colleges with teacher training colleges. So, whether a dual market for higher education existed, catering for the sexual stereotypes of the "lady of leisure" and the "new woman" can, therefore, be established, as can the extent of the social exclusivity of the university colleges' recruitment patterns.

Chapter five concentrates first upon the educational background of the students. Taking into account the difficulties inherent in the study of girls' schools during this period, the information on each student's schooling will be used to illustrate the recruitment patterns already established and emphasise any differences between St. Mary's and St. Hilda's. How this educational background changed will also be investigated. Then, each student's university education will be examined, including the different types of financial aid available to women, the actual degrees they studied for and the subjects taken, and their final results. This will illustrate not only the academic achievement of the women students and the role of improved secondary education, but also whether women were branching out from the traditional arts subjects into new areas. Chapter six discusses student life, the struggle female students faced in order to gain recognition, the male reaction to their presence, and the rules and regulations each college enforced. Then, finally, chapter seven assesses the impact of higher education upon the individual by studying what the women went on to do after graduation. By examining employment and marriage statistics it is hoped to show whether higher education really did provide new opportunities and social mobility, and, whether they were taken advantage of. So, by both its thematic approach over an extended period of time and its comparative elements, this study of St. Mary's College, Durham, aims to investigate the students of one women's university residential college within the context of the history of the higher education of women on a wider, national scale.

Chapter 2. - Women's Access to Higher Education

Despite social convention and the considerable weight of argument in opposition, women's access to higher education developed within a relatively short period of time. Such progress was made possible by the improvements in girls' secondary education throughout the second half of the nineteenth century; the work of pioneering women and Education Associations; and the establishment and role of the civic, or "redbrick", universities. It must also be noted that the universities were in a state of considerable upheaval as attempts were being made to reform higher education on a broader scale. This reform was working towards the removal of religious distinctions, the development of a wider curriculum containing "modern" subjects, and making the system more productive, useful and research orientated.¹ Therefore, by 1900, the changing perceptions of the function of a university produced a greater emphasis upon institutions which were national, secular and professional.

Recognition of the need to improve the standard of women's education, at all levels, was partly a result of changing economic and demographic circumstances. The traditional Victorian ideals of "separate spheres" and the perfect, "cultivated" wife as an outward symbol of affluence had become increasingly incompatible with the reality of the later nineteenth century.² The majority of the middle classes earned somewhere in the range of £100-£300 a year, only 10% earning above £300 p.a.,³ and this was not enough to support the "paraphernalia of gentility" which a "lady of leisure" required.⁴ Many wives and daughters were, therefore, more active in the daily household duties than the ideal suggests, employing only one general servant. The economic and legal subordination of women to the male head of the household meant that they could be left destitute in the event of illness, death or bankruptcy. In addition

¹ - Heyck, T. W. 1982. *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England*. London: Croom Helm. p. 155.

² - Bryant, M. 1979. and Delamont, S. & Duffin, L. (eds.) 1978. *The Nineteenth Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World*. London: Croom Helm.

³ - Branca, P. 1979. "Image and Reality: the Myth of the Idle Victorian Woman" in Hartman, M. S. and Banner, L. (eds.) *Clio's Consciousness Raised*. New York: Octagon Books. p. 183.

⁴ - Branca, P. 1975. *Silent Sisterhood*. London: Croom Helm. p. 45.

demographic trends show that there were fewer single men than women, and marriages were occurring later in life. Consequently there were a significant number of “surplus” women for whom marriage was not an option and who needed other forms of income.

One traditional form of employment which could maintain a degree of gentility appropriate to an unmarried lady of the middle classes was the role of governess. However, regarded as failures in the marriage market or to have fallen on hard times, these women were in an ambiguous position. Considered to be neither servants nor “ladies”, poorly paid, and dependent upon their employer, they were typical of the “status incongruity” of single, self supporting, middle class women, and the incompatibility of being a lady and an earner.⁵ Governesses also demonstrated the inadequacy of traditional female schooling and the need for women’s vocational education, as they were seldom well educated themselves and untrained for teaching. However, by the turn of the century a considerable number of middle class women could be found in other forms of paid employment. Vicinus estimates that the increase, between 1861-1911, in the number of women occupied as teachers, nurses, clerks, shop assistants and civil servants was from 5% to 16.4% of the total workforce.⁶ The ideal that women should not form part of this public sphere persisted, but the contradictions in the position of women, as a result of the need to support themselves and the developments in education, produced a new gender stereotype of the late nineteenth century: the “new woman” who was single and career minded. Celibacy could be regarded as a means of emancipation from traditional social restraints and an acceptable alternative to the traditional concept of the “perfect lady”. Higher education was the key to securing the same opportunities of entering professional employment as their male counterparts.

Opposition to degrees for women, however, remained. The objections of the 1860s were deep-rooted and pervasive and became transformed and updated to reflect the changing social climate at the turn of the century. Different

⁵ - Peterson, J. M. 1973. “The Victorian Governess.” in Vicinus, M. (ed.) *Suffer and be Still*. London: Indiana University Press. p. 11.

⁶ - Vicinus, M. 1985. *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920*. London: Virago Press. p. 5.

branches of scientific opinion maintained the belief in the frailty of women and their biological and intellectual weakness. Comparative anatomists, such as George Romanes, drew attention to the smaller size of the female brain and claimed that women, therefore, lacked the capacity for intellectual development equivalent to men.⁷ The evolutionists Patrick Geddes and J. Arthur Thompson, in their *Evolution of Sex* (1889), argued that a set of natural biological laws cast the social position of the sexes into an ordered evolutionary grand design: innate physical and mental differences producing separate spheres beyond human control.⁸ Such theories also suggested that women seeking higher education for a career were going against their proper social role of motherhood and jeopardising the stability and future of society as a whole.

The major branch of science to uphold the traditional ideal of womanhood and its implied restrictions was medicine. Medical men suggested that to abandon the ideal was detrimental to both women and society, and exploited the obvious differences of female biology in order to emphasise their inferior status. Contributing to this was an inaccurate and insufficient understanding of female physiology. The female reproductive role was regarded as a social and moral duty, yet menstruation and pregnancy were in practice treated as illnesses. It was considered essential to conserve energy for these functions, and assumed that continued development of the intellect could only be made at the expense of reproductivity. Higher education was deemed too exhaustive and would produce “pale, angular, flat chested, young ladies” who would be incapable of, or unfit for, motherhood as a direct consequence of their studies. Biology, therefore remained the “determinant” of female function⁹ as supportive and passive, and illness was a direct consequence of moving outside the correct sphere. Science, therefore, presented much opposition to women’s advance, reinforcing traditional ideals with authoritative arguments which were difficult to disprove.

⁷ - Lewis, J. 1984. *Women in England 1870 - 1950*. Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books. p. 84.

⁸ - *ibid.* p. 99. See also Fee, E. 1973. “The Sexual Politics of Victorian Social Anthropology.” in Hartman, M. S. & Banner, L. (eds.) p. 86-102.

⁹ - Conway, J. 1973. “Stereotypes of Femininity in a Theory of Sexual Evolution” in Vicinus, M. (ed.) 1973. p. 153,

[Men] have started out with the theory of the natural inferiority of women, have assumed... that her "true" sphere was the home and her "true" function maternity, and then persuaded themselves that they had biological reasons for keeping her out of the universities.¹⁰

As a result of these physiological arguments, the common response in newspapers, cartoons and literature was to ridicule the women in higher education or in the professions. They were portrayed as mannish and unsexed, dowdy and incompetent, and by failing to fulfil their real social obligation meant they were also accused of undermining the institutions of marriage and the family. This provided the framework within which the advocates of women's higher education had to work. They had to meet the "snare of double conformity"¹¹ proving that they were both as intellectually and physically capable of advanced study as their male counterparts whilst retaining an appropriate air of being "ladylike" at all times. To do otherwise would have confirmed their opponents' fears and hindered progression. The first necessity was to achieve a sound secondary schooling for girls.

Secondary Schooling

The development of female secondary and higher education was interdependent. Many of the early women graduates entered the teaching profession, schoolgirls benefited from their greater abilities and were increasingly able and encouraged to enter universities themselves, and so on. However, the state of girls' secondary education in the 1860s was a serious limiting factor upon any advance into higher education. The report of the Schools Inquiry Commission under Lord Taunton in 1868, the first Royal Commission to deal with the secondary education as a whole, was also the first official recognition of the deficiencies in girls' education.

It cannot be denied that the picture brought before us of the state of Middle Class Female education is, on the whole, unfavourable ...want of thoroughness and foundation; want of system; slovenliness and showy superficiality; inattention to rudiments; undue time given to accomplishments, and those not taught intelligently or in any scientific manner; want of organisation..."¹²

¹⁰ - Ernest Newman (1895) "Women and Music." *Free Review* 4, in Rubenstein, D. 1986. *Before the Suffragettes: Women's Emancipation in the 1890s*. Sussex: Harvester Press Ltd. p. 7.

¹¹ - Delamont, S. & Duffin. L. 1978. p. 160.

¹² - Schools Inquiry Commission Report (1868) in Kamm, J. 1965. *Hope Deferred*. London: Methuen and Co. p. 211.

Yet, although the Commission condemned the overall quality and much of its teaching, it did not blame inadequacies on the feminine intellect. It maintained that a girl's capacity for learning was the same as a boy's but needed an equivalent opportunity for training. Its recommendation that women should have the same opportunity as men to obtain higher education emphasised the natural progression that it was hoped better secondary education provision would make possible.

The Commission's chief recommendation to remedy the situation suggested that the old system of endowments, charitable foundations for educational purposes such as those of the Brewers, Haberdashers, and Merchant Taylors Companies, be adapted in order to increase the number funding schools for girls, which numbered only 12 in 1864. The Endowed School Act of 1869 and the Commission set up to administer the scheme managed to establish 47 new girls schools and one mixed school at Thornton by 1874, with another 30 schemes waiting for funds to become available.¹³ However this absorbed only 27% of its efforts when compared to the 130 schemes implemented for boys schools.¹⁴ When the new Conservative government transferred their work to the Charity Commission in 1875 the percentage of schemes which benefited girls fell still further to 15%. By 1890, the total of endowed schools for girls numbered only 80.¹⁵ So, the endowment system continued to retain some anomalies: girls still made up less than a quarter of all pupils in endowed schools by 1895. However, as Fletcher has emphasised, it was their legal existence which was the achievement, and they were a stimulus to the creation of other girls' secondary schools.

The establishment of the Girls' Public Day School Company in 1872 by Maria Gray, converted to a Trust in 1906, addressed the need for effective yet inexpensive secondary day schools for girls which could cross class and religious divisions to a greater degree than the mainly Anglican endowed schools. By 1901 38 G.P.D.S.T. self supporting high schools had been created

¹³ - Fletcher, S. 1980. *Feminists and Bureaucrats*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 103

¹⁴ - *ibid.* p. 106.

¹⁵ - Kamm, J. 1965. p. 213.

(although four of these had closed), with 7,209 girls in total.¹⁶ Lower fees made the schools affordable and their non-denominational nature resulted in their pupils representing a wider range of middle class and denominational backgrounds. The school day, from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m., also appealed to those middle class parents who felt that the chief influence upon young ladies should be the home rather than sending daughters away to board. Teaching covered a broad curriculum: "English" subjects such as literature, scripture and history, Languages, Science, and also aesthetic subjects such as drawing and singing.¹⁷ Seniors undertook more advanced work in ancient and modern languages, physiology as applied to the laws of health, moral science, logic and mathematics. The success and expansion of the G.P.D.S.T. schools encouraged local initiatives and similar schemes, such as Roman Catholic day schools, the co-educational Bedales school established in 1893 and Francis Holland's Church of England Schools Company, founded in 1883, which had 27 schools with a total of 2,166 pupils by 1895.¹⁸

The development of girls' public boarding schools was also encouraged based on the example of the Cheltenham Ladies' College. This led to the establishment of, for example, St. Leonard's at St. Andrews, 1877, Roedean in Brighton, 1885, and Wycombe Abbey, 1896. These schools imitated their male equivalents in their emphasis upon the traditional subjects of the classics and science in preparation for university or the professions, and all produced a considerable number of candidates with the necessary education to enter a university. Similarly to the boys' public schools, the girls' institutions developed organised games which provided competitive exercise and team spirit. By 1914 there were over 200 public schools for girls providing for different ranks of the middle classes, and their numbers of students varied from 80 to over 600.¹⁹

There was not, however, one central authority responsible for the establishment of a standardised structure of education and curriculum for middle

¹⁶ - Borer, M. C. 1976. *Willingly to School*. London: Lutterworth Press. p. 287.

¹⁷ - Hunt, F. 1987. *Lessons for Life*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. p. 6.

¹⁸ - Kamm, J. 1965. p. 225.

¹⁹ - Walford, G. 1993. *The Private Schooling of Girls: Past and Present*. London: Woburn Press. p. 47.

class girls. However, the diversity of the new schools provided girls with greater opportunity for study and a sound academic education in institutions which were neither privately owned nor aimed at fostering domesticity. The academic focus meant that there was an increasing pool of able candidates wanting to embark upon more advanced study. Developments were aided by the fact that secondary education did not raise as much opposition or criticism, and was more easily defended. Public sympathy had been courted by concessions to contemporary criticisms. All of the schools ensured that they made provision for health care and the day schools allowed girls a suitable time at home in order to help with domestic duties. Ladylike behaviour was also maintained with, for example, strict rules on dress. Thus, the new schools were largely uncontroversial developments and accommodated the concerns of the period.

These initiatives and improvements to the close of the nineteenth century had been made without the aid of the State. Secondary education was maintained by endowment and fees and as such ensured that it remained the preserve of those middle and upper classes who could afford it. The State did, however, make some contribution to secondary education although this was not its original intention. In the 1870 Elementary Education Act the State took on full responsibility for the provision of elementary education for every child, to be funded by rate-aid wherever voluntary provision was not forthcoming, and established School Boards in the localities to oversee this. However, these School Boards, within their re-organisation, created a new local initiative: a level of schooling for the poorer classes known as Higher Grade. Such schools provided a secondary type of instruction for both boys and girls funded by the State's rate-aid. When the Bryce Commission on secondary education reported in 1895 it said of the Higher Grade schools, using Leeds as an example,

It is impossible to convey in a report the impression which this school makes upon one of efficiency, energy and vitality... No one... can fail to realise that we are here in the presence of a new educational force, which has already developed to a vigorous and lusty youth [and] represents a new educational movement from below.²⁰

Another influence was the teacher training colleges for girls, such as St. Hild's, Durham. These had been established by both the state and the

²⁰ - The Bryce Report (1895) in Martin. C. 1979. *A Short History of English Schools*. Hove: Wayland Publishers Ltd. p. 77.

denominations in response to the need for better trained elementary school teachers, and the State's increasing intervention in secondary education was also partly in recognition of this need. In the 1902 Education Act, Local Education Authorities were encouraged to support existing endowed grammar schools, buy out proprietary and private secondary schools, convert higher grade schools and pupil teacher centres and establish their own County Grammar schools.²¹ Although a traditional grammar system was maintained which still involved fees, the provision of scholarships for able elementary school children pointed towards a "free place" system and helped to end not only the concept of secondary education as the prerogative of the middle and upper classes but also the gender divisions. The number of girls receiving secondary education had risen from the figure of 20,000 in 1897 to 185,000 in 1902 and this figure was in excess of half a million by 1914.²²

Examinations

The opening of the University Local examinations to women was also significant for their improved access to higher education. These had been set up in 1857 for boys as an entrance requirement for the universities, but were regarded by female pioneers as the means by which to test and assess the capabilities of girls within their expanding secondary education. They could also provide a new incentive for study, a goal by which to measure their intellect. A committee under Emily Davies led the campaign to open the Local examinations and in 1863 requested Cambridge University, more sympathetic to the idea than Oxford, for a trial examination for girls of exactly the same papers as the boys. The results would be reported on by private arrangement with the examiners. Experimental exams were held in London with 83 candidates, 25 from the North London Collegiate School alone, and the results were encouraging. The only failures came in mathematics, but this subject was equally poor amongst many of the boys and prompted a necessary overhaul in its teaching. No girl suffered any physical ill effects from the exams and the majority of the twenty one local exam

²¹ - Evans, K. 1985. *The Development and Structure of the English School System*. London: Hodder & Stoughton. p. 77.

²² - Turner, B. 1974. *Equality for Some*. London: Ward Lock Educational. p. 176.

committees appeared impressed. Liverpool was the only one declaring opposition in a counter memorial to Cambridge. Yet, the Cambridge Senate passed the motion, by a margin of four, that the exams be opened to girls, and in 1867 this became a permanent provision. The Universities of Edinburgh, in 1865, and Durham, in 1866, followed their example, and Oxford submitted in 1870.

Attempts in 1869 to open the London University Matriculation Examination to women on the same terms as men, after their refusal to allow Elizabeth Garret to enter, failed. Instead London intended to set up a separate special examination for women over the age of 17 which was similar to the men's but provided a wider choice of subjects. Emily Davies opposed this development, believing that different was never equal and would be deemed inferior, a sentiment evident in her correspondence.

We are really obliged to Convocation for their kind intentions in offering us a serpent when we asked for a fish, tho' we cannot pretend to believe that serpents are better for us.²³

However the General examination had to be accepted until equality was achieved in 1878, and it must be remembered that not all regarded this separate examination as potentially inferior. Dorothea Beale, for example, preferred this gradual approach to the idea of "unhealthy" direct competition between the sexes. Despite the "special" aspect to the London examination, the opening of the various University examinations to girls was an immediate means of recognising that girls possessed an equal intellect to boys by judging them on the same terms. The examinations gave to girls a qualification that could meet the entrance requirements of a University and brought admission to the universities a step nearer.

Education Organisations

To remove prejudice masked as Christian ethics, assumptions disguised as intellectual convictions, an equal mixture of courage, passionate commitment and administrative skill was required.²⁴

The role of individual determined women in working towards the admission of women to higher education has already been illustrated by the

²³ - Kamm, J. 1965. p. 202.

²⁴ - Bradbrook in Bryant, M. 1979. p. 59.

examples of Emily Davies, Frances Buss, Dorothea Beale and Maria Gray. When such pioneering women worked together they constituted an even more formidable presence within existing and developing associations promoting the higher education of women. Within the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science they brought the state of women's education to the fore at its annual congress and debate. The varied and influential audience ensured that they met with a range of opinions, supportive or otherwise, which they could address on a level of equality.

Networks of support were important elements in the movement to secure higher education. They not only served to combine pressure, but formulated aims and strategies to achieve them. Ladies' Education Associations grew up throughout the 1860s and 1870s, initially to oversee the arrangements for girls to take the University examinations. Gradually they became more specifically concerned to achieve access to examinations at a higher level than the Locals in order to achieve University education.

Under the lead of Anne Jemima Clough, with the aid of *Josephine Butler and her husband, who was the Principal of Liverpool College*, the Education Associations of Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield and Leeds co-operated to arrange a series of lectures on general themes of interest to be given in several northern towns by James Stuart of Trinity College, Cambridge. This led to the development of the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women, 1867, which united these Associations with that of Newcastle to provide ongoing lectures in these areas. This in turn gave rise to the development of the University Extension Movement on a more national level which aimed to expand the opportunities of further education to adults. The lectures involved an increasing number of women in educational pursuits at a higher level than school, and those university men who took part in these developments gained experience of women's capabilities and their future possibilities.

Therefore the Ladies' Education Associations were important as they existed as essential support networks, organised widespread lecture schemes which accustomed men to the presence of women in academic surroundings, and

fostered academic links with sympathetic and influential lecturers and patrons of both sexes. They also ensured that the lectures given were of a sufficient academic standard so that when the universities were opened there were women already qualified to take immediate advantage of the opportunity.

The Opening of the Universities

After much discussion the Senate and Convocation agreed to accept from the Crown, in 1878, a Supplemental Charter, making every degree, honour and prize awarded by the University accessible to students of both sexes on perfectly equal terms.²⁵

The University of London was thus the first university in Britain offering equality of degrees, and admitted women to Convocation from 1882. The Charter of the Victoria University, 20th April 1880, incorporating Owens College, Manchester, Yorkshire College, Leeds and Liverpool College, followed its example and claimed the power to confer degrees on “all persons, male or female”.²⁶ The Scottish universities were enabled by legislative changes from 1889-1892 to admit women to their classes and degrees, and the Charter of the University of Wales, 1893, stipulated that not only were women to be admitted equally to degrees but also to offices, treating them as full members of the university and especially its social life. Durham University gained its Supplementary Charter in 1895 and although this still excluded women from Convocation until 1913, it left Oxford and Cambridge as the only remaining universities denying degrees to women.

However, this chronology in women’s admission to higher education can be misleading and much is dependent upon definition.²⁷ In many cases provision for women continued to be on different terms to the men. Access to classes, for instance, would often come before their admission to degree examinations. The College of Science in Newcastle, originally part of Durham University, accepted women students to all of its courses although Durham did not. At Cambridge and Oxford women resided in recognised hostels run on the college example, attended classes, and were given formal permission to sit their degree

²⁵ - University of London Calendar in Davies, E. 1910. *Thoughts on Some Questions Relating to Women 1860-1908*. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes. p. 174.

²⁶ - *ibid.* p. 175.

²⁷ - Dyhouse, C. 1981. *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities 1870-1939*. London: U.C.L. Press. p. 13.

examinations in 1881 and 1884 respectively. Yet neither university granted to them the degree title but rather an alternative certificate. Manchester initially admitted women to only its pass degree and to four Honours schools of its Arts Faculty, with an attitude that Bremner has claimed “can hardly be styled cordial”.²⁸ By 1897 women were still refused in medicine and engineering. The obstructive nature of the Medical Faculty was common at all the universities. Access was refused in many of the universities until 1917, when the demands of the First World War made women’s education in medicine, other than nursing or midwifery, a necessity. At Durham, divinity was also denied to women until later.

Therefore, provision for women within the universities at the end of the nineteenth century varied between the institutions. Although women had achieved admission, this did not automatically bring with it integration or acceptance. As long as the varying levels of provision existed a considerable number of problems, practical and social, faced the attempts to consolidate women’s advances. These problems were most acutely felt at the collegiate based universities of Oxbridge and Durham which had regulations requiring residence. Both had “home students” and tried to provide them with some institutional base by affiliating them to a society, St. Aidan’s at Durham and St. Anne’s at Oxford. At the older civic universities, as they catered for mainly local students, it was expected that students would remain living at home and attend lectures daily. The newer universities, for example Reading, took a different approach in that they believed residence to be an important aspect of higher education and sought to provide it although it was not a compulsory requirement. For women not in the immediate locality these halls or hostels were more appealing to the parents who wanted to provide higher education for their daughters than the lodgings which many of the men occupied. Yet these halls of residence or hostels for women, could suffer similar problems to the collegiate universities.

²⁸ - Bremner, C. S. 1897. *The Education of Girls and Women in Great Britain*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd. p. 148.

A serious restraint upon women's higher education institutions was their lack of funding. The problem common to all the universities was that the cause of women's higher education did not attract the large benefactions of their male equivalent. Very few women were wealthy enough in their own right to make up the difference in donations. Instead, women had to rely, again, on their own efforts and organisations, such as the Education Associations, to help fund common rooms and meeting places for their societies and necessities like building and renovation. This lack of funds affected the size and nature of the women's colleges. The Women's Institute compilation of numbers of women at the colleges in 1897 provided the following figures.

Girton	109
Newnham	166
Somerville	73
Lady Margaret Hall	48
St. Hugh's	24
St Hilda's	17 ²⁹

Small numbers meant that there was little money left over from fees etc. available for investment or with which to develop long term plans. As a result, the resources of women's colleges and halls were, generally, paltry in comparison to the men's, as were their provisions for scholarships. The students within them had to contend with overworked and often poorly paid staff, poor libraries and inadequate facilities, and very little personal financial assistance. So, lack of adequate finance was a serious limiting factor upon the provision of women's higher education, and helped dictate the course of development of the women's colleges.

Another limitation was the nature of the curriculum, both actual and hidden. The basic argument over the courses women were to study and whether they should be the same as for the men can be seen clearly in the division between Girton College under Emily Davies and Newnham College under Anne Jemima Clough. Davies' approach was to follow the men's courses exactly in order to gain recognition and equality. Alternatively, Clough favoured the ideas of the reformers of university education and Newnham students studied newer modified courses in, for example, science, philosophy and economics. If the

²⁹ - Figures taken from Bremner, C. S. "Women in British Universities." Appendix A. in Vicinus, M. 1985. p. 127.

prevailing system was unsatisfactory for men then why impose the same flaws upon women? This failure to offer a common approach to the curriculum has been much criticised. However, in effect, both approaches were required. The more uncompromising attitude was necessary to prove that women were as able as men to undertake university education, but the more conciliatory approach aroused less opposition and gained valuable support to their cause whilst allowing its students to undertake advanced study in more familiar subjects.

The “hidden” curriculum also presented problems. The socialising function of a collegiate university was clear, and it could offer to women a period of personal space away from the pressures of domesticity. The idea of “a room of one’s own” in an environment which would expand the intellect but also foster both friendships and a sense of independence was appealing, and could encourage expansion. However, this was not the best way to get parents to educate their daughters in a period when social convention still encouraged the traditional ideals of womanhood. So, it was necessary for the colleges not to present themselves as an attractive alternative to the home providing a sense of freedom to their students, but rather maximise the impression that they resembled family life. This, and the continued need to mollify public opinion and maintain proper ladylike behaviour, which was also felt at the non-residential civic universities initially, resulted in the numerous regulations on conduct and dress and strict chaperonage rules so that girls did not tarnish their own reputation or that of their academic institution. Therefore, the women’s colleges were subject to numerous limitations and conflicting interests due to the ongoing constraints of female respectability.

By 1897, women were largely accepted as part of the world of higher education, albeit a peripheral and minor part.³⁰

Despite the number of problems that still faced women within higher education, and the varying nature of provision, gaining a degree of access to all the British university institutions by the mid-1890s was a considerable achievement. The University Grant Committee figures for full time students in the year 1900-1901 [Fig.1] show that women students in the universities as a proportion of the whole was 16%. This is an impressive figure when considering

³⁰ - Vicinus, M. 1985. p. 127.

that this was from a position of total exclusion at the opening of the Cambridge University Local examinations in 1863. The Welsh university colleges had made particular progress [Fig. 1.] which has been attributed to the “enlightened” attitude of their Principals towards women, a society increasingly influenced by democratic and liberal ideas, and Welsh educational reforms at the intermediate level.³¹ It was within this general framework of progress that the establishment of St Mary’s and St Hilda’s Colleges occurred.

³¹ - Evans, W. G. 1990. *Education and Female Emancipation: The Welsh Experience 1847-1914*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. p. 211.

Fig. 1 - Full time students in British University Institutions 1900-1901

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
Birmingham University	238	93	331
Bristol University	209	127	336
Cambridge University	2,830	296	3,126
Durham University			
Armstrong Colleges	249	139	388
Durham Colleges	166	16	182
College of Medicine	201	14	215
Leeds University	494	86	580
Liverpool University	411	70	481
London University			
Bedford College	0	90	90
Royal Holloway College	0	120	120
Westfield College	0	21	21
Birkbeck College	16	7	23
Imperial College	538	3	541
King's College	262	12	274
School of Economics	32	16	48
University College	295	167	462
Medical Schools	2,146	220	2,366
Manchester University	738	123	861
Nottingham University College	137	90	227
Oxford University	2,537	239	2,776
Reading University	33	73	106
Sheffield University	90	6	96
Southampton University College	133	62	195
Total England	11,755	2,090	13,845
Aberystwyth University College	266	208	474
Bangor University College	179	100	279
Cardiff University College	333	167	500
Total Wales	778	475	1,253
Aberdeen University	362	29	391
Edinburgh University	2,119	235	2,354
Glasgow University	1,575	346	1,921
Royal Technical College	134	0	134
St Andrews University + Dundee	242	109	351
Total Scotland	4,432	719	5,151
Total - Great Britain	16,965	3,284	20,249

Source: University Grants Committee, Report for the Period 1929-30 to 1934-35, Appendix A. pp. 52-3.³²

³² - Howarth J. & Curthoys, M. 1987. p. 230-231.

Chapter 3. - Women Students in Durham and Oxford

Two very different approaches resulted in the establishment of St. Mary's College, Durham and St Hilda's College, Oxford. Durham's provision for a women's college came from within the university. In contrast, the Oxford women's colleges and their students remained, in effect, outside the recognition of the University for many years as it struggled to retain an essentially male ethos. The main difference between the two universities, however, was the particular concept of the collegiate system. At Durham, the university provided all teaching and the colleges, whether for men or for women, were envisaged as purely social and residential communities. At Oxford the colleges had come to provide both, with their own academic staff of tutorial fellows. Therefore, contrasts can be found in the establishment and development of St. Mary's and St. Hilda's associated with these different approaches.

Durham and St. Mary's

There are and have been women with ability of the very first order, much superior to an average man. Just because there are such cases, it is an imperative duty to afford every encouragement... that may lead women to the furthest known limits of knowledge... Universities in particular... should, therefore, remove as soon as possible all those restrictions on the education of women, which only serve to gall an apparently injured class, and which, when swept away, will not give an unreasonable or hazardous liberty.¹

This, in July 1878, is the first written reference on the question of women's entry into the University of Durham and shows a favourable attitude, no doubt influenced by the admission, in that year, of women to London. Although the article's reasoning was influenced by social prejudices, suggesting that a university education for women posed no threat to men as only a few would take up the opportunity, it was still an early indication that Durham was not going to be left behind in the national developments providing opportunities for women at a higher level.

An important element which helped develop Durham's attitude was the affiliated Newcastle College of Physical Science, founded in 1871, which had opened its lectures to women from the very start. It was possible for its more

¹ - "The Education of Women" in the *Durham University Journal*, 1878. III (7) July 12th p. 2.

able students to study for an Associateship in Science of Durham University over a course of two years, and after 1876 a student could undertake a third year's further instruction and proceed to a B.Sc. degree without the residence requirement at Durham itself. As with its lectures, women were also able to work towards these qualifications and the first woman to gain her Associateship in Science was Ella Mary Bryant in 1891, and who subsequently passed all the exams for the B.Sc. in 1892. She could not, however, as yet be legally admitted to the degree and so she appealed to Senate.

The ground had already been prepared for this development, by Professor Aldis of the College of Science at Newcastle. In 1881 he applied to Senate for his daughter to be admitted to the B.A. degree. He also organised a petitioning movement supporting the idea that,

...in the interests of Higher Education in the North of England it is desirable that the advantages of the University of Durham should be made accessible to women qualified by previous education... on the same terms and with the same privileges as regard scholarships and the degree of B.A. as are at present enjoyed by unattached students of the University.²

Senate in turn proposed three resolutions to be debated in Convocation, (a) regarding the admission of women to the Public Examinations and the first degree in Arts, (b) the question of residence for women in a college or hostel licensed by Warden and Senate, and (c) the date for such changes to be implemented, suggested as October that year. The debate, summarised in the *Durham University Journal*³ demonstrated all the social concerns of the period. In support, the Warden, Dean Lake, the Senior and Junior Proctors and a number of Professors drew attention to the example of London and the Oxbridge colleges; the advantages of a degree for those intending to teach and the necessity of "a means of self support" for some women; and the idea that Church of England institutions should take the lead in provision for women before they fell "prey to the agnostic and infidel tendencies of the day". The opposition resorted to the old fear that "identity of studies must lead to identification of the sexes", that mixed education was immodest, and suggested that if women

² - From one of the surviving petitions, University Library, Deposited University Records (Misc.94/95:16) displayed at the exhibition celebrating the centenary of degrees for women, "A Question of Degree", Durham University Library, 1995.

³ - *Durham University Journal*. 1881. IV (20) May 31st p. 97.

wanted higher education then they should found their own separate institutions. Despite these concerns the voting on the first resolution of admission was carried by fourteen votes to four. The others were carried without voting.

However, despite the adoption of this decision into the University Regulations, it was not made effective in Michaelmas Term of 1881. This may have been due to an amount of ongoing opposition. The *Durham University Journal* draws attention to what it describes as “a large number of undergraduates” being opposed to the admission of women, and publishes one of what appears to have been many letters on the subject expressing feelings of “deep misgiving and regret”.⁴ However, in the same issue it expresses the more positive opinion that “men will themselves reap a reflex benefit from the change”, whilst others took a more jovial approach: one suggesting that should women be allowed to attend as “unattached” students they might not remain so for long, whilst another inquired whether the Registrar would gain an additional responsibility of marrying the students.⁵ The delay in giving effect to the University Statute was mainly the result of disagreement over the responsibility for provision of a residence, which, as at Oxbridge, formed an essential part of degree regulations. Although the University had not refused to arrange and fund a women’s residence, essential to fulfil the requirements of a Durham degree, it was not in the financial position to do so. Senate and Convocation believed that the petitioners should finance such a move whilst the petitioners felt it was the University’s responsibility to provide for its women as it did for its men. When in 1886 a solution seemed to be possible in Canon Brereton’s scheme for arranging Hatfield Lodge as a women’s college, another problem caused these plans to be defeated in Senate by one vote.

The new problem was that considerable doubts had emerged whether the University authorities had the power to change the Statutes to admit women. The Senate Minute Books for 16th November 1886⁶ show that in the opinion of Arthur Charles Q.C. they did not, and would have to apply for a Supplementary Royal Charter in order to do so, as in the case of London. They were only able to

⁴ - *Durham University Journal*. 1881. IV (20) May 31st. p. 103.

⁵ - *Durham University Journal*. 1881. IV Feb. 19th p. 81.

⁶ - “*A Question of Degree*” Exhibition Booklet - Durham University Library, 1995.

admit women as university students of music, as the B.Mus. had no residential stipulations, although they still could only grant a certificate instead of the degree. There the situation remained until Ella Mary Bryant's application for her BSc in 1892. Even then it was the Board of Faculties, rather than Senate, which resolved to achieve a supplementary charter for the admission of women. In 1895 the Supplementary Charter was finally obtained, opening all of the university's degrees except divinity to women. Women were still not admitted to Convocation until 1913.

This did not, however, solve the problem of the provision of a college for women. As a result the first graduates of the university were those women like Miss Bryant who had studied for the B.Sc. at Newcastle, or Marian Ursula Arkwright in the B.Mus., who had spent no time actually residing in the collegiate based Durham, or who were daughters of residents in the city and could attend as Home students. The other source of female undergraduates was St. Hild's which had been founded as a Diocesan Training College for teachers in 1858. The Board of Education agreed in 1896 that two years study at the training college could be equivalent to one year of the new "Greekless" B.Litt. degree of the University and satisfied the residence regulations.⁷ St. Hild's therefore made provision for its more able students to stay on the necessary year to complete the university course and in October 1896 Martha Thomas, a member of St. Hild's staff, entered for the B.A. and three St. Hild's students, Mary Gibson, Dora Heslop and Winifred Hindmarch entered for the B.Litt. All were successful, the three girls graduating in 1898 and Miss Thomas in 1899. These measures were, however, only a way of the University making provision for women without providing a recognised residence for them.

Discussions for the hostel continued. Senate had agreed to provide a grant of £2000 and lend a further £3000 at a rate of 3% for the building of a Hostel, to be situated on South Road, for twenty five students providing that the other parties interested in the higher education of women at Durham raised the same amount.⁸ By 1898 an appeal had raised a sum of over £6000 promised to

⁷ - Lawrence, A. 1958. *St. Hild's College 1858-1958*. Darlington: William Dresser & Sons Ltd. p. 99.

⁸ - Hird, M. 1982. p. 15.

the Hostel. However the plans never came to fruition. Hird has suggested this was due to continued delaying tactics of opposition and the lack of University money. By December 1898 the Registrar was left looking for an existing house for the accommodation of women students, and in February 1899 the University rented 33 Claypath for the purpose and appointed Miss Laura M. Roberts as Principal. In the Michaelmas Term 1899 the hostel opened with six students. In 1901 the hostel moved to new accommodation in Abbey House, Palace Green, and in 1920 it moved into one of the prebendal houses in the Cathedral precinct. That same year the Hostel gained the title of College, dedicated to St. Mary: an achievement which had taken twenty one years.

Oxford and St. Hilda's

In many ways the whole position of women at Oxford was... a stage secret. Students attended lectures, were taught by University tutors, and took the degree examinations, achieving a high level of Honours, but the University was officially blind to their existence, laying down no regulations as to their residence, discipline, or education.⁹

Women were certainly in an anomalous position at Oxford by the 1890s.

They did have their own colleges: the Church of England based Lady Margaret Hall and the non-denominational Somerville, both of which opened in 1879, and St. Hugh's which opened in 1886 for women of limited means but which due to lack of funds soon adopted the same style and fees as the other two. Yet, initially, these did not function in the same way as the men's colleges as they could not provide lectures or tutorials on the same scale and were chiefly residential hostels. They did try to organise their own academic staff but could not overcome limitations such as a lack of funds, and initially the lack of suitably qualified and experienced women academics. The University made no decrees concerning the women's place of study, fees, etc. and left all responsibility for providing instruction, residence and discipline to the Association for Promoting the Higher Education of Women. Women, therefore, either attended separate A.E.W. lectures or had to gain permission to attend those of the men's colleges, and their colleges merely supplemented their studies by providing additional coaching if at all possible. As a result much of the student's work was done with

⁹ - Extract from the entry for St. Anne's College in *The Victoria County History of Oxfordshire* vol. iii, quoted in Brittain, V. 1960. *The Women at Oxford: A Fragment of History*. London: George G. Harrup & Co. Ltd. p. 68

limited support and was reliant upon the goodwill and encouragement of male dons in other colleges.

Similarly, although by 1894 all the degree examinations were open to women, including Medicine and “Greats, and the mainly female schools of English Language and Literature and Modern Languages had been recognised in 1895 and 1904 respectively, the women’s exam papers were overseen by the Delegacy of Local Examinations rather than the University, and the title of the degree was denied to them. This position was reinforced by the result of the March 1896 debate on the question of the degree title for women which was defeated by 215 - 140 votes. Women were still regarded more as “guests” rather than students, and this attitude surrounded the foundation of Oxford’s fourth women’s college.

St. Hilda’s College has been described by Rayner as an “interloper” in the movement for women’s higher education.¹⁰ This recognises that its creation was by an “outsider” as far as Oxford University was concerned, and that it was linked to a particular girls’ school. In the senior division of Dorothea Beale’s Cheltenham Ladies’ College young women over the age of sixteen were prepared for higher University examinations, studied for professional work and for the degrees of London University. This work was already of a similar standard to the women’s colleges at Oxford, Cambridge and London. In the associated St Hilda’s Secondary Training Department for teachers, the students were encouraged to remain an extra year for further study before embarking on a career. In 1889 Beale informed the A.E.W. of her intention to set up a house in Oxford at which girls from the Ladies’ College or Training Department who had passed Higher Locals could work for further exams. This formed part of Miss Beale’s aim for girls “who have shown themselves worthy of greater privileges [to] have the advantages of receiving part of their training at a sister institution in a University town”.¹¹ She also wanted to provide for those who had passed a London B.Sc. or B.A. to enjoy another year of study using Oxford’s facilities,

¹⁰ - Rayner, M. E. 1993. p. ix.

¹¹ - *ibid.* p. 2.

and for those who wanted to study, but who either had no examinations or did not want to take any, to attend the A.E.W.'s university lectures.

Opposition was encountered from the existing women's colleges who voiced concern that the latter group of girls would lower the overall standard of work and discipline and overcrowd lectures. They also feared any threat to their own survival from unexpected, and possibly cheaper, competition. They wanted the scheme to be implemented only for those who would be studying for university exams and girls from the Cheltenham Ladies' College. The A.E.W. too feared the arrival in Oxford of women less committed to their work but could hardly restrict attendance at its lectures as the aim was to encourage more women students. Therefore, although a reply of disapproval was returned to the original scheme, when, in 1892, Miss Beale wrote again informing it that she had purchased Cowley House in Oxford, for £5000, for the residence of ladies wanting to attend Association and College lectures, its members expressed only readiness "to do everything in their power to assist".¹² The new house was to be called St. Hilda's and this set it apart from the other women's colleges as it maintained an association with a particular institution of education other than Oxford: the Cheltenham Ladies' College and its teacher training division St. Hilda's College.

St. Hilda's met with initial uncertainty. It opened in November 1893 with four students, its Principal Mrs Esther Elizabeth Burrows. At the opening ceremony the Very Reverend Dean of Winchester, Dean Kitchen, praised the achievement of women in Oxford and recognised what Miss Beale was trying to achieve.

The aim of our students will not be honours, but knowledge. Any one who knows what education is knows the great value of learning loved and followed for its own sake.¹³ He commended the value of the college for those women who wanted to study but did not want to take a full degree course, such as teachers. The A.E.W., however, reserved its praise, viewing this development as potentially damaging to its attempts to gain full recognition from the University. It did not give to St. Hilda's the title of Hall or College but rather regarded it as a hostel, listing its

¹² - Rayner, M. E. 1993. p. 5.

¹³ - *ibid.* p. 17.

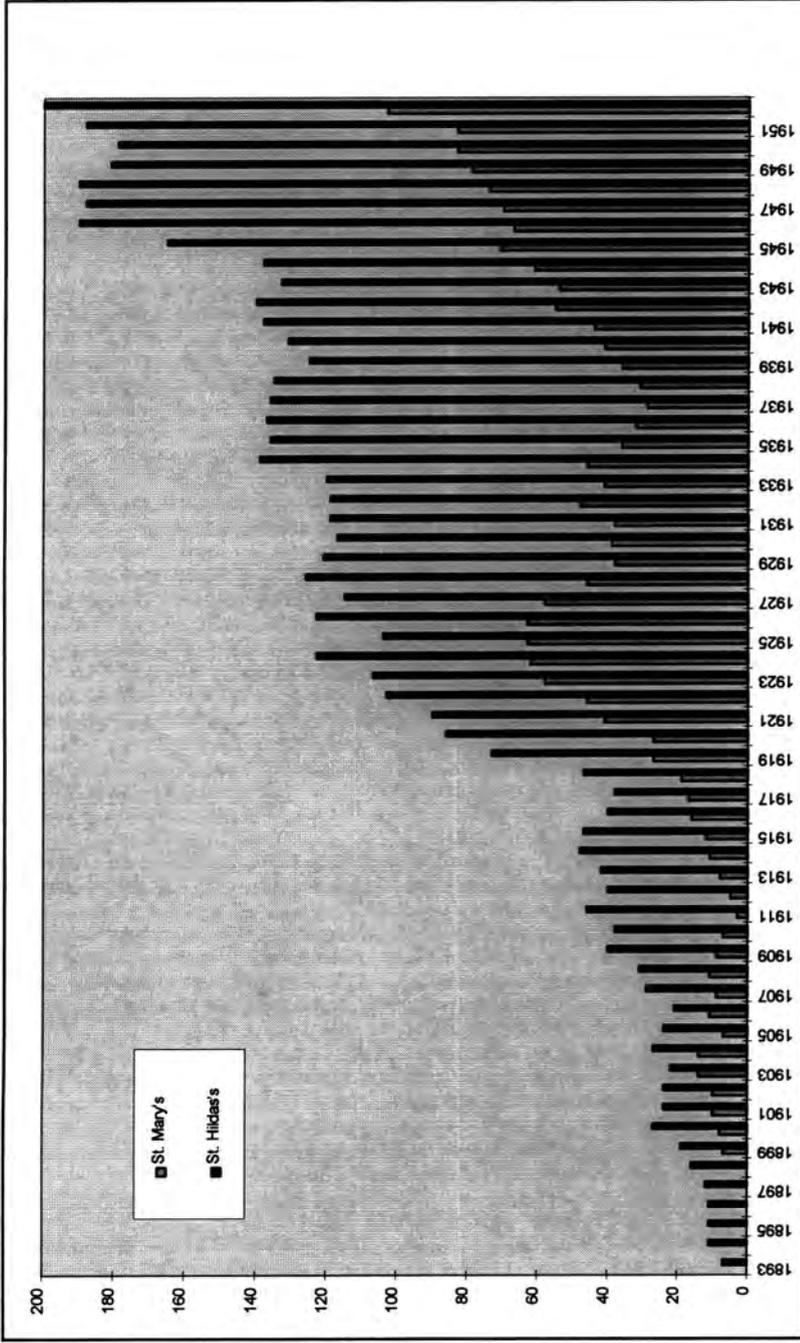
members as Home students. However, it did offer advice on how St Hilda's might meet the necessary regulations to become a Hall, the main requirements being that the Hall become a non profit making organisation incorporated under the Companies Act, create a Council, and provide for at least twenty students with a minimum of twelve in residence undertaking a regular course of study resulting in an examination. After satisfactory changes had been made to bring St. Hilda's into line with these regulations, and also the 1896 Congregation vote against the recognition of women's degrees in Congregation, the A.E.W. agreed in November 1896 to grant to St Hilda's the title of Hall for a five year period, which was renewed after that time without limit. The fourth women's residence at Oxford, St Hilda's Hall, had been established, and it now worked in the same way as the others in order to gain full recognition from the University for its students. Women were finally accepted to matriculation and membership in 1920, and in 1926 St Hilda's became a College.

Patterns of Growth

St. Mary's and St. Hilda's both enjoyed long term growth [Fig. 2.], which would appear to have been subject to the same influences. However, the actual numbers of students in residence at each of the colleges, and the annual intake [Fig. 3]¹⁴, was very different, considerably higher at St. Hilda's, and this can be attributed to influences that were particular to each institution. After their establishment, both were dependent initially upon their founders to ensure their survival. Oxford University did not officially recognise its women's colleges, or provide endowments or scholarships for their students, but this can be regarded in one sense as fortunate: it did not control the rate of expansion of the women's residences. At St. Hilda's this meant that the organisation and finance of development was left initially to the determination of Dorothea Beale, and then to its Principals and Councils. Raising funds proved difficult and involved the organisation of loans, using the hall itself as security; the sale of debenture stock;

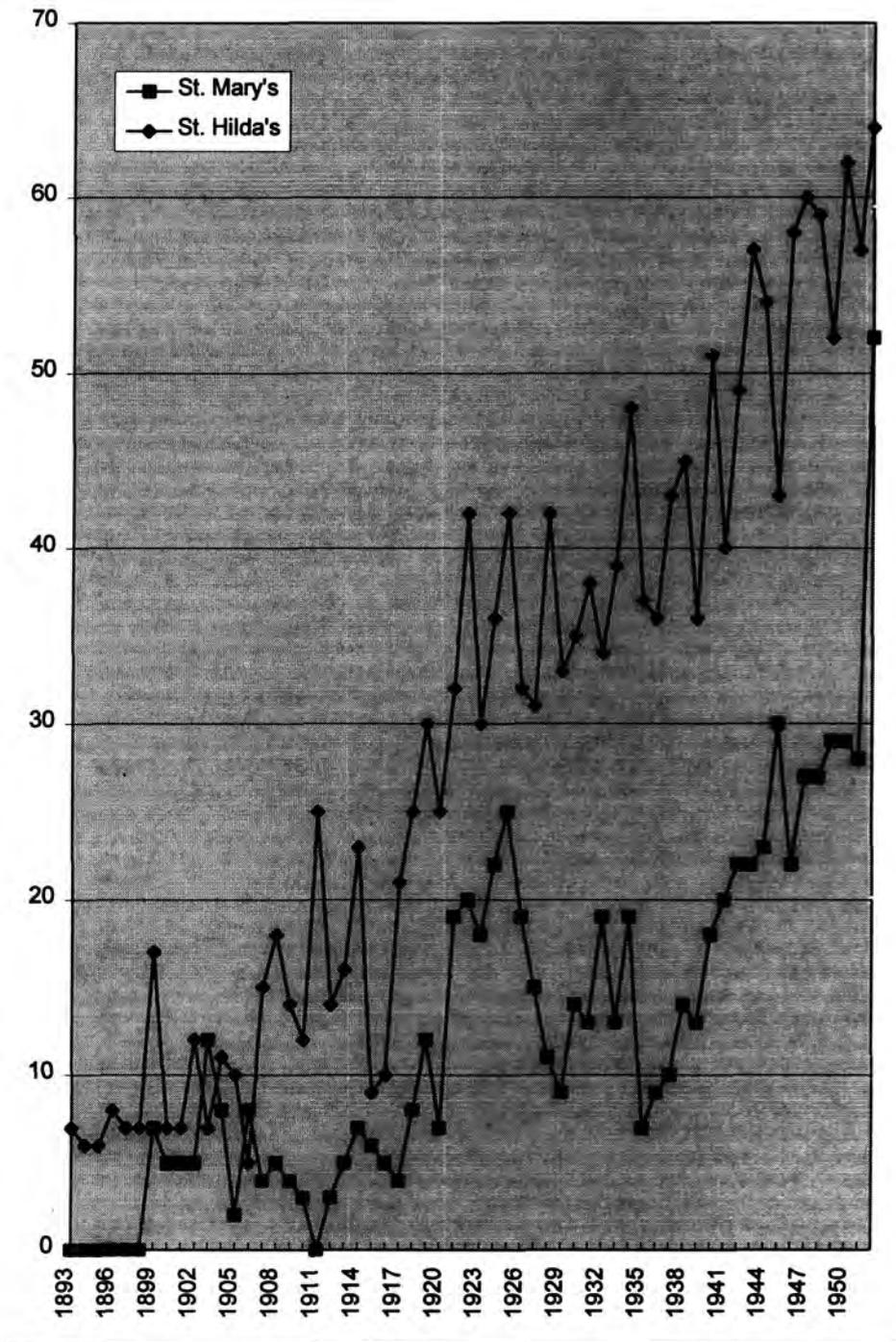
¹⁴ - It must be noted that the fluctuations of the intakes seem much more dramatic than they were in reality. Large intakes one year often made up for a low intake the preceding year, and simply show the attempts made by the Colleges to fill all their beds each year. The table is important, however, as the very large peaks show clearly when new accommodation became available.

Fig. 2 - Total numbers in residence at St. Mary's and St. Hilda's at Michaelmas Terms, 1893-1952.¹⁵



¹⁵ - Numbers calculated from the Matriculation Books' record of date of matriculation and date of examination pass.

Fig. 3 - Annual intake at St. Mary's and St. Hilda's, 1893-1952.¹⁶



¹⁶ - Numbers calculated from Matriculation Books.

and various appeal funds, the outcome of which could be uncertain. Yet, once the funds had been raised, they could purchase whatever premises were practical and appropriate (enabling them to remain in one area and develop a College atmosphere rather than spreading through lodgings) as well as offer scholarships to increase numbers. The share capital raised in the transference of St Hilda's to a Hall provided new accommodation for twelve, [explaining the early peak in Fig. 1.], and so as early as 1900-01 there were as many as twenty five students in residence. The personal connections of Dorothea Beale were also advantageous to St. Hilda's. Her links with Cheltenham meant that it was possible to organise both St Hilda's, Cheltenham and St. Hilda's Oxford into a Joint Incorporated Company raising the sum of £2,500 for accommodation and scholarships. This also provided a pool of girls, qualified for higher education, who were naturally encouraged to attend St Hilda's Hall. Many of Miss Beale's friends also responded to her work, for instance the Hays established a scholarship, and at her death she bequeathed £1000 and many furnishings to her hall. The early successful expansion of St. Hilda's was, therefore, very much due to the personal initiative of its founder and the freedom of action afforded to the institution by the University's lack of recognition. Although many economies had to be made and fewer scholarships were offered than would have been liked, the achievement and growth without University assistance was considerable.

In contrast, the Durham Women's Hostel had its location and capacity dictated to it from the start because the University had rented the accommodation. Trying to make changes met with indifference despite the ongoing support of Dean Kitchen. The Claypath building, for instance, was not the choice which the women themselves would have made. Situated in what has been described as the "slum" area of Durham¹⁷, the house was inadequate, insufficiently furnished, with extremely poor facilities causing many of the girls to suffer from throat ailments and colds. When the Hostel committee asked to be moved to Ravensworth Terrace, Senate responded "that no action should be taken in the matter"¹⁸, and when those who had contributed or promised money

¹⁷ - Bessie Callender, c. 1970. *Education in the Melting Pot*. Newcastle: F. Crowe & Sons Ltd. p. 12.

¹⁸ - Hird. M. 1982. p. 17.

to the Hostel Loan Fund asked, in June 1900, what plans were being made, Senate replied that they had not as yet raised adequate funds and anyone could have their contribution returned if requested. It took the principal's resignation to prompt the University to make better provision, arranging for the Hostel to move to the more appropriately located Abbey House. Yet this still allowed limited scope for expansion and, although all the records for Council from 1910-1920 appear to have been destroyed during World War II¹⁹, there seems to have been no further University initiatives to encourage it. By 1910 the Hostel had only eight residents. St. Hilda's had nearly five times that number. When numbers did gradually increase, more accommodation was rented along the Bailey, resulting in the students being more spread out rather than forming part of a purpose built Hostel for women. Yet provision still did not meet demand. By 1948 there were 400 applications for only 27 places.²⁰ The slow pattern of growth at St. Mary's can, therefore, be attributed to the reluctance of the University to take on its responsibilities.

The long-term picture in the first half of the twentieth century, however, was one of expansion, and there were several wider influences affecting women's secondary and higher education as a whole which affected St. Mary's and St. Hilda's in the same way. One was the decline in family size. In the middle classes, such a reduction, combined with a wider choice of schools, meant that it was possible to find the resources to fund the education of a daughter as well as a son, and it was an increasingly acceptable, and even expected, expense. So, many more girls were gaining a secondary education that could qualify them for further study. The decline in family size was also evident in the working classes and demographics suggest that financially more of these families could afford to follow their example and send a daughter to secondary school. Although teacher training colleges were probably the more financially realistic route into higher education for this class, there were those who could, with the assistance of scholarships, attend the universities. An expansion in its forms of provision was therefore necessary in order to meet rising demand.

¹⁹ - *ibid.* p. 39.

²⁰ - *ibid.* p. 56.

National events could also be expected to affect both St. Mary's and St. Hilda's in the same way. World War I served as a catalyst for the growth of women's higher education. Within the Universities women were left behind as the men left for service, not only keeping the university activities going but forming a vital source of revenue. Oxford's numbers fell from about 3000 at the outbreak of war to only 350 by 1917,²¹ and college premises were taken over by soldiers and hospitals. The need for medics brought about the opening of many Universities' medical degrees. In wider society, women took jobs in manufacturing industries, at least for the duration of the war: the number in employment rising from 3,277,000 in July 1914 to 4,936,000 by November 1918.²² Such activity reinforced their claims to greater equality with men, and at the end of the war there was a surge of women demanding higher education. They had been granted the vote in the Representation of the People Act in 1918, and the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act of 1919. In recognition of their achievements, Oxford granted women admission to its degrees and the Durham Hostel became a College in 1920.

The subsequent growth in numbers at St. Mary's during the inter-war years did not, however, follow a smooth or predictable pattern [Fig. 2]. It might be expected that during the periods of national financial depression, in 1921-23 and the great slump of 1929-32, the numbers at the college would fall. Yet, student numbers between 1921-23 actually increased, and although a low was recorded at St. Mary's in 1929, this was the result of a decline beginning in 1926, and numbers did not fall again until 1935. These figures, therefore, suggest that the effects of such national events on the college were somehow limited or delayed, and this was probably as a result of the restrictions of size and the amount of accommodation available. As St. Hilda's essentially continued to govern its own affairs it was able to rent more accommodation as was required in order to meet an increase in demand by women for higher education. In contrast, St. Mary's had to wait until University authorities were prepared to secure or could afford additional houses along the Bailey for its women students.

²¹ - Brittain, V. 1960. p. 136.

²² - Beddoe, D, 1989. *Back to Home and Duty*. London: Pandora Press. p. 48.

Therefore, whilst St. Hilda's could expand or contract to meet demand, St. Mary's was forced to continue rejecting applications due to lack of space and this reduced the immediately noticeable effects of depression.

The fall in numbers at St. Mary's beginning in 1935, and reaching its lowest figure for 17 years in 1937, was explained by the Principal, Miss Donaldson, in the College Report of 1935-6²³ as a continued effect of the depression. She drew some consolation from the fact that "other universities have closed down hostels and we hear on all sides of lower numbers". Certainly, Fig. 4. shows that the number of women at St. Mary's College up to 1935 followed the same pattern as the total number of women in the Durham division, and also the total number in the Durham and Newcastle divisions of the university combined. The fall in numbers at St. Mary's was therefore not unique to the College. Miss Donaldson, however, does draw attention to another factor which contributed to a fall in numbers: the Board of Education's limit upon places in the Training Department. Up to 1935 it had not been possible for all the students who had applied for fourth year vacancies to be accepted, so forcing them to leave at the end of their third year and apply elsewhere. It should also be noted that in 1935 there was a Royal Commission Report upon Durham University which found that its main defects were,

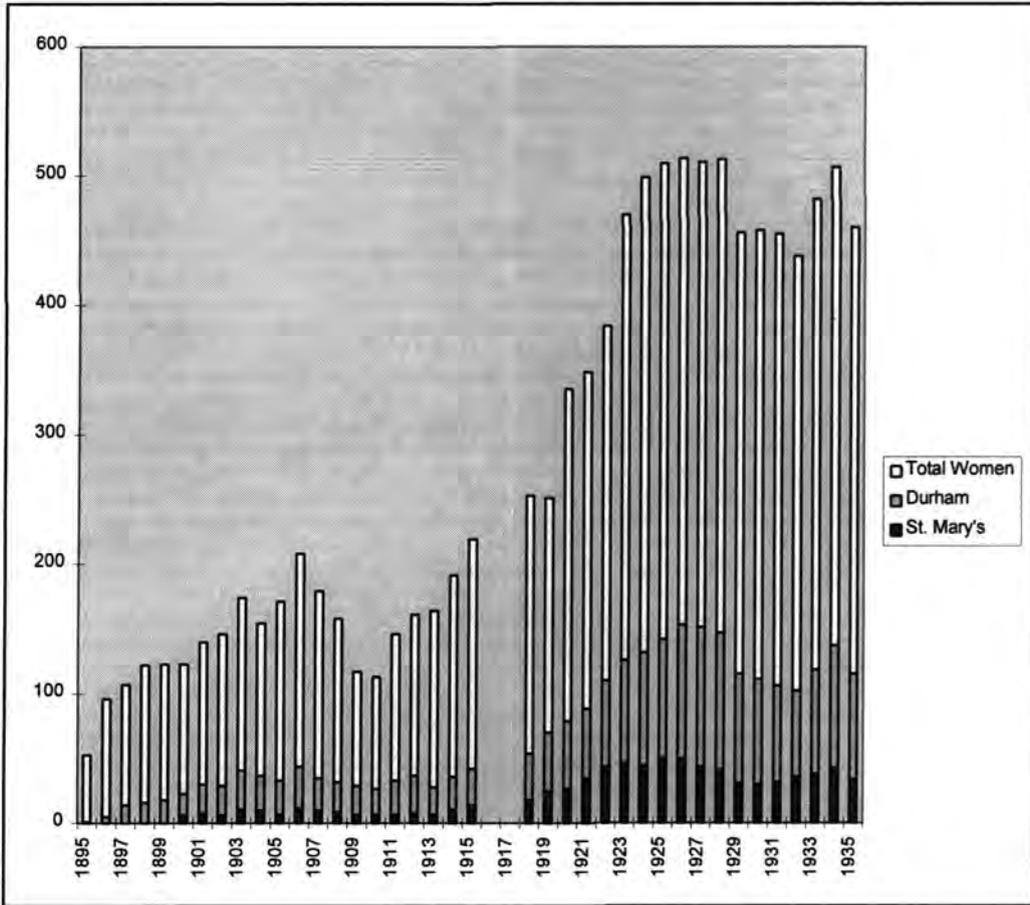
...the comparative insignificance of the University, as distinguished from the units of which it is composed, and the limitations on its resources and powers of initiative....; and the University as such has not received that assistance, financial and otherwise, from public bodies and private benefactors which has played so prominent a part in the development of most modern universities.²⁴

It is possible that such a report, and the incorporation of its recommendations within the University's financial and structural organisation, affected the recruitment patterns of the individual colleges as they waited to see what funds became available. The fall in numbers at St. Mary's College between 1935 and 1937 was, therefore, reflected in the total number of women at the university. This did not, however, represent a problem of "empty beds" as it simply allowed the University to use the houses for male students of the Bailey colleges.

²³ - *St. Mary's College Report 1935-6*, p. 3., St. Mary's College Archives.

²⁴ - *Royal Commission on the University of Durham, Report*. 1935. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office. p. 14.

Fig. 4 - The total number of women students in Durham University against the number within the Durham division and the number at St. Mary's College, 1895-1935.²⁵



By the 1940s numbers had recovered and both colleges suffered from the need of increased accommodation but limited resources. The Second World War added to this problem, bringing economies and restrictions, and although more women sought higher education, tightened finances meant accommodating them was even more difficult. It was in this period that a University limitation affected St. Hilda's for the first time. In 1927, after the women's residences had been granted college status, the question had arisen "whether Oxford should be a man's University, with a certain amount of women admitted, or... a mixed University",²⁶ after a petition had been put before Hebdomadal Council by Congregation that the numbers of women should be restricted by Statute. This clear example of the University's ongoing rejection of real equality for its

²⁵ - Numbers calculated from the student lists in the *Durham University Calendar*, from 1895 to 1936. These figures are not comprehensive.

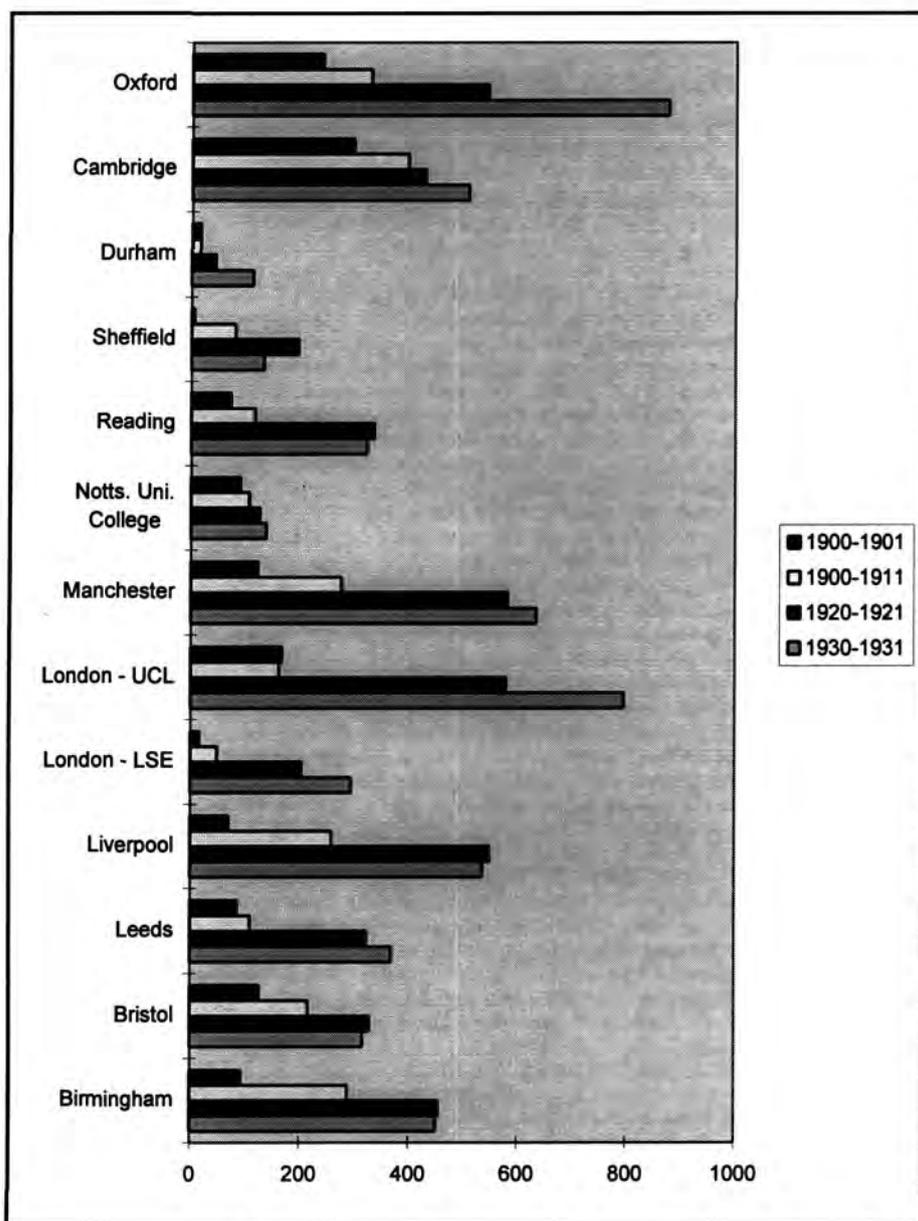
²⁶ - The "Oxford Magazine" quoted in Griffen, P. (ed.) 1987. p. 45. n. 33.

women was passed by 229 to 164 votes. St. Hugh's and Lady Margaret Hall were limited to 160, and Somerville and St. Hilda's to 150, and although the limits were raised on several occasions they were not abolished until 1957.

St. Hilda's remained unaffected by the limit until the World War II increase in numbers to 157 in the Trinity Term of 1943. The even stricter national wartime regulations disallowing the admission into university of women over 18 who did not intend to teach, take up approved social work or enter the Civil Service did not reduce the demand at either university, as many women had intended to teach anyway. By the end of the war, with returning service women seeking to re-enter education as well, the need for further building was crucial to expansion, but at Oxford plans to do so were limited by economic problems and the restrictive quota. St. Hilda's had to rely on renting accommodation until its appeals raised sufficient capital, and the quota was abolished in 1957. At Durham the University finally accepted responsibility for its women students and completed the building of a College for women. The building of new premises began in 1947 on Charley-field Hill. Plans had been made before the war, but restricted finances caused its postponement. In 1952 St. Mary's College moved to its new premises and the number of women students finally reached above one hundred.

Did the problem of the lack of accommodation mean that the collegiate universities were "missing out" on the growing demand by women for a university education when compared with the newer civic universities? Fig. 5 shows that at Durham, Oxford and Cambridge the provision for women was constantly expanding but on a very different scale at each, and nationally the numbers at Durham were the smallest and Oxford the greatest. This continuous pattern of expansion suggests, however, that the collegiate universities did have a different pattern of recruitment from the civic universities. Birmingham, Bristol, Liverpool, Reading and Sheffield all experienced a decline in numbers for 1930-1 which was no doubt a result of the depression, and for the same reason the increase at Leeds and Manchester was much smaller, only 14% and

Fig. 5 - Total numbers of women students for given years at English Universities.²⁷



9% respectively between 1920-1930 compared with the 193% and 110% increase between 1910-1920. The collegiate universities, however, appear to be unaffected and from this evidence it would be possible to suggest that they were therefore not missing out but catering for a different market.

²⁷ - Figures taken from Dyhouse, C. 1995. *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities 1870-1939*. London: U.C.L. Press. p. 248-249. Dyhouse notes that her figures are not comprehensive, and there are differences between her figures for Durham University and those used within this study taken from the *Durham University Calendar*.

However, when the numbers of male students at the universities are considered the collegiate universities do not compare favourably. The national figure for the number of women at British universities in 1930 was 27% of the student population, an increase from 16% in 1900²⁸. Yet the proportion of women to men students at Oxford and Cambridge was well below this figure: 18% at Oxford and as little as 9% at Cambridge. In contrast, the proportion of women students at Manchester was 27%, London U.C.L. 37%, London L.S.E. 32% and Bristol 31%.²⁹ Durham's figure of 23% was only 4% below the national average and significantly better than the other collegiate universities. This was no doubt due to the Newcastle division of the University, the College of Medicine and the College of Science, later Armstrong College. These Colleges accepted women students into all of their classes earlier and catered for a larger number, which can be seen in Fig. 4.

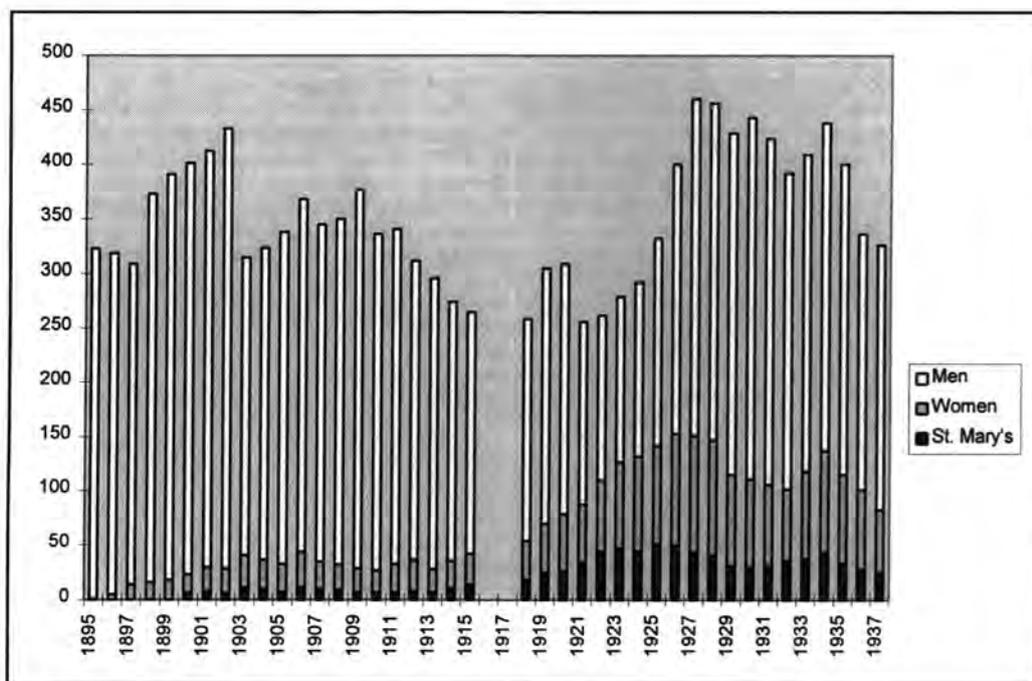
However the women's residences in the Durham division gradually helped redress the balance between male and female student numbers at the University [Fig. 6]. The figures for the period to 1937 have been compiled from names in the *Durham University Calendar*. It should be noted that the number of male students each year before World War I is not precise as some names remained on the College's student lists for many years without their actually being in residence. These numbers should, therefore, be smaller. Figures for 1916 and 1917 have been omitted as the Calendars only list those who matriculated rather than the full number of students, due to the cost of publication in wartime and also because students were leaving for war service. Fig. 6 does show, however, that whilst St. Mary's contributed to the increase in women students at Durham, a greater increase was as a result of the growing numbers in the Training Colleges taking a degree course and the growing number of Home students. This, presumably, was due to the fact that St. Mary's growth was dependent on and constrained by the amount of University expenditure on the College, whilst the increasing number of Home and Training

²⁸ - Dyhouse, C. 1995. p. 17.

²⁹ - *ibid.* p 248-249. Percentages calculated from figures in the table.

College students created little extra expense for the University. This, therefore, was a cheaper way to raise the number of women students involving less capital funds.

Fig. 6 - Number of students in residence at Durham, 1895-1937.

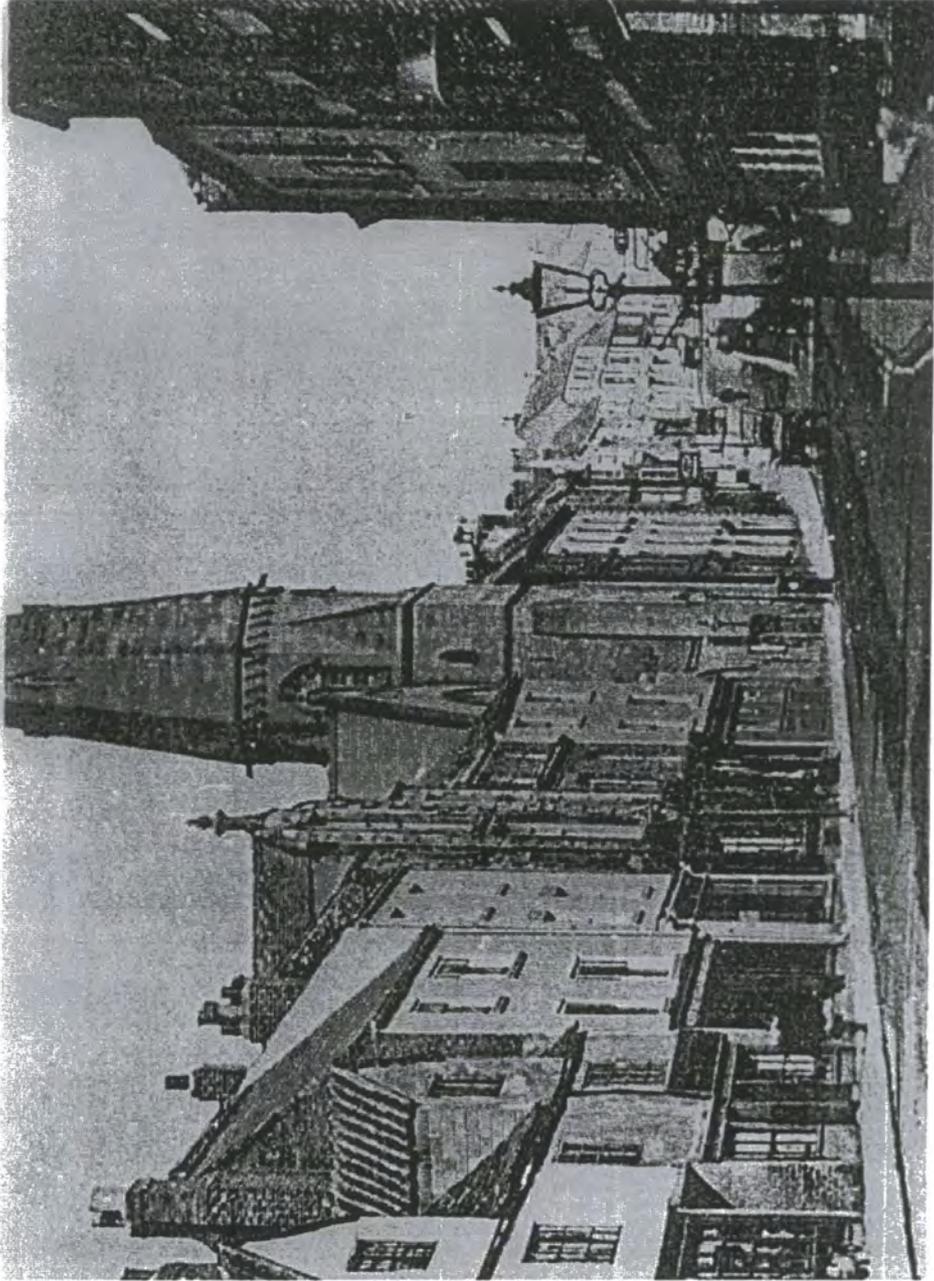


From the period 1938 onwards it is extremely difficult to determine student numbers accurately. The Calendars cease to list students at the outbreak of war, and there are few other records containing any similar kind of information. It is impossible to estimate numbers for these years with students taking shortened courses and others returning after the war to complete ones already started. Therefore, it can only be assumed that male numbers continued to decline and women's numbers to increase during the war, with a boom in both immediately after the war as servicemen and women returned. Figures for 1954-5 used in the "Question of Degree" Exhibition suggest that the proportion of women students within Durham was 34%.³⁰ However this is not a precise figure and was only produced as a mere estimate. The lack of official records is a serious limiting factor to accurate study of student numbers and patterns of

³⁰ - *A Question of Degree*, Exhibition booklet - Durham University Library 1995.

growth within the University and makes the gathering of data a painstaking and time consuming process.

Therefore although the overall pattern of women's recruitment at the collegiate universities was one of growth, it was influenced by different reasons and was on a different scale to the non collegiate universities. As a result they may have missed out in the market for women's higher education, and their below national ratio of women to men students suggests that their long term expansion was not as impressive as the numbers alone suggest. It is therefore necessary to examine the type of student who attended the women's colleges in order to establish the kind of demand they were attempting to meet.



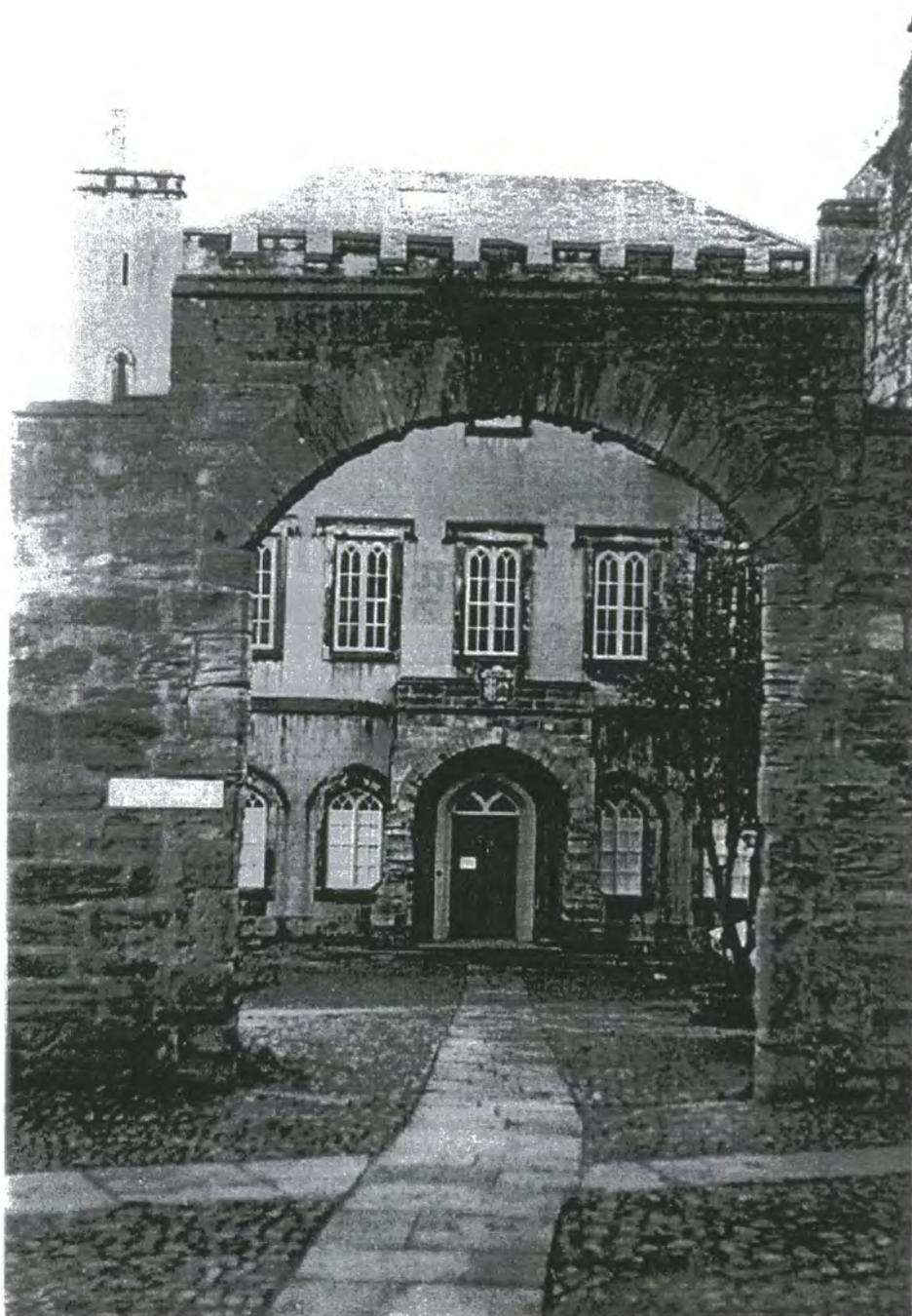
Pic. 1. - Claypath, Durham



Pic. 2. - The Women's Hostel, Claypath, 1899:
The building with the flagpole stands on the
site of the Women's Hostel, 1899.



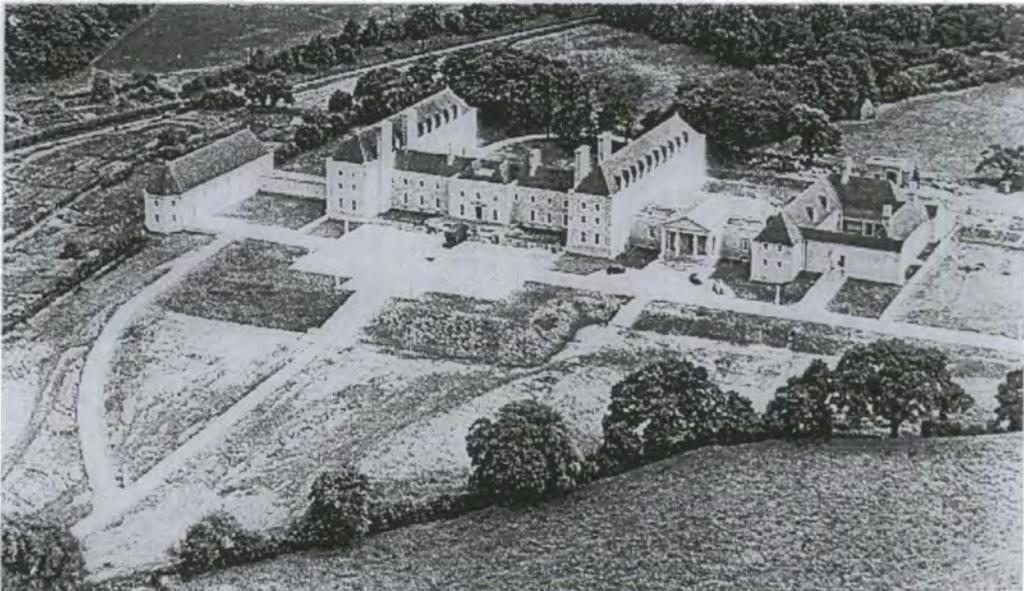
Pic. 3. - The Women's Hostel, Abbey House, 1901.



Pic. 4. - St. Mary's College, 1920:
The largest of the prebendal houses of the Dean and Chapter
is now the Durham Chorister School.



Pic. 5. - Queen Elizabeth II laying the foundation stone of the new St. Mary's College building, 1947.



Pic. 6. - St. Mary's College, 1952.

Chapter 4 - The Students: Social and Geographical Background

It has been suggested by Howarth and Curthoys¹ that the higher education of women was open to the market forces of supply, demand and competition. The women's colleges did not have the financial support of ancient endowments like the men's colleges, and finding new comparable benefactors was problematic. State support was not forthcoming either, and the women's colleges at Oxford suffered particularly from the regulations concerning the conditions for the annual government grants, designed to prevent well endowed universities benefiting from state aid. Therefore, it could be claimed that the expansion, and indeed existence, of both St. Mary's and St. Hilda's was dependent upon meeting the market demand from women and their parents for a university education, and in doing so they were competing with state subsidised universities and colleges with co-educational claims and lower fees.

This idea of the market suggests that it was the "new woman" who embarked upon a course of higher education and this has a basis in the demographic changes of the late nineteenth century, such as male emigration, later marriages and an increasing male-female life expectancy differential, which resulted in "surplus" women who had to support themselves. This period also saw the expansion of the professional, clerical and business middle classes,² and this meant that there was an increase in the number of families who could afford some form of higher education for their daughters, particularly when combined with the social trend of a reduction in family size. The nature of the income of the expanded middle classes, either earned or rentier, was dependent upon the father and this could place daughters in a precarious financial situation upon the father's death, and even during his lifetime. For instance, the agricultural depression towards the end of the nineteenth century reduced many clergy incomes to the extent that the Anglican "Guardian" paper recommended clergymen fund a daughter's higher education in order to secure her future.

¹ - Howarth, J. & Curthoys, M. 1987. p. 209-10.

² - *ibid.* p. 213.

...no other investment would produce so high a return in terms of increased earning power after their father's death.³

This sentiment could not have been lost upon other middle class families, and it combined with a gradual change in the traditional general perception that it was a wasted exercise to educate a daughter. Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century occupational opportunities were increasing in number and expanding in form. Women could take up teaching, clerical, social and church work, enter the medical profession and government service, as school and factory inspectors, and in 1919 the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act meant all other professions became open to them. By the mid twentieth century higher education for women had become regarded as an asset rather than a liability, able to provide qualifications and experience in order for women to support themselves. This has produced the idea that there was a definite market for it from career-minded girls who wanted or needed to earn their own living.

Howarth and Curthoys have suggested, however, that the market was in fact a dual one. As well as the career girl, they have drawn attention to the fact that the experience of university and college life developed a certain "fashionable cachet".⁴ A number of the traditional stereotype "ladies of leisure", who were likely to marry or who were secured by independent income, might embark upon a university course, as they had done the extension lectures, although in order to retain their social standing they would not necessarily take examinations at the end of their studies. The reasons for their enrolment could be varied, such as recognising the opportunity for self-cultivation and a period of freedom away from the constraints of the home, gaining experience for later voluntary work, or even entering what could be viewed as an alternative marriage market where they would meet single young men of a similar social standing. The individual motivation is hard to establish, but whatever their reasons these women could be found at the universities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and this supports the idea that there was, in general, a dual market for women's higher education.

³ - Howarth, J. & Curthoys, M. 1987. p. 214.

⁴ - *ibid.* p. 219.

Was this dual market the reality at St. Mary's and St. Hilda's? To what extent did these colleges cater for both the career girl and the leisured lady, and over what time period? Could the leisured lady still be found up to 1952 or was there a transition within higher education from being the preserve of the upper and upper-middle classes to representing a wider social base? Who were St. Mary's and St. Hilda's women students? To answer these questions requires examination of the matriculation books of both institutions. Although this statistical approach lacks insight into the personalities and cannot give any definite answers as to their individual motivations for study, and although some records are incomplete, the information it provides is the best, and probably only, way of drawing conclusions about the women students of the colleges. From both overall and generation by generation studies of age, and geographical, social and educational backgrounds it is possible to establish who the students of St. Mary's and St. Hilda's were, how they differed, amongst themselves and between colleges, and how the patterns changed over time.

Age

An overall view of the women students' ages on entry to St. Mary's and St. Hilda's colleges, from their establishment through to 1952, [Fig. 7] shows how old the majority of the students were when entering higher education. In St. Mary's the most common age was clearly 18 whilst at St. Hilda's it was 19. However, in itself, this does not tell us much about the kinds of women who attended. It is necessary to break down the information into year groups in order to investigate the overall trends further. The groups of years used have been

Fig. 7 - Age of students entering St. Mary's and St. Hilda's, 1893-1952.

	St. Mary's		St. Hilda's	
	No.	%	No.	%
No Rec.	28	3.66	19	1.06
17 (-)	100	13.09	42	2.35
18	360	47.12	617	34.45
19	150	19.63	647	36.13
20	52	6.81	209	11.67
21 (+)	74	9.69	257	14.35
Total	764	100	1791	100.00

selected in order to identify changes which may have occurred due to the First or Second World War and so each column does not necessarily represent an equal number of years. Therefore the percentages within each year group will be used in order to make comparisons. [A year by year breakdown of ages can be found in Appendix A].

Fig. 8 - Age of students entering St. Mary's within specific time periods.

	1899-191		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-1945		1946-1952	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
No Rec.	2	2.63	10	33.33	9	5.39	1	0.78	3	2.03	3	1.40
17 (-)	6	7.89	2	6.67	26	15.57	27	20.93	30	20.27	9	4.21
18	10	13.16	9	30.00	73	43.71	65	50.39	82	55.41	116	54.21
19	12	15.79	5	16.67	38	22.75	25	19.38	15	10.14	60	28.04
20	17	22.37	2	6.67	14	8.38	6	4.65	4	2.70	9	4.21
21	14	18.42	2	6.67	5	2.99	1	0.78	6	4.05	5	2.34
22	8	10.53	0	0	2	1.20	1	0.78	1	0.68	4	1.87
23	4	5.26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.47
24	2	2.63	0	0	0	0	1	0.78	1	0.68	2	0.93
25	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.78	1	0.68	3	1.40
26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.68	0	0
27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.47
28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.68	0	0
29	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.78	1	0.68	0	0
30 (+)	1	1.32	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.35	1	0.47
Total	76	100	30	100	167	100	129	100	148	100	214	100

Fig. 9 - Age of students entering St. Hilda's within specific time periods.

	1893-1898		1899-1913		1914-1918		1919-1928		1929-1938		1939-1945		1946-1952	
	No.	%												
No Rec	7	17.07	7	3.68	2	2.27	1	0.29	1	0.26	0	0	1	0.24
17 (-)	1	2.44	2	1.05	0	0	1	0.29	5	1.29	29	8.79	4	0.97
18	3	7.32	25	13.16	22	25.00	96	28.07	140	36.08	178	53.94	153	37.14
19	12	29.27	56	29.47	31	35.23	145	42.40	173	44.59	80	24.24	150	36.41
20	6	14.63	44	23.16	18	20.45	58	16.96	45	11.60	18	5.45	23	5.58
21	3	7.32	10	5.26	5	5.68	14	4.09	8	2.06	6	1.82	19	4.61
22	1	2.44	8	4.21	3	3.41	7	2.05	2	0.52	4	1.21	16	3.88
23	2	4.88	7	3.68	1	1.14	4	1.17	2	0.52	3	0.91	9	2.18
24	0	0	4	2.11	2	2.27	3	0.88	2	0.52	2	0.61	7	1.70
25	1	2.44	5	2.63	0	0	7	2.05	2	0.52	1	0.30	5	1.21
26	1	2.44	5	2.63	1	1.14	2	0.58	1	0.26	5	1.52	4	0.97
27	1	2.44	2	1.05	1	1.14	1	0.29	0	0	1	0.30	2	0.49
28	0	0	3	1.58	0	0	0	0	2	0.52	0	0	4	0.97
29	0	0	5	2.63	0	0	0	0	2	0.52	0	0	2	0.49
30 (+)	3	7.32	7	3.68	2	2.27	3	0.88	3	0.77	3	0.91	13	3.16
Total	41	100	190	100	88	100	342	100	388	100	330	100	412	100

At St. Mary's College the age range between 1899-1913 shows a widespread distribution of age groups but the majority being over the age of 20 on entering college. From 1914 onwards however the majority of girls can most definitely be found in the 18 years of age group, and the remainder largely under 20 years. This suggests that the changes in secondary education were gradually producing a growing number of girls ready to enter higher education earlier, and that many of the St. Mary's students did so immediately after completing their secondary education. This suggests that their parents could afford and were prepared to pay for their higher education straight away. This can be supported by the fact that there were few girls entering St. Mary's who were over the age of 20, constituting only 16.5% of all girls entering the college between 1899-1952. This would indeed suggest that St. Mary's did cater for the "new woman" who would have to support herself, rather than the woman who had time on her hands and could afford to undertake university studies as a form of intellectual cultivation.

St. Hilda's has a rather different age group representation. Most girls entering the college between 1893-1938 were aged 19. However it is not until 1914 that the majority of all entrants were aged under 20 years. In fact 26% of girls entering the college between the entire time period 1893-1952 were aged over twenty. This suggests that it was not essential for these girls to enter college immediately in order to study for a career, and implies that they had parents in the wealthier professions or with private means. They could take their time between secondary education and university. Alternatively these older students may have had their own independent means, maybe from the death of their fathers or after having already had a career themselves. The age-profiles suggest that St. Mary's and St. Hilda's catered for somewhat different types of students, and up to a point supports the idea that a dual market existed. However, further examination of information concerning fathers' occupations is necessary to confirm this impression. [see below].

What the age group information can show by itself is, for instance, the effect of World War II. During 1939-45 a larger number of younger students, aged 18 and under, were admitted to both of the colleges. Girls may have

attended higher education earlier in order that they might enrol for a degree before they became shortened war courses of two years. It is also possible that they entered earlier in order to study for a later career in teaching, social or government related work that would take advantage of the wartime widening of employment opportunities for women. However, it is most likely that the number of younger students was in order to avoid conscription, which from 1942 meant unmarried women between 19 and 30 would be called up for war work.⁵ By contrast in the post war period the number of women over 20 increased at both colleges. This was as a result of demobilisation and government aid which encouraged returning servicemen and women to enter higher education. Age group study is therefore important in helping to establish such trends, but on its own it does not provide enough information to identify the types of students on any more than a general level. This requires more detailed examination of the matriculation information, especially as regards parental and regional background.

Father's Occupation

In order to compare the social background of the students at St. Mary's and St. Hilda's Colleges more precisely it is possible to use the information in the matriculation books describing their fathers' occupations. This gives an idea of what kind of family wealth and income supported these women students, making it possible to assess whether they were in higher education to gain career skills or to advance their general "cultivation", and helps illustrate what classes of society made up the market for each university. Information is also used from the St. Hild's College, Durham, registers which detail fathers' occupations for the period 1898 to 1907. This provides a useful comparison between the social background of the teacher training colleges with the universities, and as some of St. Hild's students were eligible to enter for Durham University exams from 1895, it can be seen whether this provided a route into higher education for women with a more modest social background.

⁵ - Lang, C. 1989. *Keep Smiling Through: Women in the Second World War*. Cambridge: University Press. p. 29.

There are problems with using this kind of information. The father's occupation listed was not a description made by the colleges on a uniform basis, but by the students and the families themselves. Within this self-assessment lies considerable scope for inflating or obscuring the importance and type of father's occupation, for any number of reasons. Also, as Howarth and Curthoys have stated, the job titles and descriptions themselves could conceal a great deal of variation in income and status and so placing the social background of the women students within the class structure becomes even more difficult.⁶ However there is little other information with which to verify the evidence in the matriculation books and consequently it must be relied upon, and there is no other better way of ascertaining the social background of students than to analyse it whilst being aware of its limitations.

Another problem is that the information is incomplete. Omissions occur for a number of students, and so cannot provide a totally comprehensive account of the backgrounds of all the students involved. St. Mary's and St. Hild's do provide information for a large majority of their students: 90% of the total number of students at St. Mary's between 1899-1952, and 84% at St. Hild's between 1898-1907. However, study of St. Hilda's is more problematic. Despite information on father's occupation being available for nearly 88% of the total number of students between 1893-1952, information up to 1908 is almost completely lacking. It was not until that year that the fathers occupation was recorded as a matter of course within the matriculation books and there are few other ways of filling the gaps prior to this date. So the 88% is mainly made up by details for the post 1908 period. However, it can be assumed that the overall trends, suggested by this available information and from the study of ages, geographic and educational backgrounds, are true for the early period also. It is also possible to use similar studies of the other Oxbridge Colleges to provide additional support to the figures of St. Hilda's. A year by year breakdown of the available information for all the colleges shows not only chronological trends in the pattern of the recruitment of social classes, but also shows for which years

⁶ - Howarth and Curthoys. 1987. p. 215.

the problem of a lack of information is more relevant. So the limitations in the amount of information available for each college can largely be overcome.

In order to classify the fathers' occupations of the students the Occupation Tables from the Census of England and Wales 1951, and their classification groups, have been used.⁷ This is in order to provide a general and consistent classification to the whole period which is appropriate to the occupations under study. The Occupation Tables utilise three different methods of analysing social class information: the broad definition of social class, the more detailed socio-economic group divisions, and finally the salary or wage earner category. The social class grouping will be referred to the most in this study in order to determine the social background of the students at St. Mary's and St. Hilda's. This establishes social class from the use of five broad categories to describe fathers' occupations: professional, intermediate, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. The professional category is the highest with the social class classification I, and the unskilled category lowest, with the classification V. The socio-economic group information builds on this by subdividing these categories further. This takes into account differences of occupation within the same general social class category, such as between higher and other administrative positions or shop assistants and clerical workers. The salary-wage earner classification groups similar levels of earnings into bands from A to F to allow further distinctions to be made, for example between industrial and non-industrial occupations. [See Appendix C]. With the use of these categories the social background of the students can be more thoroughly examined and any differences in the market which the universities catered for more clearly emphasised.

Whichever definition is used, the figures for St. Mary's College [Fig. 10] show that over the period 1899-1952 the majority of its students came from a middle class background. A total of 34.2% can be found in the professions alone, with another 29.2% in managerial, administrative, commercial, financial and clerical occupations. However, when broken down further the actual

⁷ - *Census of England and Wales 1951*. p. ix - xii.

Fig. 10 - Fathers' occupations of the total number of students at St. Mary's 1899-1952, St. Hilda's 1893-1952, and St. Hild's 1898-1907.⁸

	St. Mary's		St. Hilda's		St. Hild's	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Independent Means	0	0	15	0.8	0	0
Prof - Accountancy	7	0.9	39	2.2	7	1.3
- C.of E. Clergy	77	10.1	74	4.1	5	0.9
- Other Clergy	12	1.6	42	2.3	1	0.2
- Engineering	54	7.1	122	6.8	27	5.1
- Law	8	1.0	80	4.5	0	0
- Medicine	17	2.2	100	5.6	0	0
- Education	70	9.2	197	11.0	60	11.4
- Journalism	3	0.4	25	1.4	3	0.6
- Science	8	1.0	30	1.7	0	0
Other Professions	5	0.7	7	0.4	0	0
Admin./Managerial	50	6.5	227	12.7	8	1.5
Commercial	92	12.0	186	10.4	57	10.8
Finance	24	3.1	69	3.9	6	1.1
Clerical	58	7.6	125	7.0	44	8.3
Workers in Manufacture	47	6.2	34	1.9	72	13.7
Printing	5	0.7	12	0.7	2	0.4
Armed Forces	3	0.4	78	4.4	0	0
Civilian Defence	5	0.7	8	0.4	5	0.9
Agriculture	33	4.3	39	2.2	41	7.8
Fishermen	0	0	1	0.1	1	0.2
Building/Contracting	12	1.6	14	0.8	18	3.4
Transport/Communications	58	7.6	30	1.7	41	7.8
Mining	23	3.0	1	0.1	18	3.4
Entertainment	4	0.5	4	0.2	3	0.6
Personal Service	9	1.2	8	0.4	11	2.1
Other Workers	3	0.4	2	0.1	8	1.5
Unskilled	0	0	0	0	4	0.8
No Record	77	10.1	222	12.4	85	16.1
Total	764	100	1791	100	527	100

Fig. 11 - Social class definition of fathers' occupations for the total number of students at St. Mary's 1899-1952, St. Hilda's 1893-1952, and St. Hild's 1898-1907.

	St. Mary's		St. Hilda's		St. Hild's	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I	196	25.7	624	34.8	44	8.3
II	253	33.1	635	35.5	171	32.4
III	212	27.7	288	16.1	187	35.5
IV	26	3.4	7	0.4	33	6.3
V	0	0	0	0	7	1.3
No. Record	77	10.1	237	13.2	85	16.1
Total	764	100	1791	100	527	100

⁸ - Note that the category "Prof - Education" includes all levels of teaching and academic posts.

occupations are mainly of the lower middle class. The professions of law and medicine, with their traditional links to the universities only represent 3.2% of the total. It was the clergy and expanding teaching occupations which provided most of the remainder, followed by other emerging and expanding professions such as science and engineering. However these professional occupations did not produce the kind of income or status comparable to the traditional ones and Fig. 11 shows the result in terms of social class. Although 34.2% were in what were classified as professional occupations only 25.7% came from social class (I) as a result, and most of these were clergymen. Other professions, such as teaching, were classified as being on the intermediate level (II) and this was the largest group in terms of social class at St. Mary's. These students may therefore have been in the fortunate position that their parents could afford to pay for higher education during their lifetime so that their daughters could support themselves after their deaths.

Fig. 11 also shows the large number of students St. Mary's had with a "skilled" background (III), including, for instance, fathers who were in clerical occupations or who were foremen in manufacture. The daughters of these sectors of the lower middle classes would presumably have to enter the job market themselves and so they understood the benefits of funding higher education. Figs. 12 and 13 are additional evidence of the lower professional, managerial and skilled social background bias in St. Mary's student recruitment. Fig. 12 shows the Technical/Professional and Managerial groups (B and A respectively) as dominant as does Fig. 13 (groups 3 and 4). Therefore, St. Mary's College provided, mainly, for girls with a middle to lower middle class social background.

The figures for St. Hilda's show a different pattern of middle class students. One of the most striking differences is that there were 15 students of St. Hilda's who came from families with independent or private means and who presumably would not expect to work for a living. These students can be seen as higher middle to upper class and were probably not at university to train for a career. Overall, however they are only a fraction of the total. Another striking difference is the number of students with fathers in the Armed Forces. However,

these were not rank-and-file troops but, instead, Armed Forces professionals: senior commissioned officers including Wing Commanders and Admirals. A total figure of 40% of the students came from a professional occupational background [Fig. 10] and a correspondingly high 34% had a social class I definition to go with it [Fig. 11]. Although the job classifications are the same, the individual circumstances of many of the St. Hilda's students' fathers' occupations were much higher in professional standing when compared to St. Mary's. For instance, St Hilda's Clergy fathers include in their numbers Archdeacons, Bishops and a Rabbi whilst the numbers for St. Mary's represent parish priests only. The recruitment of students from other non-professional sections of the expanding middle classes also occurred at St. Hilda's and 34% of students had fathers in administrative, managerial, financial, commercial and clerical occupations. Yet, once again, the details of the occupations show that the positions were higher up the social scale, with for instance many more National bank managers, company directors and higher civil service posts. Even within categories such as Transport and Communication and Personal Service St. Hilda's students' fathers were more likely, for instance, to own the ship or hotel rather than work in it. This explains the high concentration of students within the professional and intermediate classifications in Figs. 11, 12 and 13. These statistics can be supported by the findings of Howarth and Curthoys⁹. The sample data they used also reflects the higher middle class recruitment pattern of Oxford's women's colleges as a whole in years up to 1913. So, overall, St. Hilda's College recruited from a higher social class base and catered for a different section in the market for women's higher education than St. Mary's. In doing so they helped retain the elitist ethos of the Oxbridge Colleges albeit on a different scale to the men.

The figures for St. Hild's College provide information to contrast with these university patterns of recruitment. The teacher training colleges were a more accessible form of higher education which provided specifically vocational training. The people attending were therefore those women who would have to

⁹ - Howarth and Curthoys. 1987. p. 215.

earn their own living, at least until marriage. Overall, for the period 1898-1907 only 19.5% of the students came from a professional background but this figure was mainly made up of engineers and those in education, and consequently only 8.3% had their social class defined as professional. Fig 11 shows that Hild's students came from mainly skilled and intermediate social backgrounds, such as manufacture and commerce. Consequently the numbers in the industrial salary-

Fig. 12 - Salary-wage earner definition of fathers' occupations for the total number of students at St. Mary's 1899-1952, St. Hilda's 1893-1952, and St. Hild's 1898-1907.

	St. Mary's		St. Hilda's		St. Hild's	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A	177	23.2	451	25.2	100	19.0
B	272	35.6	726	40.5	107	20.3
C	86	11.3	124	6.9	51	9.7
D	111	14.5	71	4.0	155	29.4
E	28	3.7	94	5.2	17	3.2
F	10	1.3	12	0.7	12	2.3
No Record	80	10.5	313	17.5	85	16.1
Total	764	100	1791	100	527	100

Fig. 13 - Socio-economic group definition of fathers' occupations for the total number of students at St. Mary's 1899-1952, St. Hilda's 1893-1952, and St. Hild's 1898-1907.

	St. Mary's		St. Hilda's		St. Hild's	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	23	3.0	28	1.6	30	5.7
2	11	1.4	11	0.6	11	2.1
3	195	25.5	624	34.8	44	8.3
4	173	22.6	539	30.1	94	17.8
5	71	9.3	134	7.5	45	8.5
6	61	8.0	92	5.1	39	7.4
7	11	1.4	14	0.8	7	1.3
8	3	0.4	6	0.3	7	1.3
9	33	4.3	26	1.5	27	5.1
10	84	11.0	56	3.1	113	21.4
11	20	2.6	1	0.1	19	3.6
12	0	0	0	0	6	1.1
13	2	0.3	23	1.3	0	0
No Record	77	10.1	237	13.2	85	16.1
Total	764	100	1791	100	527	100

wage earner group (D in Fig. 12) and the skilled socio-economic group (10 in Fig. 13) are the largest. The training colleges therefore provided a form of higher education for the daughters of the lower middle classes and the skilled worker. That there were 7 students from social class V (Fig. 11) shows that teaching courses in the education colleges were the way in to a career for these women which could, in turn, make them upwardly mobile.

St. Hild's also entered a number of students for university courses after they had fulfilled the necessary examinations and residential criteria. Between 1898 and 1907 St. Hild's entered 28 students for degrees. It might be expected that the social background of these women students at Durham would be different from St. Mary's students because of their different patterns of recruitment. However, St. Hild's university students for these years mirrored the social background of St. Mary's, and once again were from lower middle class professions and commercial occupations. This supports the idea that university education remained available only for those who could afford it. The extra year entailed by degree study was an expense which many of the families of the teacher training girls, most of whom were only able to undertake teaching courses as a result of Queen's scholarships, would not have been able to afford. The divisions in the pattern of overall recruitment between St. Hilda's and St. Mary's and between university and teacher training colleges, such as St. Hild's, are therefore clear. They catered for different markets of women, and university education as a whole remained a middle class preserve. It is necessary however to examine whether these patterns of recruitment for St. Mary's and St. Hilda's altered over the entire period [see Appendix B for year by year breakdown].

Fig. 14 shows that at St. Mary's the total number of students with fathers in the professions fell over the whole period from 44.5% from 1899-1913 to 34% by 1945-52. Similarly the total number whose fathers were in administration, managerial, financial, commercial and clerical positions decreased also. This suggests that an increasing number of skilled workers were sending their daughters to the college. However, although by the end of the period the number of students from this occupational background had fallen from 77.4% to 62.9%, they still formed the majority of the student body. Fig. 14 also shows that the

number of St. Mary's students whose fathers' ordinary peacetime occupations were skilled workers in manufacture or who were in personal service increased during the war years 1939-45. This may have been because these parents may have been prepared or more able to pay for their daughters to enter higher education rather than allow them to be conscripted. Overall, however, St. Mary's demonstrates a wider variety of fathers' occupations by the end of the period than at the beginning suggesting that recruitment was becoming less restricted to the middle classes.

Fig. 14 - Father's occupation of St. Mary's students within specific time periods.

	1899-1913		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-45		1946-52	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Indep. Means	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Prof - Ac.	0	0	0	0	2	1.2	0	0	0	0	5	2.3
- CofE	19	25.0	3	10.0	22	13.1	11	8.6	4	2.7	18	8.4
- Non CofE	2	2.6	1	3.3	1	0.6	2	1.6	1	0.7	5	2.3
- Eng.	3	3.9	0	0	14	8.3	8	6.3	11	7.4	18	8.4
- Law	3	3.9	0	0	2	1.2	1	0.8	0	0	2	0.9
- Med.	1	1.3	3	10.0	5	3.0	0	0	4	2.7	4	1.9
- Ed.	2	2.6	4	13.3	12	7.1	22	17.2	13	8.8	17	7.9
- Journ.	2	2.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.5
- Sci.	2	2.6	0	0	3	1.8	1	0.8	1	0.7	1	0.5
Other Prof.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.8	2	1.4	2	0.9
Admin./Mgr.	6	7.9	1	3.3	3	1.8	6	4.7	12	8.1	22	10.3
Commercial	12	15.8	4	13.3	30	17.9	20	15.6	12	8.1	14	6.5
Finance	1	1.3	0	0	6	3.6	5	3.9	4	2.7	8	3.7
Clerical	6	7.9	2	6.7	16	9.5	7	5.5	9	6.1	18	8.4
Workers Manuf.	3	3.9	0	0	10	6.0	6	4.7	15	10	13	6.1
Printing	0	0	0	0	3	1.79	0	0	1	0.68	1	0.47
Armed Forces	1	1.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.9
Civilian Defence	0	0	0	0	2	1.2	1	0.8	1	0.7	1	0.5
Agriculture	1	1.3	1	3.3	5	3.0	5	3.9	7	4.7	14	6.5
Fishermen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Build./Cont.	0	0	0	0	4	2.4	3	2.3	2	1.4	3	1.4
Transp./Comm.	8	10.5	0	0	5	3.0	7	5.5	17	11.5	21	9.8
Mining	0	0	1	3.3	6	3.6	8	6.3	4	2.7	4	1.9
Entertainment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2.0	1	0.5
Personal Service	0	0	0	0	4	2.4	0	0	4	2.7	1	0.5
Other Workers	0	0	0	0	1	0.6	1	0.8	0	0	1	0.5
Unskilled	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Record	4	5.3	10	33.3	12	7.1	13	10.2	21	14.2	17	7.9
Total	76	100	30	100	168	100	128	100	148	100	214	100

Fig. 15 - Father's occupation of St. Hilda's students within specific time periods.

	1893-8		1899-1913		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-45		1946-52	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Indep. Means	0	0	4	2.1	4	4.5	3	0.9	3	0.8	0	0	1	0.2
Prof - Ac.	0	0	3	1.6	3	3.4	7	2.0	4	1.0	10	3.0	12	2.9
- CofE	1	2.4	15	7.9	14	15.9	20	5.8	10	2.6	9	2.7	5	1.2
- Non CofE	0	0	2	1.1	6	6.8	14	4.1	8	2.1	6	1.8	6	1.5
- Eng.	0	0	1	0.5	8	9.1	22	6.4	39	10.1	25	7.6	27	6.6
- Law	0	0	4	2.1	9	10.2	24	7.0	24	6.2	8	2.4	11	2.7
- Med.	0	0	8	4.2	4	4.5	28	8.2	19	4.9	19	5.8	22	5.3
- Ed.	0	0	10	5.3	7	8.0	37	10.8	44	11.3	49	14.8	50	12.1
- Journ.	0	0	1	0.5	0	0	7	2.0	4	1.0	5	1.5	8	1.9
- Sci.	0	0	1	0.5	0	0	5	1.5	3	0.8	5	1.5	16	3.9
Other Prof.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1.0	1	0.3	2	0.5
Admin./Mgr.	0	0	5	2.6	3	3.4	28	8.2	55	14.2	54	16.4	82	19.9
Commercial	0	0	17	8.9	11	12.5	39	11.4	47	12.1	37	11.2	35	8.5
Finance	0	0	5	2.6	4	4.5	19	5.6	13	3.4	13	3.9	15	3.6
Clerical	0	0	2	1.1	2	2.3	38	11.1	32	8.2	25	7.6	26	6.3
Workers Manuf.	0	0	1	0.5	0	0	4	1.2	9	2.3	7	2.1	13	3.2
Printing	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.9	4	1.0	3	0.9	2	0.5
Armed Forces	1	2.4	0	0	4	4.5	15	4.4	16	4.1	19	5.8	23	5.6
Civilian Defence	0	0	0	0	1	1.1	0	0	2	0.5	1	0.3	4	1.0
Agriculture	0	0	2	1.1	2	2.3	10	2.9	10	2.6	3	0.9	12	2.9
Fishermen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.2
Build./Cont.	0	0	1	0.5	1	1.1	2	0.6	3	0.8	1	0.3	6	1.5
Transp./Comm.	0	0	2	1.1	2	2.3	5	1.5	8	2.1	7	2.1	6	1.5
Mining	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.2
Entertainment	0	0	1	0.5	0	0	1	0.3	1	0.3	1	0.3	0	0
Personal Service	0	0	1	0.5	0	0	1	0.3	1	0.3	3	0.9	2	0.5
Other Workers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	1	0.2
Unskilled	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Record	39	95.1	104	54.7	3	3.4	10	2.9	25	6.4	18	5.5	23	5.6
Total	41	100	190	100	88	100	342	100	388	100	330	100	412	100

Fig. 15 shows that St. Hilda's also recruited fewer girls from the professions by the end of the period. The total number of students with fathers in the professions in the years 1914-18 was 57.9% but by 1946-52 it had fallen to 38.6%. In contrast, during the same periods the total students whose fathers were in administrative, managerial, commercial, financial and clerical occupations increased from 22.7% to 38.3%. So at St Hilda's too there appears to have been a broadening in the representation of different social backgrounds. However, although there was a slight increase in the number of students whose fathers were in manufacture, building and contracting, the overall shift at St Hilda's appears to be not from a middle to a skilled class as at St. Mary's, but from a higher middle class to a lower middle class.

The same year group breakdown for social class background [Figs. 16 and 17] for both colleges reflects this change in the social composition of their student bodies more clearly. St. Mary's shows the decline in social class I from

40.8% to 27.6%, and the increase in the number in class III from 25% to 34.1% between 1899 and 1952. St. Hilda's shows the decrease between 1914 and 1952 in social class I from 55.7% to 30.8% and the increase in social class II from 27.3% to 45.4%. Over the same period the social class III has more than doubled from 9.1% to 17.5%. These figures therefore illustrate the changing nature of higher education provision and the patterns of recruitment. Both colleges widened their representation of the social class background of the students. By 1952 both St. Mary's and St. Hilda's were still predominantly middle class but the number of girls from lower social classes was increasing.

Fig. 16 - Social class background of St. Mary's students within specific time periods.

	1899-1913		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-45		1946-52	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I	31	40.8	4	13.3	54	32.1	25	19.5	23	15.5	59	27.6
II	21	27.6	12	40.0	54	32.1	54	42.2	51	34.5	61	28.5
III	19	25.0	3	10.0	42	25.0	25	19.5	50	33.8	73	34.1
IV	1	1.3	1	3.3	6	3.6	11	8.6	3	2.0	4	1.9
No Rec.	4	5.3	10	33.3	12	7.1	13	10.2	21	14.2	17	7.9
Total	76	100	30	100	168	100	128	100	148	100	214	100

Fig. 17 - Social class background of St. Hilda's students within specific time period.

	1893-98		1899-1913		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-45		1946-52	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I	2	4.9	41	21.6	49	55.7	159	46.5	137	35.3	109	33.0	127	30.8
II	0	0	35	18.4	24	27.3	111	32.5	153	39.4	125	37.9	187	45.4
III	0	0	6	3.2	8	9.1	58	17.0	68	17.5	76	23.0	72	17.5
IV	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	2	0.5	2	0.6	2	0.5
No Rec	39	95.1	108	56.8	7	8.0	13	3.8	28	7.2	18	5.5	24	5.8
Total	41	100	190	100	88	100	342	100	388	100	330	100	412	100

Geographical Background

The geographical background of the students at St. Mary's and St. Hilda's is very different in terms of both individual county and regional recruitment, and as the nature of this information is almost complete, with only three gaps for St. Mary's and 35 for St. Hilda's over the entire period up to 1952, this makes the results almost totally comprehensive. In order to classify as many

place-names as possible an atlas for 1951 has been used in order to ensure that the counties used are appropriate and correct to the period.¹⁰ The Census of 1951 has been used again in order to determine regional distribution.¹¹ Comparative figures for St. Hild's can also be used to compare the geographical recruitment of the training colleges for the period 1898-1907 with that of the universities. The table of numbers for each county [Fig. 18] for the total number of St. Mary's girls between 1899-1952 shows that the College recruited strongly from the local area, with County Durham and Northumberland providing 45.7% of the students. The Yorkshire Ridings also contributed a large percentage as a result of their size, followed by Lancashire. Recruitment from other counties appears to be scattered and random but it is possible that students from these areas came from families who could afford to send their daughters away from home to university rather than arranging for them to attend the nearest one. In contrast for the overall period 1893-1952 at St. Hilda's the largest number of girls came from London at 13.7%, followed again by the Yorkshire Ridings. Lancashire is also strongly represented once again. The county distribution is even wider at St. Hilda's as compared to St. Mary's, however, and suggests that maybe more families were willing to send their daughters away to an Oxford higher education with the status this could bring, than pay for attendance at another local university. It supports the idea also that St. Hilda's students came from wealthier middle class families than their St. Mary's counterparts. On the other hand, the figures for St. Hild's show that the majority, 63%, of training college students came from the local counties of Durham and Northumberland, followed by the Yorkshire Ridings. Family circumstances, therefore, dictated that their higher education was to be local, cheap and as vocational as possible.

A broader regional assessment provides further insight [Fig. 19]. This clearly shows the local regional basis of recruitment for St. Mary's and St. Hild's. The North East provided 48.6% of St Mary's overall number of students and 69.1% of St. Hild's. With the East and West Yorkshire Ridings and the North West providing the next two largest regions of recruitment for each of

¹⁰ - Lewis, Bdr. Sir Clinton & Campbell, Col. J. D. (eds.) 1951. *The Oxford Atlas*. Oxford: University Press. Index pages.

¹¹ - *The Census 1951, Preliminary Report*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office. p. 38.

Fig. 18 - County background of the total number of students at St. Mary's 1899-1952, St. Hilda's 1893-1952, and St. Hild's 1898-1907.

	St. Mary's		St. Hilda's		St. Hild's	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Abroad	15	2.0	164	9.2	0	0
Other British Isles	17	2.2	104	5.8	1	0.2
Bedfordshire	7	0.9	24	1.3	0	0
Berkshire	0	0	21	1.2	1	0.2
Buckinghamshire	4	0.5	17	0.9	0	0
Cambridgeshire	0	0	5	0.3	0	0
Cheshire	12	1.6	34	1.9	5	0.9
Co. Bristol	0	0	29	1.6	0	0
Co. Durham	253	33.1	13	0.7	255	48.4
Cornwall	0	0	18	1.0	0	0
Cumberland	16	2.1	9	0.5	52	9.9
Derbyshire	6	0.8	16	0.9	0	0
Devon	2	0.3	34	1.9	1	0.2
Dorset	1	0.1	13	0.7	0	0
Essex	7	0.9	33	1.8	1	0.2
Gloucestershire	7	0.9	36	2.0	3	0.6
Hampshire	6	0.8	60	3.4	0	0
Herefordshire	4	0.5	11	0.6	0	0
Hertfordshire	3	0.4	37	2.1	0	0
Huntingdonshire	4	0.5	0	0	0	0
Kent	11	1.4	61	3.4	1	0.2
Lancashire	74	9.7	116	6.5	27	5.1
Leicestershire	6	0.8	23	1.3	0	0
Lincolnshire	16	2.1	22	1.2	2	0.4
London	16	2.1	246	13.7	6	1.1
Middlesex	3	0.4	44	2.5	0	0
Norfolk	6	0.8	11	0.6	0	0
Northamptonshire	2	0.3	16	0.9	0	0
Northumberland	96	12.6	13	0.7	77	14.6
Nottinghamshire	4	0.5	16	0.9	0	0
Oxfordshire	5	0.7	43	2.4	1	0.2
Rutland	0	0	3	0.2	0	0
Salop	1	0.1	17	0.9	0	0
Shropshire	3	0.4	2	0.1	0	0
Somerset	0	0	23	1.3	0	0
Staffordshire	12	1.6	30	1.7	4	0.8
Suffolk	4	0.5	6	0.3	1	0.2
Surrey	5	0.7	85	4.7	0	0
Sussex	5	0.7	55	3.1	0	0
Warwickshire	7	0.9	67	3.7	2	0.4
Westmoreland	5	0.7	6	0.3	7	1.3
Wiltshire	0	0	13	0.7	0	0
Worcestershire	3	0.4	18	1.0	1	0.2
Yorks - East Rid.	9	1.2	14	0.8	11	2.1
- West Rid.	82	10.7	118	6.6	23	4.4
- North Rid.	22	2.9	10	0.6	32	6.1
No Record	3	0.4	35	2.0	13	2.5
Total	764	100	1791	100	527	100

these colleges, the remaining regions seem to be represented in a most haphazard way. In contrast St. Hilda's is far more regionally representative. Although the largest number of girls, 31.3%, came from the South East (including London), the remaining regions appear to be represented in a fairly balanced manner with the exception of the North East. Presumably parents who could afford higher education for their daughters in this area paid for them to either attend Durham or a different provincial university rather than meet the expense of sending them away to and supporting them in Oxford. A year by year assessment of regions can show how the geographical background varied, [Appendix D]. However in order to assess whether the colleges built up a basis of recruitment within certain regions, and how far this was affected by wider national events, needs to be assessed by a regional study over different time periods.

Fig. 19 - Regional background of the total number of students at St Mary's 1899-1952, St. Hilda's 1893-1952 and St. Hild's 1893-1907.

	St. Mary's		St. Hilda's		St. Hild's	
	No.	%	No.	&	No.	%
North East	371	48.6	36	2.0	364	69.1
North West	107	14.0	165	9.2	91	17.3
North Midlands	34	4.5	96	5.4	2	0.4
E & W Yorks. Ridings	91	11.9	132	7.4	34	6.5
Midlands	29	3.8	128	7.1	7	1.3
East	22	2.9	63	3.5	1	0.2
South East	50	6.5	561	31.3	8	1.5
South	16	2.1	154	8.6	2	0.4
South West	9	1.2	153	8.5	4	0.8
Other Brit, Isles	17	2.2	104	5.8	1	0.2
Abroad	15	2.0	164	9.2	0	0
No Record	3	0.4	35	2.0	13	2.5
Total	764	100	1791	100	527	100

Over the period 1899-1938 the number of students at St. Mary's from a North East background increased from 44.7% to 67.2% [Fig. 20], highlighting its mainly local basis of recruitment. However, this North East majority did begin to decline after this period. During the Second World War it fell to 43.9% and by 1946-52 the North East accounted for just over a quarter of the students, 28.5%. This was complemented by an increase in recruitment from both the North West and the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire during these periods. The college

did not, however, extend its reach too far south. For instance, between 1929-38 the South East only represented 0.8% of the students. This was no doubt due to the problem of distance and a continued preference by parents to keep their daughters nearer their own localities. The South East, however, did provide 10.3% of St. Mary's students between 1946-52 and this may have been due to changing perceptions as a result of World War II. Conceptions of distance and social constraints had been challenged by warfare and improvements in transport, and sending a daughter away from home to a university education was

Fig. 20 - Regional background of St. Mary's students within specific time periods.

	1899-1913		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-45		1946-52	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
NE	34	44.7	17	56.7	108	64.3	86	67.2	65	43.9	61	28.5
NW	7	9.2	1	3.3	20	11.9	14	10.9	25	16.9	40	18.7
N. Mids	4	5.3	0	0	7	4.2	2	1.6	9	6.1	12	5.6
Mids	6	7.9	0	0	5	3.0	2	1.6	6	4.1	10	4.7
E & W Rids.	8	10.5	4	13.3	10	6.0	12	9.38	21	14.2	37	17.3
E	1	1.3	1	3.3	5	3.0	3	2.3	2	1.4	10	4.7
SE	8	10.5	5	16.7	7	4.2	1	0.8	7	4.7	22	10.3
S	2	2.6	2	6.7	1	0.6	2	1.6	3	2.0	6	2.8
SW	0	0	0	0	1	0.6	1	0.8	3	2.0	4	1.9
B. Isles	6	7.9	0	0	1	0.6	4	3.1	3	2.0	3	1.4
Abroad	0	0	0	0	2	1.2	1	0.8	3	2.0	9	4.2
No Rec.	0	0	0	0	1	0.6	0	0	1	0.7	0	0
Total	76	100	30	100	168	100	128	100	148	100	214	100

Fig. 21 - Regional background of St. Hilda's students within specific time periods.

	1893-8		1899-1913		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-45		1946-52	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
NE	0	0	2	1.1	2	2.3	7	2.0	8	2.1	5	1.5	11	2.7
NW	5	12.2	16	8.4	10	11.4	27	7.9	43	11.1	33	10.0	31	7.5
N. Mids	2	4.9	5	2.6	5	5.7	6	1.8	8	2.1	12	3.6	12	2.9
Mids	2	4.9	13	6.8	6	6.8	28	8.2	40	10.3	45	13.6	40	9.7
E & W Rids.	2	4.9	14	7.4	6	6.8	32	9.4	30	7.7	33	10	32	7.77
E	1	2.4	7	3.7	6	6.8	18	5.3	7	1.8	11	3.3	13	3.2
SE	11	26.8	55	28.9	28	31.8	109	31.9	128	33.0	99	30.0	131	31.8
S	3	7.3	13	6.8	4	4.5	34	9.9	25	6.4	33	10.0	42	10.2
SW	8	19.5	19	10.0	4	4.5	23	6.7	35	9.0	31	9.4	33	8.0
B. Isles	5	12.2	13	6.8	6	6.8	15	4.4	24	6.2	15	4.5	26	6.3
Abroad	1	2.4	29	15.3	10	11.4	41	12.0	37	9.5	8	2.4	38	9.2
No Rec.	1	2.4	4	2.1	1	1.14	2	0.6	3	0.8	5	1.5	3	0.7
Total	41	100	190	100	88	100	342	100	388	100	330	100	412	100

no longer regarded as unconventional. As there is no evidence of any active recruitment policies by the college this must also explain the increased intake from other, more southern, regions. Another explanation may be that the graduates from such regions returned home after graduation and entered the teaching profession, and no doubt universities received good publicity by word of mouth in this way and gained links to a geographically wider number of schools. This could only account, however, for a small number of the students.

At St. Hilda's the number recruited from the North East was very few, only 2.7% by 1946-52 [Fig. 21]. This was possibly due to distance, or possibly the fact that as it was the lower middle classes, and by this period those from skilled and semi-skilled backgrounds, who sent their daughters to Durham, the greater fees of the Oxford college meant that fewer families could meet the expense of St. Hilda's. It is also a possibility that a larger proportion from the North East attended a different Oxford women's college, such as St. Hugh's. St. Hilda's recruited chiefly from the South East, making up 31.8% of the students

Fig. 22 - Regional distribution of fathers' professions for the total number of students at St. Mary's between 1899-1952.

	Ab.	BI	NE	NW	N.Mids	Mids	E/W Rids.	E	SE	S	SW	No R.	Total
No Record	6	2	30	14	2	1	11	2	8	1			77
Prof - Ac.			2	2	1				1	1			7
- CofE	2	1	22	12	4	8	4	8	8	5	1	2	77
- Non CofE	1		5	2			2	1	1				12
- Eng.	1	1	28	9	5	3	3	2	2				54
- Law	1	1	1	3		1	1						8
- Med.		1	8	3	2					2	1		17
- Educ.	2	3	37	8	4	2	7	1	5		1		70
- Journ.			1			1	1						3
- Sci.			6	1	1								8
Other Profs.			2	1					1	1			5
Admin./Mgr.	1	1	23	8	3	2	5		5	2			50
Commercial		6	50	8	3	3	15	1	3	2	1		92
Finance			15	3	1		2	1	2				24
Clerical		1	32	8	2		11		4				58
Manuf. Workers	1		24	8	1	3	13	1	1				52
Armed Forces									2		1		3
Civilian Defence			5										5
Agriculture			13	6	1	2	5	3	2	1			33
Build./Cont.			6	2			1	1		1		1	12
Transp./Comm.			31	7	4	1	7	1	5		2		58
Mining			21			1	1						23
Entertainment			2			1	1						4
Personal Service			6	1							2		9
Other Workers			1	1			1						3
Total	15	17	371	107	34	29	91	22	50	16	9	3	764

Fig. 23 - Regional distribution of fathers' professions for the total number of students at St. Hilda's between 1893-1952.

	Ab.	BI	NE	NW	N.Mids	Mids	E/W Rid.	E	SE	S	SW	No R.	Total
No Record	29	18	1	15	12	13	10	6	70	14	28	6	222
Indep. Means	3			1		1			5	3	2		15
Prof - Ac.	5	5	2	2	1	4	3		15	2			39
- CoFE	3	2		10	6	6	7	6	13	9	11	1	74
- Non CoFE	6	4		6		2	4	3	9	3	4	1	42
- Eng.	5	8	2	14	6	4	18	2	47	8	7	1	122
- Law	13	4	2	5	4	4	3	2	26	11	1	5	80
- Med.	16	8	5	10	10	5	2	3	24	8	8	1	100
- Educ.	12	10	8	19	17	16	17	5	52	19	19	3	197
- Journ.	1			1		2		1	20				25
- Sci.	1	2	1	3		2	2	1	14	3	1		30
Other Profs.									5		2		7
Admin./Mgr.	23	15	2	23	9	16	10	11	81	20	15	2	227
Commercial	17	4	3	24	9	23	20	6	45	15	14	6	186
Finance	6	4	1	6	3	3	7	2	32	2	1	2	69
Clerical	9	4	1	14	3	8	12	3	50	8	9	4	125
Manuf Workers		3	2	3	2	5	6	1	4	2	6		34
Printing	1		2	2	1		2		2		1	1	12
Armed Forces	4	6		3	3	3	1	4	21	21	12		78
Civilian Defence	2	1				3		1	1				8
Agriculture	4	3		1	5	6		4	9	2	5		39
Fishermen					1								1
Build./Cont.		1			2	1	2		2	3	2	1	14
Transp./Comm.	4	1	2	1	1		6	2	9		4		30
Mining		1											1
Entertainment			1						2	1			4
Personal Service				2		1			3		1	1	8
Other Workers			1		1								2
Total	164	104	36	165	96	128	132	63	561	154	153	35	1791

background in 1946-52, and during this period the total of all the southern counties was 50%. However, overall it had a much more national representation compared to St. Mary's and this was no doubt a result of its higher middle class recruitment. It is possible to support this by studying the regional distribution of fathers' occupations [Figs. 22 and 23]. At St. Hilda's, at least 35% of students from each region had fathers who were in the professions, and this figure reaches as high as 56% for students from the North East. So, no one region is responsible for providing the high social class background of the students as all the regions are represented evenly, the average figure being 42%. Therefore, St. Hilda's responded to the market for higher education in the higher middle classes and on a national scale. At St. Mary's the average figure is again high, at 41%, but those from a professional background from the North East region number 30% whilst the South and East regions number 56% and 55% respectively. The more local recruitment base of the college meant, therefore, that a larger number of students

from social class II were admitted, but those who did come from further afield maintained the higher social class profile of the college. The decline in the North East bias by 1952 suggests that the college was cultivating this national and higher middle class link and attempting to locate its desired market rather than cater only for the locality.

Another significant difference between the two colleges in the geographical background of their students is the number of students at St. Hilda's who came from outside of the English counties, both other areas of the British Isles and abroad, compared to St. Mary's. At St. Mary's only 2.2% came from other areas of the British Isles and 2% from abroad for the entire period 1899-1952. Over the same period at St. Hilda's 5.5% came from the British Isles and 9.1% from abroad. As Fig. 24 shows the variety of nations represented at St. Hilda's was also far greater. The social class background was again responsible for the difference between the colleges, the students from outside the English counties maintaining the higher middle class background with 37.3% having a professional social class. These students could, therefore, meet the expense not only of higher education but also of travelling. The figures for St. Hilda's can be reconciled with the number of these students who were British citizens and who were not, as its matriculation books list nationality whereas St. Mary's does not. Out of the total number of students from abroad 71% were foreign nationals, and 85% of these foreign nationals had a professional or intermediate social class background. Oxford's international reputation therefore aided its women's colleges and provided St. Hilda's with a different market from which to draw its students, and also one which maintained its social class emphasis.

Fig. 24 - National recruitment of the total number of students at St. Mary's 1899-1952, and St. Hilda's 1893-1952.

	St. Mary's		St. Hilda's	
	No.	%	No.	%
English Counties	730	95.5	1504	84.0
British Isles	17	2.2	104	5.8
Wales	11		61	
Scotland	2		28	
N. Ireland	1		6	
Isle of Man	2		2	
Isle of Wight	1		4	
Jersey	0		3	
British Commonwealth	2	0.3	14	0.8
British Colonies	4	0.5	59	3.3
Foreign Colonies	0	0	1	0.1
Other European	9	1.2	36	2.0
Middle East	0	0	8	0.4
Asia	0	0	11	0.6
USA	0	0	33	1.8
S. America	0	0	1	0.1
C. America	0	0	1	0.1
No Record	2	0.3	19	1.1
Total	764	100	1791	100.0

Chapter 5. - The Students: Educational Background and Degrees

Secondary Education

In the case of English boys' schools, the main principle of classification has been accepted since the days of the Clarendon and Taunton Commissions. Boys' public schools and grammar schools belong to distinct, if sometimes overlapping social worlds... we have no comparable typology of girls' schools.¹

Howarth has shown that the lack of a definite typology of girls' secondary schools is the main obstacle to studying the educational background of university colleges' women students and assessing its influence upon them.² It also limits the usefulness that the information on students schooling might have in helping to determine the nature of the market for women's higher education and its relationship with the secondary level. There is an increasing recognition that a clear classification of terms is required but the main problem in achieving it is one of historical accuracy. The nature of the development of secondary schools for girls [Chapter 2] resulted in a variety of initiatives at a local and national level. These produced G.P.D.S.T. schools, Church schools, endowed grammar and high schools, and Local Education Authority secondary schools aiming to provide a sound academic schooling as an alternative to that of the small domestic based private school. Public boarding schools for girls were also established, such as Wycombe Abbey and St. Leonard's, offering an equivalent to the boys public schools. The difficulty in classifying all these different approaches is compounded by the fact that the status of the schools varied throughout their history in terms of structure and funding.

There are simply too many variables (nature of foundation, personality and values of the headmistress, scale of fees, size of school and so forth) to permit any neat classification.³

The terms private and public are often used today interchangeably to describe independent schooling, by which is meant those schools that are not maintained in any other way than by fees. In this study, however, private is taken to indicate a school owned by a particular individual, and public to indicate those

¹ - Howarth, J. 1985. "Public Schools, Safety-nets and Educational Ladders: the classification of girls' secondary schools, 1880-1914." *Oxford Review of Education*. 11 (1): 59

² - *ibid.*

³ - Dyhouse, C. 1981. *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. p. 57.

run as public companies.⁴ The basis of classification used is that of Sara Burstall in her *English High Schools for Girls* (1907)⁵ in which she defines three principal categories: first, the private school, the traditional method of educating girls, which could be boarding or day in nature; second, the public day school, based on the North London Collegiate School and the pioneering High schools; and third, the public boarding school, based on the Cheltenham Ladies' College. As Howarth has pointed out, these distinctions were not always clear cut.⁶ Many of the public schools began life as private ventures, and the boarding ones did admit day scholars whilst the day ones often had a boarding wing attached. There were also differences between fees, social selectivity, and academic standards and achievements. However, Burstall's main categories do provide a basis for study in the absence of a coherent typology.

What must be remembered, however, when using these categories is that the term "public day" cannot be applied equally to LEA and non-LEA secondary schools. Although many of the LEA secondary schools were still largely fee paying until the 1944 Education Act ensured that they were fully state maintained, they remained distinct from the charitable trust or other independent public day schools. Yet there is difficulty in identifying all of the schools correctly. Many of the LEA schools changed their names and nature throughout the period, for example from County High to Grammar school, and the 1944 legislation meant that independent public day schools had to choose whether to fall under state maintenance or retain their independence and continue to rely largely upon fees. There were also differences between the LEA schools themselves. Grammar schools continued to be the more elite form of state secondary schooling whilst the secondary moderns offered a less "academic" education. Therefore Burstall's category of public day schools has several limitations. In this study, therefore, the title and type of school at the date of matriculation has been used as well as the classifications of public and private in

⁴ - Avery, G. 1991. *The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girl's Independent Schools*. London: Andre Deutsch. p. 86.

⁵ - Sara Burstall, "English High Schools for Girls", in Howarth. 1985. p. 61.

⁶ - *ibid.*

order to attempt to overcome the deficiencies from the lack of an effective typology of all girls' secondary schools.

The type of secondary education received by the students of St. Mary's and St. Hilda's colleges can give another impression of the market which they were recruiting from [Fig. 25].⁷ One significant difference is that St. Hilda's had many more students from a public boarding school background: 19.7% compared with only 5.2% of St. Mary's students. This is a result of St. Hilda's College's close ties to Cheltenham Ladies' College whose students were encouraged, and to an extent expected, to continue their education at a higher level at St. Hilda's, according to the original intentions of Dorothea Beale. Consequently it provided a constant supply of students to the College, a source for which St. Mary's had no equivalent. It is also, however, a result of financial considerations. The public boarding schools were more expensive than the public day schools. The Royal School, Bath and the Woodard schools were the cheaper ones with fees at £45-80 a year whilst others cost between £90-135 a year.⁸ They imitated the boys public schools in many ways with, for example, prefects and an emphasis on physical sports, which has been described as the "tyranny of games",⁹ in order to establish themselves as an equivalent. They therefore also wanted to maintain a certain social exclusivity in their intake. Cheltenham set the example, with its principle that it "does not receive all comers, but is distinctly intended for the "daughters of gentlemen", and references in regard to social standing are required before admission".¹⁰ Wycombe Abbey too made the conscious decision to maintain a high social class amongst its pupils in its determination to remain different, even aloof, from the High schools. The prospectus in 1896 made their position clear.

The proposed system of education aims at doing for girls, with suitable modifications, what the existing great public schools do for boys: and it in no way interferes with the numerous high schools for girls.¹¹

⁷ - If a student attended more than one type of secondary school both have been included and therefore the total numbers in this section exceed the total number of students at each college.

⁸ - Howarth. 1985. p. 61.

⁹ - Avery. 1991. p. 114.

¹⁰ - A. Zimmern, 1898, in Delamont, S. 1989. *Knowledgeable Women: Structuralism and the Reproduction of Elites*. London: Routledge. p. 96-97.

¹¹ - *ibid.* p. 96.

St. Hilda's therefore achieved its higher middle class background by recruiting almost a quarter of all its students from these public boarding schools.

Fig. 25 - Educational background of the total number of students at St. Mary's 1899-1952 and St. Hilda's 1893-1952.

	St. Mary's		St. Hilda's	
	No.	%	No.	%
Private	52	5.6	61	3.3
Public Boarding	48	5.2	367	19.7
GPDST	37	4.0	155	8.3
High	206	22.1	312	16.8
County High	80	8.6	93	5.0
Grammar	161	17.3	173	9.3
Technical	12	1.3	0	0.0
Modern	3	0.3	1	0.1
Other LEA Secondary	136	14.6	20	1.1
Other Public Day	15	1.6	113	6.1
Convent	14	1.5	15	0.8
Higher Grade	17	1.8	0	0
Friends/National/British	10	1.1	0	0
Pupil Teacher	2	0.2	2	0.1
Co-ed	1	0.1	0	0
Training College	8	0.9	0	0
College/University	18	1.9	170	9.1
Abroad	30	3.2	85	4.6
No Record/Unknown	81	8.7	295	15.8
Total	931	100	1862	100

The result of this social exclusivity can be seen in Fig 26 by a comparison of educational background with the social class of St. Hilda's students from fathers' occupations. Although social class is unknown for 24.3% of the students who attended public boarding school, 38.4% were in social class I and 28.9% in social class II. As only 8.2% were in social class III, presumably the majority of the unknown backgrounds can be placed within the professional and intermediate classes also. Similarly at St. Mary's [Fig. 27] out of the 5.4% of the total number of students who attended public boarding school, 66.7% had a social class I background. Given the aims of the boarding schools and this chiefly higher middle class recruitment it might be surprising that there were so many students from social class II, and 8.2% at St. Hilda's and 12.5% at Mary's who came from social class III. However, this is because of such public boarding schools as the Clergy Daughters, Casterton, Clergy Orphans, Bushey and

Fig. 26 - Educational background against social class background of St. Hilda's students, 1893-1952.

	No Rec.		I		II		III		IV		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Private	11	18.0	27	44.3	18	29.5	4	6.6	1	1.6	61
Public Boarding	89	24.3	141	38.4	106	28.9	30	8.2	1	0.3	367
GPDST	19	12.3	62	40.0	49	31.6	25	16.1	0	0	155
High	25	8.0	97	31.1	120	38.5	68	21.8	2	0.64	312
County High	4	4.3	19	20.4	42	45.2	28	30.1	0	0.0	93
Grammar	4	2.3	34	19.7	85	49.1	49	28.3	1	0.6	173
Modern	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	1
Other LEA Secondary	0	0	2	10.0	13	65.0	5	25.0	0	0	20
Other Public Day	11	9.7	44	38.9	37	32.7	21	18.6	0	0	113
Convent	0	0	7	46.7	2	13.3	6	40.0	0	0	15
Pupil Teacher	0	0	0	0	1	50.0	1	50.0	0	0	2
College/Uni.	29	17.1	62	36.5	64	37.6	15	8.82	0	0	170
Abroad	12	14.1	38	44.7	29	34.1	6	7.06	0	0	85
No Record/Unknown	43	14.6	118	40.0	97	32.9	35	11.9	2	0.7	295
Total	247	13.3	651	35.0	664	35.7	293	15.7	7	0.4	1862

Fig. 27 - Educational background against social class background of St. Mary's students, 1899-1952.

	No Rec		I		II		III		IV		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Private	3	5.8	19	36.5	19	36.5	11	21.2	0	0	52
Public Boarding	1	2.1	32	66.7	9	18.8	6	12.5	0	0	48
GPDST	3	8.1	14	37.8	17	45.9	3	8.1	0	0	37
High	14	6.8	68	33.0	66	32.0	54	26.2	4	1.94	206
County High	9	11.3	10	12.5	35	43.8	21	26.3	5	6.25	80
Grammar	13	8.1	26	16.1	56	34.8	60	37.3	6	3.73	161
Technical	2	16.7	1	8.3	4	33.3	5	41.7	0	0	12
Modern	1	33.3	1	33.3	0	0.0	1	33.3	0	0	3
Other LEA Secondary	12	8.8	16	11.8	48	35.3	53	39.0	7	5.15	136
Other Public Day	1	6.7	8	53.3	3	20.0	3	20.0	0	0	15
Convent	1	7.1	4	28.6	6	42.9	3	21.4	0	0	14
Higher Grade	1	5.9	1	5.9	7	41.2	8	47.1	0	0	17
Fr./Nat./Brit.	1	10.0	2	20.0	4	40.0	2	20.0	1	10.0	10
Pupil Teacher	0	0	0	0	1	50.0	1	50.0	0	0	2
Co-educational	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Training Coll.	2	25.0	0	0	2	25.0	4	50.0	0	0	8
College/Uni.	5	27.8	6	33.3	6	33.3	1	5.6	0	0	18
Abroad	7	23.3	13	43.3	9	30.0	1	3.3	0	0	30
No Record/Unknown	16	19.8	27	33.3	19	23.5	16	19.8	3	3.7	81
Total	93	10.0	248	26.6	311	33.4	253	27.2	26	2.79	931

Christ's Hospital which were begun as charity schools to provide a public school education for the poorer middle classes. These schools, as Howarth has concluded,¹² can be regarded as "safety-nets" to ensure that middle class girls who were daughters of widows or who were orphans were not downwardly socially mobile.

St. Mary's recruited more girls overall from public day schools: 69.8% compared to St. Hilda's 46.7%. However, the nature of these schools varied between the two colleges. Out of the total number of St. Hilda's students who attended public day schools, 17.9% attended a G.P.D.S.T. High school compared to 5.7% of St. Mary's. Out of the total number of students, 64% of St. Mary's students attended an L.E.A. secondary school, twice as many as St. Hilda's 32%. Once again cost and social class were the reasons for the difference. St. Paul's Girls' School, London was one of the more expensive day schools costing 20-30 guineas a year and G.P.D.S.T. schools had an average fee of £15. However some High schools charged only £9-10 a year and municipal and county secondary schools only £6.¹³ Social class information shows that 57% of the total number of St. Mary's students from public day schools were from social classes I and II (70% of St. Hilda's), whilst 34% were from social classes III and IV (23% of St. Hilda's). St. Mary's also had students from Higher Grade schools, and the traditional National and British elementary schools, again indicative of its lower middle class and skilled background base. Therefore St. Mary's recruited from a lower middle class base which meant that the majority of its students entered the college having attended the type of secondary school which Howarth has described as providing an educational ladder to the opportunities of higher education.¹⁴

Another significant difference in the educational background of their students is that St. Hilda's recruited a larger number of students who had already attended some form of college of higher education or university whether abroad or at home. Out of the overall number of students, 9.1% attended St. Hilda's after having already attending another College or University, whilst only 1.9%

¹² - Howarth. 1985. p. 67.

¹³ - *ibid.* p. 62.

¹⁴ - *ibid.* p. 67.

had done so at St. Mary's. This shows that St. Hilda's had an extra market from which to recruit. This was probably as a result of its Oxford status, the prestige of attending an Oxford College to undertake a further degree appealing to many, and it was an appeal for which St. Mary's had no adequate answer. The number of these women at St. Hilda's does help explain the higher age range of its students, but it suggests for both colleges that these women's social backgrounds was again of a higher class as they could afford to either continue their studies or start a new degree course. Figs. 26 and 27 support this showing that 66.6% at St. Mary's and 74.1% at St Hilda's were from social class I and II. Out of the two colleges, however, Oxford was to prove the more popular choice for such women.

There were some schools which appeared to build a relationship with each of the colleges. A list of the top 30 schools [Fig. 28], those which sent the largest number of students over the whole period up to 1952 to each college, shows that these few schools provided almost a third of the total number of students at both colleges. The list clearly reflects the differences in the students' educational backgrounds. St. Hilda's is made up of public boarding schools, with Cheltenham not surprisingly heading the list, G.P.D.S.T. schools, one private school and the more prestigious and independent public day schools. There is also quite a national representation. In contrast, the public boarding schools providing St. Mary's with students were the charity institutions for clergy daughters, with only one G.P.D.S.T. school (which was a local one), and the remainder mainly LEA secondary schools. The only school they have in common is Bradford Girls' Grammar. The Colleges therefore provided higher education for girls from very different secondary school backgrounds, and from these lists do not appear to have competed with each other for students.

These overall trends do require breaking down, however, in order to assess whether the educational background of the students changed over the period [Figs. 29 and 30]. There is an overall decrease in the numbers of those with a public boarding school background at both of the colleges and also a decrease in the numbers from G.P.D.S.T. schools and this is as a result of the gradual shift in recruitment patterns which widened university education to other

Fig. 28 - Top 30 schools sending students to St. Mary's 1899-1952 and St. Hilda's 1893-1952.

St. Mary's College				St. Hilda's College		
	School	Type	No.	School	Type	No.
1	Durham County	County High	57	Cheltenham Ladies Coll.	Public Boarding	173
2	Blaydon Secondary	LEA Secondary	20	St. Swithun's, Winchester	Public Boarding	26
3	Central Newcastle High	GPDST	18	Bradford Girls Grammar	Grammar	23
4	Durham High	High	18	St. Paul's Girls, London	Public Day	22
5	Consett Secondary	LEA Secondary	14	Bedford High	High	21
6	Newcastle Church High	High	12	Malvern Girls College	Public Boarding	20
7	Bedlington Secondary	LEA Secondary	11	King Edward VI Girls, Birm.	Grammar	20
8	Darlington High	High	11	St. Leonard's, St. Andrews	Public Boarding	19
9	South Shields High	High	11	Roedean	Public Boarding	15
10	Doncaster High	High	11	Notting Hill High	GPDST	15
11	Bede Collegiate	Public Day	8	Clapham High	GPDST	14
12	Casterton Clergy Daughters	Public Boarding	8	Manchester High	High	14
13	Bradford Girls Grammar	Grammar	8	Birkhamstead	Public Day	14
14	Wolsingham Grammar	Grammar	7	Downes House	Private	14
15	St. Mary's and St. Anne's	Public Boarding	7	N. London Collegiate	Public Day	14
16	Jarrow Secondary	LEA Secondary	7	S. Hampstead High	GPDST	13
17	Ryhope Secondary	LEA Secondary	7	The Mount, York	Public Boarding	12
18	Bristol Clergy Daughters	Public Boarding	6	Belvedere/Liverpool High	GPDST	11
19	Polam Hall, Darlington	Public Day	6	St Felix, Southwold	Public Boarding	11
20	Q. Victoria High, Stockton	High	6	Haberdashers Askes'	Public Day	11
21	Bingley Grammar	Grammar	6	City of London Girls	Public Day	10
22	Clergy Orphan, Bushey	Public Boarding	5	Newland High	High	10
23	Q. Elizabeth, Hexham	Grammar	5	Croydon High	GPDST	10
24	Sunderland High	High	5	Badminton	Public Boarding	9
25	Saltburn High	High	5	Blackburn High	High	9
26	Wintringham Secondary	LEA Secondary	5	Clifton High	High	9
27	Westoe Secondary	LEA Secondary	5	Wycombe Abbey	Public Boarding	9
28	Stockton Secondary	LEA Secondary	5	Newport Girls High	High	9
29	Seaham Harbour Secondar	LEA Secondary	5	Sheffield High	GPDST	9
30	Consett Technical	LEA Technical	5	Mary Datchelor	Public Day	9
	Total		304	Total		575

social classes. It also suggests a change in society's perception of the nature of schooling. Fear of social mixing was a significant part in the motivation of parents to send girls to public boarding schools, which tightly restricted who entered, and to G.P.D.S.T. schools which had strict regulations concerning social activities and conversation between pupils both during and out of school time. However the increasing numbers of girls being sent to other day schools suggests that society may have recognised the value of education as an opportunity rather than as a means of bolstering the family's social status, and this could have been an effect of the experiences of World War I and depression. Overall, the number of students from public day schools increased and the most significant contribution to this was made by the increase in recruitment from the LEA

Fig. 29 - Educational background of St. Mary's students within specific time periods.

	1899-1913		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-45		1946-52	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Private	16	14.4	1	2.6	8	3.9	9	6.0	5	3.0	13	4.9
Public Boarding	13	11.7	2	5.3	13	6.4	4	2.7	2	1.2	14	5.3
GPDST	9	8.1	4	10.5	11	5.4	4	2.7	2	1.2	7	2.6
High	24	21.6	4	10.5	38	18.7	37	24.8	33	20.1	70	26.3
County High	3	2.7	4	10.5	38	18.7	18	12.1	13	7.93	4	1.5
Grammar	4	3.6	5	13.2	17	8.4	18	12.1	34	20.7	83	31.2
Other LEA Secondary	2	1.8	9	23.7	44	21.7	43	28.9	42	25.6	11	4.1
Other Public Day	1	0.9	0	0	5	2.5	1	0.7	4	2.4	4	1.5
Convent	2	1.8	0	0	2	1.0	0	0	2	1.2	8	3.0
Higher Grade	14	12.6	2	5.3	1	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Friends/Nat./Brit.	4	3.6	0	0	1	0.5	1	0.7	1	0.6	3	1.1
Pupil Teacher	1	0.9	1	2.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Co-educational	1	0.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Training College	6	5.4	2	5.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Coll./Uni.	3	2.7	1	2.6	4	2.0	1	0.7	5	3.0	4	1.5
Abroad	5	4.5	0	0	2	1.0	2	1.3	4	2.4	17	6.4
No Record/Unknown	3	2.7	3	7.9	19	9.4	11	7.4	17	10.4	28	10.5
Total	111	100	38	100	203	100	149	100	164	100	266	100

Fig. 30 - Educational background of St. Hilda's students within specific time periods.

	1893-8		1899-1913		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-45		1946-52	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Private	4	9.1	8	4.1	8	8.3	9	2.5	9	2.3	5	1.5	18	4.2
Public Boarding	30	68.2	54	27.4	21	21.9	56	15.8	73	18.3	67	19.6	66	15.4
GPDST	5	11.4	19	9.6	15	15.6	30	8.5	29	7.3	24	7.0	33	7.7
High	1	2.3	30	15.2	8	8.3	78	22.0	73	18.3	68	19.9	54	12.6
County High	0	0	0	0	2	2.1	13	3.7	28	7.0	28	8.2	22	5.1
Grammar	0	0	4	2.0	3	3.1	13	3.7	41	10.3	32	9.4	80	18.6
Other LEA Secondary	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	2.8	4	1.0	6	1.8	1	0.2
Other Public Day	0	0	10	5.1	5	5.2	35	9.9	16	4.0	23	6.7	24	5.6
Convent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1.0	5	1.5	6	1.4
Pupil Teacher	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	1	0.3	0	0	0	0
College/Uni.	2	4.5	20	10.2	5	5.2	38	10.7	16	4.0	22	6.5	67	15.6
Abroad	1	2.3	13	6.6	7	7.3	17	4.8	24	6.0	10	2.9	13	3.0
No Record/Unknown	1	2.3	39	19.8	22	22.9	55	15.5	82	20.5	51	15.0	45	10.5
Total	44	100	197	100	96	100	355	100	400	100	341	100	429	100

grammar schools, particularly evident at both of the colleges in the post second world war period. The large intakes from the L.E.A. grammar schools during this period was no doubt due to the 1944 Education Act, which introduced the 11+ examination and ensured secondary schooling required a minimum academic ability, and also ended the payment of fees in maintained schools. This increased educational opportunity to a larger number of people, and the subsequent tripartite system of secondary education which was introduced suggested a

natural progression from grammar school to university. Secondary education and the possibility of attending a university was, therefore, no longer accessible only for those who could pay for it.

On the whole however, St. Hilda's remained more socially exclusive than St. Mary's. The information on educational background only serves to reinforce the idea that St. Hilda's was a higher middle class institution catering for a wealthier class of students. The students entering the college appear to have attended prestigious schools and have a social class background which could afford them the leisure of higher study. How many of them entered university because they needed a degree qualification for a career and how many entered regarding it as more of a finishing school or because it was an increasingly fashionable thing for wealthier women to do remains to be seen. St. Mary's on the other hand, represented girls whose educational background was appropriate to Howarth's idea of educational ladders and safety-nets. For these mainly lower middle class girls, higher education was a means of securing their future rather than simply extending personal cultivation, although they were aware of this additional benefit.

Scholarships and Exams

The debate over the admission of women to scholarships arose at the same time as their admission to the universities. There were many different kinds of scholarships available during this period from Local Education Authorities, the Board of Education, the universities and colleges themselves, school leaving exhibitions and various unattached endowments granted by Trustees. From 1920 there were also state scholarships, and although they were suspended in 1922 due to economic cutbacks as a result of depression, they were reintroduced in 1924. The expense of a university education meant that for many parents a scholarship was a very important supplement to providing their children with higher education. Morley gives the cost of Durham in 1914 at £21 a year for tuition and between £12 and £16 a term for residence in Abbey House, whilst at St. Hilda's

tuition was £26.5s a year and residence at £75 a year.¹⁵ Other expenses, such as books, also had to be met. By the mid 1920s Sheavyn estimated that the cost of an Oxbridge education had increased to £135-150 a year including tuition and board, £90-100 a year at London, £70 a year at the larger towns and £40-50 a year at the smaller civic institutions.¹⁶ Given that Musgrove's figures for the income of the professional middle classes, lesser gentry, and industrial managers suggest an income of between £200 to £1,000 a year¹⁷ there were a large number of not only these families but also the lower middle classes who would not be able to afford higher education without additional support. Scholarships were therefore responsible for enabling many students to attend a university at all. However, actually securing any one of the different types of scholarship was very difficult for a woman. In 1911-12 out of the 464 scholarships, of the average value of £46, that the L.E.A.s awarded in England, 373 were given to boys and only 91 to girls.¹⁸

It is easy to prove that women are unfavourably treated as compared with men, and do not enjoy their fair proportion of local authority awards. Evidence of this character is afforded by the figures for Staffordshire which, in sixteen years, has given 85 scholarships, 72 of which have fallen to boys, and only 19 to girls.¹⁹

Few L.E.A.s made any special awards to women and where the amount was not fixed, some gave women less than men. It was not only the L.E.A. scholarships which discriminated. The state scholarships which originally numbered 200 and which were to cover fees and up to £80 maintenance were increased in number to 300 in 1930. However it was decided to allocate 188 of these to boys and 112 to girls.²⁰ Universities also restricted the funds available to women. At Durham, in the 1890s, Senate's debate over women's eligibility for the university entrance scholarship concluded that "it would not be convenient that the scholarships now open to men should be taken away from them or thrown open equally to women

¹⁵ - Morley, E. 1914. *Women Workers in Seven Professions*. London: Routledge & Sons Ltd. p. 87-104.

¹⁶ - Sheavyn, P. "Higher Education for Women in Great Britain." in Dyhouse. 1995. p. 28.

¹⁷ - Musgrove, F. "Middle Class Education and Employment in the Nineteenth Century" in Dyhouse. 1995. p. 26.

¹⁸ - Ellis, G.S.M. 1925. *The Poor Student and the University*. London: The Labour Publishing Company. p. 10.

¹⁹ - *ibid.* p. 31.

²⁰ - Dyhouse, C. 1995. p. 31.

students”.²¹ Instead a new scholarship was established which was available from 1897. This was often the case at the other universities. It was preferable to found a new scholarship than open all of the old ones to women on equal terms. By 1914 Durham’s 14 entrance scholarships were open to women, with four available to women only, and also its 13 undergraduate scholarships.²² At Oxford however, whilst women were still not full members, all university scholarships were closed to them, and they had to rely upon the few scholarships that were provided by the women’s colleges themselves. These numbered only four at St. Hilda’s in 1914. Greenstein has shown that during the period 1900-1913 nearly one third of all male finalists held a college award whilst only one fifth of women finalists did so.²³ Overall the number, and often the value, of the university and college scholarships available to women was inadequate.

The only form of scholarships which were available to women on seemingly equal terms were the Board of Education Grants for intending teachers. This scheme was established in 1910 in order to train secondary school teachers. Those who pledged to teach after leaving university were eligible for a Grant which was to cover fees for a three year degree course, a fourth final year in the education department and also provide some maintenance support. However, as this was one of the few forms of scholarships more easily available to women many students committed themselves to teaching as one of the only ways in which they could finance their higher education.

Out of the total number of girls at St. Mary’s between 1899-1952, 74% held some form of scholarship, and 58% at St. Hilda’s between 1893-1952. Fig. 31 shows the different types of scholarships which these girls held over these time periods. [See Appendix E for the numbers receiving each scholarship each year]. Some girls were fortunate to hold more than one scholarship at a time, or secure a different scholarship annually, so in these instances both scholarship types have been counted. That fewer St. Hilda’s students held a scholarship once again supports the idea of their higher social class background. This is also clear by the numbers who benefited from a Board of Education teacher training grant.

²¹ - Hird, M. 1982. p. 13.

²² - Morley, E. 1914. p. 87-8.

²³ - Greenstein D. I. in Harrison, B. (ed.). 1994. p. 55.

Fig. 31 - Scholarships held by students at St. Mary's 1899-1952 and St. Hilda's 1893-1952.

	St. Mary's		St. Hilda's	
	No.	%	No.	%
LEA	275	29.0	500	20.3
Training Grant	307	32.4	299	12.1
State	14	1.5	141	5.7
School	19	2.0	181	7.3
College/University	111	11.7	454	18.4
Charity	8	0.8	19	0.8
Foriegn Govt.	1	0.1	13	0.5
Other University	0	0	29	1.2
Company	0	0	17	0.7
Other	13	1.4	59	2.4
No Scholarship	199	21.0	752	30.5
Total	947	100	2464	100

At St. Mary's 32.5% of students held a training grant whilst only 12.1% of St. Hilda's students did so. The lower social background of these girls meant that their family could not afford higher education without such external support and so many took advantage of it. Although it bound them to teaching, as this was a career which many women graduates took up anyway the condition was not too restrictive. More St. Mary's students also benefited from LEA grants than St. Hilda's students. This may have been however because of the regional recruitment of the colleges. As St. Hilda's recruited on a more national basis, they were subject to national problems of certain LEAs funding fewer women than others. St. Mary's recruited more from the North East, North West and Yorkshire who offered a larger number of scholarships of a greater value.²⁴ St. Hilda's students did benefit from a larger number of state scholarships and this may have been a result of Oxford's prestige securing a scholarship more easily. This prestige was also the reason why more of its foreign students received state or university aid during their attendance. St. Hilda's also received a larger number of school scholarships. This was as a result of the larger number of public boarding schools which they came from. These schools, in a further attempt to emulate their male equivalents, attempted to foster Oxbridge links by offering scholarships, as did the more prestigious public day schools. St. Mary's students came largely from other High schools and County Secondary schools

²⁴ - Ellis, G.M. 1925. p. 42-45.

which did not have the means to offer school leaving scholarships to supplement their students higher education.

How the type of scholarships received by the students changed over the period can be seen by Figs. 32 and 33. The students of St. Mary's continued to rely upon the Board of Education grants until 1945, 54.5% of the students during the war period relying on them to secure their higher education, and maybe even more students deciding to take them up in order to avoid conscription. There is a sharp increase, however, between 1919-28 and 1929-38 from 16.3% to 47% at St. Mary's which does not happen at St. Hilda's during the same period. This may have been as a result of a regional attempt to increase the number and improve the qualification of teachers in the North East or it may have been as a result of depression and the gradual shift to a lower class recruitment which meant more women attending St. Mary's had to teach in future to secure funds for a university education. During the post war period and the changes introduced by the 1944 Education Act the L.E.A.s took over as the main source of scholarships, and these were going to be more popular as they provided greater freedom upon graduation with no restriction to teaching. St. Hilda's also had an increase in students with LEA scholarships, although proportionately less than at St. Mary's, and an increase in the number of state scholarships. The number of training grants, however, at the end of the period was almost the same as between 1919-28. This may have been the result of St. Hilda's gradually beginning to widen its social base by the end of the period and more girls from the lower middle class families having to take up whatever scholarships were available to them in order to attend the university, although on the whole it did maintain a higher social class recruitment than St. Mary's. Overall, the number of students at both colleges who held a scholarship of some form was increasing, and this was an important step in increasing the demand for higher education and widening the market from which the colleges recruited. It increased the opportunities the colleges offered for those whose family's income alone was insufficient to meet the continued expense of a university education.

Fig. 32 - Scholarships held by St. Mary's students within specific time periods.

	1899-1913		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-45		1946-52	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
LEA	5	6.3	6	17.1	67	32.2	35	20.8	45	21.3	117	47.8
Training Grant	21	26.3	1	2.9	34	16.3	79	47.0	115	54.5	57	23.3
State	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.6	1	0.5	12	4.9
School	4	5.0	2	5.7	5	2.4	3	1.8	3	1.4	2	0.8
College/Uni.	17	21.3	12	34.3	31	14.9	17	10.1	17	8.1	17	6.9
Charity	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.2	5	2.4	1	0.4
Foreign Govt.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.4
Other	0	0	1	2.9	4	1.9	2	1.2	6	2.8	0	0
No Schol.	33	41.3	13	37.1	67	32.2	29	17.3	19	9.0	38	15.5
Total	80	100	35	100	208	100	168	100	211	100	245	100

Fig. 33 - Scholarships held by St. Hilda's students within specific time periods.

	1893-8		1899-1913		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-45		1946-52	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
LEA	0	0	2	1.0	12	11.5	77	17.2	123	20.3	155	27.9	131	25.4
Training Grant	0	0	1	0.5	2	1.9	70	15.6	76	12.6	71	12.8	79	15.3
State	0	0	0	0	1	1.0	7	1.6	29	4.8	46	8.3	58	11.2
School	0	0	2	1.0	10	9.6	35	7.8	61	10.1	55	9.9	18	3.5
College/Uni.	0	0	31	15.9	23	22.1	76	17.0	124	20.5	94	16.9	106	20.5
Charity	0	0	1	0.5	0	0	3	0.7	9	1.5	4	0.7	2	0.4
Foreign Govt.	0	0	0	0	1	1.0	1	0.2	5	0.8	3	0.5	3	0.6
Other University	0	0	1	0.5	0	0	5	1.1	5	0.8	5	0.9	13	2.5
Company	0	0	1	0.5	1	1.0	2	0.4	6	1.0	7	1.3	0	0
Other	0	0	2	1.0	3	2.9	11	2.5	18	3.0	17	3.1	8	1.6
No Scholarship	41	100	154	79	51	49.0	161	35.9	149	24.6	98	17.7	98	19.0
Total	41	100	195	100	104	100	448	100	605	100	555	100	516	100

Securing a place within the Colleges meant attaining a specific standard of academic ability as well as having the financial means to support a three years or more period of study. Both St. Hilda's and St. Mary's required intending students to pass certain qualifying examinations before providing them with a place, although St. Mary's requirements were dictated by the university from the start whilst at St. Hilda's it was left to the college's discretion until women became full members of the university. St. Hilda's accepted Responsions (Latin, Greek and Maths), a local Oxford exam for those without any other qualifications, but both colleges accepted the Higher and Senior Local examinations, Higher and School Certificate examinations, the Cambridge Previous examination, Matriculation examinations, and the qualifications of other universities and colleges of higher education. St. Hilda's was also more specific in that two languages, arithmetic and Euclid or Algebra were required in

every case. The qualifying examinations changed according to changes within secondary education and by the end of the period students were required to pass G.C.E.s. Students could offer a combination of qualifications to meet the standard and this is shown in Fig. 34 in which each is listed separately.

Fig. 34 - Qualifying examinations offered by the total number of students at St. Mary's 1899-1952 and St. Hilda's 1893-52.

	St. Mary's		St. Hilda's	
	No.	%	No.	%
Senior Local	113	9.9	142	4.8
Higher Local	5	0.4	150	5.1
School Cert	412	36.2	1105	37.5
Higher Cert	356	31.3	824	27.9
GCE	59	5.2	46	1.6
Responsions	4	0.4	242	8.2
Camb. Previous	2	0.2	9	0.3
Matriculation Exam	115	10.1	149	5.1
Other Coll./Uni.	24	2.1	171	5.8
Oxford 1st Exam	0	0	16	0.5
No Record	47	4.1	96	3.3
Total	1137	100	2950	100

Throughout the period the Higher and School Certificates were the qualifying examination offered by most of the students at both colleges, although at St. Hilda's a considerable number still took Responsions and at St. Mary's the matriculation examination. The Oxford colleges also held entrance examinations and the women's colleges examined in pairs for efficiency and to reduce cost, St. Hilda's forming a partnership with St. Hugh's. Other than passing these qualifying and entrance examinations, however, it was the college's choice as to the students they actually recruited. It can be assumed that the basis of their decision was the best exam results. Yet, during the early periods of the colleges particularly, it is probable that social, class and financial considerations also entered into the equation. As very little information exists as to why certain students were taken and others not, it is difficult to establish just how important these considerations were in relation to each other and which was felt to be the most crucial.

Degrees

The actual degree courses and subjects taken by the students of the women's colleges can reveal more details of the market for their higher education. It can show whether women really moved into new areas of education and give an impression of whether they were serious scholars: if they were working towards a career or simply using it as an elite finishing school. Figs. 35 and 36 show the degree courses taken by the students at St. Mary's and St. Hilda's up to 1952. It is clear that the Arts courses were the most popular. Women were encouraged to study the arts, such as languages and English, as it represented the traditional accomplishment style of education suitable to the cultivation of young ladies, and initially, to encourage parents to send their daughters to university, these courses were emphasised. Even though secondary schooling for girls developed rapidly, arguments over the nature and type of science to be taught to women - domestic science versus chemistry - were not effectively resolved until well into the twentieth century. Tradition in secondary education encouraged women's numbers to concentrate in the arts within higher education for many years. The Durham division of the University did not have a Science Faculty until 1924. Until then its subject base was focused narrowly upon the arts, maths and theology, and to do science meant attending the Newcastle division. When the faculty opened, it offered chemistry, physics, geology and botany, with geography added in 1928 in connection with the Arts Faculty, and zoology in 1945. Between 1924-34 304 science students passed

Fig. 35 - Degree courses of the total number of students at St. Mary's 1899-1952.

	St. Mary's	
	No.	%
B.Litt	38	5.0
BA	529	69.2
BSc	59	7.7
Pass BA	98	12.8
Pass BSc	8	1.0
Diploma	26	3.4
No Final Exam	4	0.5
No Record	2	0.3
Total	764	100

Fig. 36 - Degree courses of the total number of students at St. Hilda's 1893-1952.

	St. Hilda's	
	No.	%
BA - Arts	1302	72.7
BA - Science	117	6.5
Pass BA - Arts	70	3.9
Pass BA - Science	0	0
BCL	2	0.1
BM	14	0.8
Diploma	29	1.6
B.Litt	54	3.0
Other	32	1.8
No Final Exam	155	8.7
No Record	16	0.9
Total	1791	100

through the departments, 54 of whom were women - only 17.8%.²⁵ Delays in the opening of the other examinations was also responsible for the Arts bias, such as the Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Civil Law at Oxford, not opened to women until 1917 and 1919 respectively. So, from this overall assessment of degree numbers it would appear that women were poorly represented within degree courses other than the Arts and that as a result they did not really break from tradition.

It is also noticeable from Figs 35 and 36 that there were a greater number of students at St. Hilda's who did not take a final exam. There were only four women at St. Mary's who were simply attending lectures throughout the whole period, representing only 0.5% of the total number of students. At St. Hilda's the overall figure for those not taking a final exam was 8.7%. This could suggest that St. Hilda's had a larger number of women who were not relying upon the results of a degree course to secure a career and were indeed using it as a finishing school. This would be true of the 31 students, 1.9% of the whole, who studied a selected course of subjects with no final examination. However, the overall number not taking a final exam may also be explained by failure in it, or other reasons causing the candidate to leave beforehand, and yet this information not being listed in the matriculation books. It is hard to reconcile these

²⁵ - *Department of Science Record of the Period October 1924 to December 1935, 1936.*
University of Durham: Faculty of Science.

differences but, nevertheless, it is still possible to show that St. Hilda's did include more ladies for whom a degree result was not the aim of study or required for career.

It should be noted here that St. Hilda's recruited a number of students studying for qualifications other than the Bachelor of Arts. These include 14 postgraduates who were studying for a D.Phil. and 54 working towards the shorter postgraduate degree of B.Litt.²⁶ In contrast St. Mary's did not have any students specifically coming to the College for a higher degree, and illustrates Oxford's reputation and appeal in this respect. Oxford also had 12 students not on a degree course but studying for qualification examinations such as Responsions and the Higher Locals. These students attended thorough arrangements made with some schools during war years who for various reasons were unable to enter them for the exams.

Breaking down the degree numbers into year groups, however, does show the arts bias of the students differently. During the period 1899-1913 the majority of St. Mary's students [Fig. 37] studied for the B.Litt. degree. However, the B.A. degree, offering a wider choice of subject matter, soon replaced it and became the most popular course. Yet, overall, the numbers studying for the B.A. declined from the period 1914-18 to 1946-52. The difference was made up by an increase in those studying for a Pass B.A. or B.Sc. Whilst Greenstein has suggested that large numbers in the Pass schools is a result of a number of ladies who were "well-born in search of a finishing school"²⁷ this is probably not the case for the lower social class background of many St. Mary's students. It is more likely that his second argument was more appropriate: that the pass school provided a "quick and easy way of qualifying for a teaching post, often in conjunction with a diploma".²⁸ The increase in the numbers studying for the B.Sc. was due to changes in secondary education, increased acceptance of the fact that women were capable of such subjects and also the effects of war highlighting the need for a greater emphasis on science within the universities as

²⁶ - The Oxford B.Litt was a postgraduate course and should not be confused with the Durham B.Litt which was an undergraduate degree course.

²⁷ - Greenstein, D. I. in Harrison. B. (ed.) 1994. p. 58.

²⁸ - loc. cit.

a whole. There was, therefore, a gradual shift taking place in the nature of women's higher education at St. Mary's as women were becoming increasingly better represented within all of the university disciplines. War was also responsible for the increase in the number of students doing a Diploma course to nearly 9% during 1939-45. This was because of the enrolment of a number of women to study Youth Service, keeping them from conscription and meeting requirements that those in higher education during that time were going to either teach or enter the social or civil service. After the war, the numbers on the diploma course declined once again.

Fig. 37 - Degree courses of St. Mary's students within specific time periods.

	1899-1913		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-45		1946-52	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
B. Litt	38	50.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BA	34	44.7	28	93.3	146	86.9	82	64.0	105	70.9	134	62.6
BSc	0	0	0	0	6	3.6	10	7.8	9	6.1	34	15.9
Pass BA	3	4.0	2	6.7	13	7.7	31	24.2	19	12.8	30	14.0
Pass BSc	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.6	2	1.4	4	1.9
Diploma	1	1.3	0	0	3	1.8	1	0.8	13	8.8	8	3.7
No Final Exam	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1.9
No Record	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.6	0	0	0	0
Total	76	100	30	100	168	100	128	100	148	100	214	100

Fig. 38 - Degree courses of St. Hilda's students within specific time periods.

	1893-98		1899-1913		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-45		1946-52	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
BA - Arts	17	41.5	96	50.5	55	62.5	262	76.6	305	78.6	274	83.0	293	71.1
BA - Science	2	4.88	4	2.1	0	0	22	6.43	23	5.93	15	4.5	51	12.4
Pass BA - Arts	1	2.4	22	11.6	7	8.0	22	6.4	14	3.6	3	0.9	1	0.24
Pass BA - Sci.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BCL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.49
BM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.8	11	3.3	0	0
Diploma	0	0	7	3.7	7	8.0	3	0.9	2	0.5	0	0	10	2.4
B. Litt	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	3.2	13	3.4	7	2.1	23	5.58
Other	4	9.8	8	4.2	1	1.1	2	0.6	3	0.8	4	1.2	10	2.4
No Final Exam	17	41.5	52	27.4	17	19.3	19	5.6	23	5.9	11	3.3	16	3.9
No Record	0	0	1	0.5	1	1.1	1	0.3	2	0.5	5	1.5	6	1.5
Total	41	100	190	100	88	100	342	100	388	100	330	100	412	100

At St. Hilda's too the Arts courses of the B.A. degree were the most popular, reaching a peak of 83% of students between 1939-45. The numbers undertaking a science based B.A. did increase over the whole period but not as steadily as at St. Mary's. The numbers fluctuated with the largest increases

taking place in both post war periods, again an effect of recognition that developments in science were necessary. However, together with the increase in those taking the B.C.L. or B.M. degree, it was a significant development in the type of courses the women students at St. Hilda's were taking. Over the whole period those listed as having taken no final exam decreased: those taking "selected courses", for example, can only be found up to 1918. There was also an increase in the numbers taking postgraduate courses such as the B.Litt. and D.Phil. showing that the college was gradually gaining a better reputation and providing better facilities for research. So, St. Hilda's too was moving towards being a more vocational institution rather than providing a pastime for ladies of leisure. It was having to accommodate the changing nature of the market in the same way as St. Mary's. The breakdown of the degree courses into year groups shows, therefore, that the traditional spheres of women's higher education were being broken down, albeit gradually, and women were taking a greater part in a wider variety of studies at both of the colleges.

What subjects the women actually studied within the degree courses shows just how gradual the change was. At St. Hilda's the overall numbers studying History, English and Modern Languages, mainly French, were 35%, 30% and 20% respectively. At St. Mary's 30% studied English, 18% Modern Languages, again mainly French, and 17% History. These three subjects accounted for the majority of all the B.A. work done by women at the colleges and they were very much the traditional elements forming the basis of a woman's secondary education. Other subjects were beginning to become represented, however, such as Theology, Jurisprudence, Politics and Oriental Studies but during the period up to 1952 these were in very small numbers. For the B.Sc. or science based B.A. at Oxford, 42% of St. Mary's students chose Botany or Zoology, regarded as "feminine" scientific subjects, whilst 20% chose Chemistry or Physics. At St. Hilda's, however, although 34% took Botany or Zoology, 40% took Chemistry or Physics. There was also growing representation of women in other sciences at St. Hilda's such as Biochemistry, Pharmacology, Psychology and Geology, compared to St. Mary's. Oxford did have better science facilities, particularly after the second world war when the need for

scientific research was made clear. However, the continued high proportion of women honours students in the feminine sciences indicates that the sexual divisions of study established by tradition were only slowly being removed. Although the market for higher education was expanding the nature of the demand in terms of subjects did so very gradually, women not demanding or taking full advantage of the wider choices available to them.

So, how successful were the students of St. Mary's and St. Hilda's in their degree courses? Overall 87.9% of St. Mary's students and 79.1% of St. Hilda's passed their courses at various levels. [See Appendix F for the results each year]. However, a larger number of St. Hilda's students studied for an honours course than at St. Mary's, 77.5% to 46.8%, and so the class results for St. Hilda's are better [Fig. 39]. Slightly more girls at St. Mary's are known to have failed their courses, but this maybe due to the inadequacies of information regarding the numbers listed as taking no final exam at St. Hilda's. This could also affect the numbers at St. Hilda's who went down without a degree. The reasons are known for only a few of the 7.6% of St. Mary's girls who went down. One cites family reasons, one financial, one because of the war, one left to get married and two suffered from a nervous breakdown. It is likely that the

Fig. 39 - Results of the total number of students at St. Mary's 1899-1952 and St. Hilda's 1893-1952.

	St Mary's		St. Hilda's	
	No.	%	No.	%
1	23	3.0	74	4.1
2	255	33.4	744	41.5
3	77	10.1	501	28.0
4	2	0.3	69	3.9
Aegrotat	1	0.1	9	0.5
Recom. Pass	15	2.0		
Passed	291	38.1	17	0.9
Distinction	7	0.9	3	0.2
Failed	21	2.7	26	1.4
Went down	58	7.6	1	0.1
Sent down	1	0.1		
Withdrawn	1	0.1	1	0.1
Postponed	1	0.1		
Called Up	3	0.4		
No Final Exam	4	0.5	155	8.7
No Record	4	0.5	191	10.7
Total	764	100	1791	100



remainder would also have had similar financial or family reasons. That only two girls suffered ill health out of 764 must have contributed to the discrediting of Victorian claims that higher education was physically dangerous for a woman. It is unfortunate that there are no records of why only one St. Mary's girl throughout the period to 1952 got sent down. The number of rules governing student life at the women's colleges means that it could have been the result of breaking one of these restrictions to something more scandalous.

Studying the results in different year groups allows further trends to be observed [Figs 40 and 41]. At both St. Mary's and St. Hilda's the number of thirds decreased and the number of seconds increased proportionately. This illustrates an improvement throughout the period in the quality of work which the women students produced. However, what prompted this change is difficult to determine. Economic depression and the experience of war may have encouraged women to work harder in order to secure a more stable future for themselves, or it is likely that better girls' secondary education would have prepared the women for their university work more thoroughly. Also the girls might just have been brighter or more rigorous entry examinations might have removed the weaker candidates. Alternatively, the modern argument that exams are getting easier, might have also been the case and standards were in fact lowering rather than improving. This, however, does not appear to be the case as the number of students at St. Mary's in the pass schools decreased, as did those who went down, and similarly, at St. Hilda's the numbers not taking a final exam decreased. Due to these improved completion rates, the numbers taking honours courses were increasing and also the number of those attaining a higher class result. This suggests that women at both of the colleges were more committed and capable as students by the end of the period, equal to and in some cases better than their male counterparts.

Women [at Oxford] did better than men in the 1950s for two... main reasons: because the quota prevented the women's colleges from dipping as low as the men's colleges in the ability range; because the women's colleges pooled their candidates in a common entrance examination and were probably more efficient at identifying and rewarding talent; and perhaps also because women dons brought pressure to bear on women candidates out of a persisting desire to "prove themselves" to the men.²⁹

²⁹ - Greenstein, D. I., in Harrison, B. (ed.) 1994. p. 62.

Fig. 40 - Results of St. Mary's students within specific time periods.

	1899-1913		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-45		1946-52	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	1	1.3	1	3.3	7	4.2	4	3.1	9	6.1	1	0.5
2	5	6.6	6	20.0	44	26.2	59	46.1	55	37	86	40
3	0	0	7	23	33	20.1	9	7.0	8	5.4	20	9.3
4	2	2.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Aegrotat	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.5
Recom. Pass	0	0	0	0	5	3.0	2	1.6	3	2.0	5	2.3
Passed	49	64.5	15	50	65	38.7	31	24.2	48	32.4	83	38.8
Distinction	7	9.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Failed	2	2.6	1	3.3	1	0.6	4	3.1	6	4.1	7	3.3
Went down	9	11.8	0	0	13	7.7	18	14.1	12	8.1	6	2.8
Sent down	1	1.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Withdrawn	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.7	0	0
Postponed	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.8	0	0	0	0
Called Up	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2.0	0	0
No Final Exam	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1.9
No Record	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2.0	1	0.5
Total	76	100	30	99.7	168	100	128	100	148	99.8	214	99.8

Fig. 41 - Results of St. Hilda's students within specific time periods.

	1893-98		1899-1913		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-45		1946-52	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	2	4.9	8	4.2	3	3.4	10	2.9	13	3.4	18	5.5	20	4.9
2	14	34.1	44	23.2	20	22.7	121	35.4	178	45.9	146	44.2	221	53.6
3	3	7.3	36	18.9	24	27.3	131	38.3	119	30.7	102	30.9	86	20.9
4	0	0	7	3.7	7	8.0	20	5.8	13	3.4	12	3.6	10	2.4
Aegrotat	0	0	3	1.6	1	1.1	0	0	3	0.8	1	0.3	1	0.2
Passed	2	4.9	10	5.3	1	1.1	1	0.3	3	0.8	0	0	0	0
Distinction	0	0	0	0	1	1.1	1	0.3	0	0	0	0	1	0.2
Failed	1	2.4	5	2.6	2	2.3	1	0.3	6	1.5	7	2.1	4	1.0
Went down	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	0	0
Withdrawn	0	0	1	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No Final Exam	17	41.5	51	26.8	17	19.3	19	5.6	23	5.9	10	3.0	16	3.9
No Record	2	4.9	25	13.2	12	13.6	38	11.1	30	7.7	33	10.0	53	12.9
Total	41	100	190	100	88	100	342	100	388	100	330	100	412	100

To some extent, St. Mary's and St. Hilda's colleges catered for different types of demand within the market of women's higher education. Overall, St. Hilda's recruited students from a higher middle class background, in a more nationally representative way, and from a more exclusive educational background. In contrast, St. Mary's students represented a lower middle class background recruiting both geographically and educationally in a more local manner. Within these broad differences and from further evidence from ages, scholarships and degree courses there are examples both of students equivalent

to the lady of leisure seeking cultivation and of the career-minded student aiming to secure qualifications. This duality does seem to have persisted throughout the period but in a decreasing manner and chiefly at St. Hilda's. Generally, however, there was a shift in the basis of higher education and it was gradually becoming more accessible to girls from the skilled and semi-skilled classes. Higher education was becoming viewed as an asset to a woman and a worthy investment to secure social mobility, and as a result enjoyed increasing numbers in a widening variety of courses. It had lost its standing as the preserve of the higher middle classes and was becoming more socially representative. However, by 1952, there was still a considerable way to go before St. Mary's and St. Hilda's could enjoy parity of numbers and of recognition with the men's colleges and the experience of the women students within these institutions needs to be examined.

Chapter 6. - The College Experience

Although St. Mary's and St. Hilda's were established after much of the pioneering work had been achieved, the colleges were still affected by the continuous struggle to maintain the respectability essential to the survival and development of women's higher education. The "double bind",¹ the need to retain ladylike behaviour and femininity whilst meeting the standards of the traditionally male academic environment, resulted in all manner of regulations to structure and order the student's day. Chaperonage and dress codes as well as separate common rooms and societies were methods employed, not only to protect women from men and the disapproval of the public gaze, but also men and society from the effects a liberal higher education might have on its female students. Generally, however, women appear to have accepted the limitations. Working within the rules was probably the only way that they could enjoy an equality of education, prove their ability and develop their opportunities further. By 1952 the increase in numbers, choice of subjects and greater personal freedom without severe restrictions suggests that this had been the right approach. From the evidence of reminiscences and memoirs, few would have changed their experience, and rules did not necessarily have to hamper the enjoyment of university life.

Rules and Regulations

The strictures of social convention were not as harsh for the students of St. Mary's and St. Hilda's by the 1890s as they were for the pioneers of the 1870s but they still existed and had to be respected. Chaperonage was an important part of not just maintaining but being seen to maintain ladylike behaviour in public places, such as at lectures and the library, or on the street or river. It was also a method to convince parents that their daughters would be suitably looked after in the college environment according to normal social convention. Contact with men was limited at all times and at Cambridge one

¹ - Dyhouse, C. 1984. "Storming the citadel or storm in a tea-cup? The entry of women into higher education, 1860-1920." in Acker, S. & Warren Piper, D. *Is Higher Education Fair to Women?* Surrey: SRHE & NFER, p. 55.

postgraduate student recorded that “neither sex looked each other in the eye under ordinary circumstances”.² The operation of the chaperonage system lasted well into the twentieth century. One student at Oxford during the First World War describes how she had to “slink into Magdalen with a chaperon because no other women were attending certain lectures”.³ Chaperons could be women known from home, approved of by hostel or university authorities, fellow students or tutors but it could be a tiring and time consuming process, especially for the chaperons. This is particularly evident at Durham where there was only one women’s residence and inadequate and mainly male support networks within the university to supplement it. A letter to the Dean from Laura Roberts, the first principal of the Women’s Hostel, drew attention to the lack of suitable women prepared to chaperon her students through the city.

In Oxford the ladies on the Council are always ready to help in chaperoning and other matters. Here I have nobody to fall back on...⁴

The drawback of having to secure a chaperon from the student’s point of view can also be seen at Durham in the records of the Women Students’ Association from 1899. In the arguments surrounding women’s involvement in the Student Representative Committee, the Senior Woman, Bessie Callender, one of the first six hostel students, highlighted the difficulty for women to attend S.R.C. meetings which took place in the evenings as they had to organise a chaperon and this in turn challenged the character of the meeting in consisting only of students.⁵ The problems resulted in the women students voting against sending representatives to the S.R.C. and increasing objections to the strict chaperonage rules. Additional regulations at Durham were also severe, girls risking being sent down if found talking to male students without proper permission or supervision. In 1907 the Women Students’ Association asked the Junior Proctors and women’s Censors of the University to clarify their

² - Eleanor Lord in Delamont, S. 1989. p. 77.

³ - D. N. Dalglish, loc. cit.

⁴ - Mrs Lonsdale Ragg, 1948. *The Women’s Hostel, 33 Claypath*, p. 9., memoirs written for the 1948 Newsletter, and later published in M. Hird. p 26.

⁵ - Minutes of meeting on 23rd January 1901, *Durham Women Students Association Minute Books 1899-1914*, Palace Green Library Special Collections - Durham University Societies and Clubs - D.U.S. 13 / 1.

definitions of what was suitable conduct and the replies emphasised the restrictive demands.

Replies... were read from the Censor of Abbey House and the Censor of the Home Students. They agreed that women students should not walk or talk with the men except on special occasions which were, according to the Censor of Abbey House, when the woman student was accompanied by her parents, Censor, or the Wife of a Don.⁶

By 1910 further regulations had been established which prohibited women students from entering cafes in or near Durham, or the rooms of male students.

Similar restrictions existed at St. Hilda's. Section 3 of the House Rules relates to the need for a chaperon and the arrangements which had to be made for even the most routine outing or errand.

Students are... permitted to visit Colleges, men's rooms or lodgings, to go along the towing-path, to attend College Chapels on Sunday, or the Choirs of College Chapels on week days, if accompanied by a member of the "A.E.W." Committee, or by some relative of suitable age approved of by the Lady Principal, or by the Lady Principal herself. They are at liberty to walk, cycle, or boat alone with their brothers, but at other times it is preferred that they go out two or more together, especially into Town.⁷

Women were not even allowed to watch rowing, cricket or other matches without appropriate supervision.⁸ Section 5 emphasised the limited contact that was advised between the sexes, restricting visits from men, other than Fathers, uncles or brothers, to Tuesday afternoons only, unless with special permission, and no invitations were to be accepted unless the gentleman concerned was known to the parents or had been previously received by the Principal at St. Hilda's.⁹ Again, much of the chaperonage duties fell on the Principal, and whilst Mrs Burrows was Principal from 1893-1910 she attended a complete law course when one student could find no one else to accompany her.¹⁰

Other regulations were established to ensure that students "kept term", attended Chapel morning or evening, and met evening curfews, 10.30 p.m. at St Hilda's and 11 p.m. for St. Mary's. They were expected to be under almost constant supervision. One student at St. Hilda's between 1916-18 explains how, at Chapel, students had to tick their names off an attendance list, but in her opinion this was nothing more than a "face-saving" exercise.

⁶ - Minutes of meeting on 18th June 1907, *Durham Women Students Association Minute Books 1899-1914*.

⁷ - House Rules, Section 3, of 1898, reproduced in Rayner, M. E. 1993. p. 38.

⁸ - House Rules, Section 6. loc. cit.

⁹ - House Rules, Section 5. loc. cit.

¹⁰ - Rayner, M. E. 1993. p. 37.

The sole purpose of the compulsion was to ensure that the student had slept in College. There was nothing religious about it.¹¹

However she also draws attention to the continued emphasis on discipline, the presence of the chaperon and its effects by adding that she could not recall “any tendency to run amok within the College and the chaperon made it impossible outside”.¹²

Further regulations at Durham concerned academic dress. After the general rules for the conduct of the women students had been drawn up, in December 1897 Senate discussed the matter of gowns for women. The Dean, Senior Proctor, and the Lady Censor reported on their decision.

It was agreed, first, that women students should be dressed in a cap and gown of black poplin. The Committee recommended that the present form of cap be abandoned; a cap or headgear like the cap worn by Portia in the *Merchant of Venice* should be substituted without a tassel. (There might be some modest ornament in the front of the cap.) They suggested that the gown be of Irish Poplin (if not too expensive), that it should be worn rather long; and that the sleeves should not have a slit up the sides, but be after the fashion of an Oxford B.A. gown.¹³

Gowns had to be worn at Chapel, Sunday Cathedral services during term, meal times, at all lectures and in all public places before 1 p.m. and after dark. Failure to do so resulted in a Proctor’s summons and a suitable punishment or fine at their discretion. The women took their responsibility seriously and by accepting the regulations worked them to their own advantage, using it as a means to underline their scholarship and dedication and to increase their acceptance amongst the student body.

We thought suitable dress was important, and laid down the rule that with our gowns we wore only black coats and skirts, white shirts, stiff collars and black ties. It looked smart and suitable. Another rule we made was that when in cap and gown we did not recognise a man who was also in cap and gown. When we were out of academic dress it was different. This will seem silly and stilted to present-day students, but in those early times it had this effect, that whereas at first there were houses in Durham that would not welcome women students, soon, every house was open to us and we had a wonderful time.¹⁴

At Oxford, during the period up to 1920, women were not recognised as full members of the university and therefore did not wear academic dress. Yet they too adopted a style of dress suitable to their situation, such as the starched collared shirts and black ties. Once the privileges of membership were extended to them they too had to wear the cap and gown and meet the same regulations as

¹¹ - Student reminiscences, St. Hilda’s College Archive.

¹² - *ibid.*

¹³ - Hird, M. 1982. p. 14-15.

¹⁴ - Callender, B. c. 1970. p. 16.

the men, yet it was worn with a sense of achievement and women proudly adhered to the rules.

World War I affected the number of strict regulations on women's personal movements and associations. It provided women as a whole with greater involvement in social life and an opportunity for wider future participation. As a result, chaperonage rules did not fit as easily into a post war world. Once chaperons had ceased to be part of middle class convention they did not have to be maintained in the colleges. However, they were still retained for several years and one student at St. Hilda's between 1917-21 remembers that they were "seldom broken, except perhaps on the upper river".¹⁵ New rules were also devised which took into account threats such as cars and motor-cycles, and sustained contact with male students was still met with great disapproval from the College authorities. Marjorie Woodward, a student of St. Mary's between 1921-24 became engaged to a Castleman whilst at the College and recollects the attitude of the Principal, Miss Donaldson.

Miss Donaldson was annoyed when we became engaged, and said we must have broken the rules in order to do so. She disapproved strongly of our going together, unchaperoned to see *The Rebel Maid*, and was disgusted that my mother, then living in Durham, had given her blessing!¹⁶

The fear of the free interaction of male and female students prompted continuing restrictions from University and College authorities, and the last regulation at Oxford, that at least two women must be in any mixed party, was not abolished until as late as the 1930s.

Other rules concerning the curfews, signing into lectures and modes of dress were by this time increasingly matters of contention at St. Mary's and St. Hilda's, but they too continued until well after the Second World War. In 1950, students of St. Mary's who would be out of college after 7 p.m. in the Michaelmas and Epiphany terms and after 10.15 p.m. in the Easter term had to write their destination and expected hour of return in the Gate Book. Returning after 10.15 p.m. required special permission. Students also had to inform their House Tutors if they were going to hold mixed tea parties and the times during which these could take place were restricted, and there were numerous other

¹⁵ - Student reminiscences, St. Hilda's College Archive.

¹⁶ - Hird, M. 1982. p. 46.

household regulations.¹⁷ So, although traditional methods of control and supervision had been removed, other restrictions on personal movement and conduct of the women students remained in force.

The attitude still, I think, prevailed that women's colleges were answerable for the conduct of their (pregnable!) students in a way that men's colleges were not. Restrictions, therefore, if less conventional than for earlier generations, were still greater for us than for the men.¹⁸

The College Ideal

Despite the regulations, most women clearly enjoyed their time at the universities. By 1937-8 there were still 43% of women students attending the British universities as home students, and 19% were based in university approved lodgings.¹⁹ However, over a third, 38%, stayed in hostels or halls of residence and this number was increasing as the building of new halls got underway and others expanded. It was to these women that the benefits of a personal space were invaluable. The ideal of college life had been espoused by its founders, the belief in the opportunity which a "room of one's own" provided being a relatively new one. Now, rather than taking on a role within the family which fostered dependency, women were able to take advantage of their own privacy, within which they could do what they wanted. They had to stick to the rules, but they gained a sense of freedom and independence which allowed them to develop personally as "duty to self and community took precedence over all outside obligations".²⁰

The organisation of the colleges produced several different impressions of their style and ethos and their students' experiences could be diverse. Initially the colleges themselves looked to operate on family lines, *in loco parentis*. This was another attempt to reassure wary parents that their daughters would be studying within a safe environment that would respect social conventions and which was to be a substitute home for the duration of their course. It was also hoped that the effect of being part of a well ordered and respectable college

¹⁷ - University and College Regulations for St. Mary's College, 1950, and Household Regulations, 1950, in St. Mary's College Archive.

¹⁸ - Student reminiscences, St. Hilda's College Archive.

¹⁹ - Dyhouse. 1995. p. 93.

²⁰ - Vicinus, M. 1985. p. 124.

family on those girls from poorer homes would add refinement whilst minimising the dangers of class mixing for the wealthier girls. Indeed, a visit by Mrs Spafford from the Darlington Training College to the women's hostel at Durham on degree day caused her to notice "that the three [Training College] girls are much more gentle and better mannered, and we value this development highly. It is exactly what we hoped for".²¹ However, Laura Roberts shows that the students did not make distinctions between themselves, referring to the community spirit amongst the women, and this illustrates the idea of a "pulling together" of the first female students at the colleges.

With larger numbers there might have been a tiresome cleavage between the Training College girls and the other students; but the six inmates were almost forced to live as a family, and Miss Callender's good sense and cordiality greatly contributed to the creation of an *esprit de corps* in the little band.²²

Yet, gradually, these essentially familial lines changed and the students, and tutors, of St. Mary's and St. Hilda's came to regard the style of their communities differently.

It has been suggested that the colleges operated much like boarding schools, and this impression is a result of the number of rules and regulations governing the students' lives. Muriel Hood, a university lecturer who resided at St. Mary's between 1929 and 1939 viewed the college in this way.

What impressed me most when I came to St. Mary's College was that the atmosphere was that of a boarding school rather than that of a university college. The students were very immature, and apparently stood in awe of the staff. Any breach of discipline, personal untidiness, noisiness or bad manners, meant a summons to the Principal's study, from which the delinquent frequently emerged in tears... Yes - quite a strict boarding school, which probably did a lot for the girls' manners, savoir-faire, and, possibly, characters. But I could have wished for a more intellectual adventure.²³

This extract does not give any hint that a collegiate ethos existed, even as late as the 1930s, and focuses on the continued limitations placed on the students. However, the recollections of the students at St. Mary's and St. Hilda's give a different impression. The experiences at Aberystwyth, which saw a "revolt" in 1907 against the rules and the chiefly academic focus of Alexandra Hall, should also be noted.²⁴ It served as a reminder to College authorities from early on in the development of the provision for women that the increasing maturity and

²¹ - Mrs Lonsdale Ragg. 1948. p. 8.

²² - *ibid.* p. 5-6.

²³ - Muriel Hood in Hird. 1982. p. 49-50.

²⁴ - Dyhouse. 1995. p. 113.

independence of the students meant that the boarding school approach was not going to be accepted unquestioningly.

Student reminiscences do convey the idea that a collegiate atmosphere was very much in existence at St. Mary's and St. Hilda's and developed quite early. They also show that the regulations were not serious restraints to fun. Irene Rowell at St. Mary's between 1925-29 disputes the boarding school image and suggests that for those who had attended a boarding school there were great differences between it and St. Mary's. This view is born out at St. Hilda's also. One student agrees that "the restrictions and discipline still allowed to those of us who had come straight from school... freedoms and pleasures never experienced before" whilst another that "discipline never worried me. I was by nature law-abiding, and Oxford life was considerably freer than a restrictive boarding school".²⁵ Also, it was usually possible to find ways around the rules governing the evening curfew and contact with the male students, and there are many recollections of doing so by students at both colleges throughout the period up to 1952. A student at St. Hilda's during the post second world war period shows that they were not seriously hindered.

Thus for the purposes of learning the gist of the subject, we were left to our own devices. This meant that I did the minimum except to produce essays and had a marvellous social life as so many people flooded back to Oxford in 45/46 on Class "B" releases from the forces... All this social activity involved mastering the art of climbing into college after midnight by various means.²⁶

These climbing in routes at St. Hilda's were well established: at one place a spike on the railings had been removed to aid climbing in, and the co-operation of students whose rooms were along the routes was usually secured.²⁷ Earlier evasion of the rules is recalled by Irene Rowell at St. Mary's in the late 1920s, as she remembers,

...clandestine meetings at dusk at the white gates (a favourite trysting-place)...buying fish and chips and carrying them back concealed under one's gown - fines and chaperones and many more things that I alone do not have the right to repeat, or are not fit to be repeated! Above all, I remember the utter joy of being able to do so many things that one should not...²⁸

²⁵ - Student reminiscences, St. Hilda's College Archive.

²⁶ - *ibid.*

²⁷ - *ibid.*

²⁸ - Irene Rowell in Hird. 1982. p. 49.

She draws attention to the most important consideration, applicable to the students of both the colleges, which ensured that the women enjoyed a full social life in spite of the number of rules they faced: what she has termed the “11th commandment - don’t be found out!”²⁹ Helping each other out in these matters helped to develop the community spirit of a college of women.

A college spirit can also be found in the development of a sense of identity amongst the women. This seems to have overcome any form of class or background distinction and as Miss Rowell points out such details were largely unknown to the students themselves as it was not considered polite to talk of such things.³⁰ However this did not stop the students from generalising about the character of the other colleges, although they might have friends within them. Distance from Neville’s Cross at Durham seems to be the main reason for the limited contact, and contact with St. Hild’s occurred mainly in sports clubs, although several girls do mention their friends from these halls of residence. One student draws attention to the “friendly rivalry” between them whilst another remembers that St. Mary’s was “first in the ‘pecking-order’ of women’s colleges, and we were pleased to be there and not at St. Hild’s or Neville’s Cross; they probably considered us snooty and we probably were”.³¹ A college identity was also clearly in evidence at St Hilda’s to a student of 1948-52.

Compared with other women’s colleges we, at St. Hilda’s, always felt better looking and less swotty than “the others”. I never once met anyone from St. Hugh’s, which seemed to be right off the map, St. Anne’s we tended to look down on because it was only a society (!). We eyed undergrads from prestigious Somerville with a degree of sour-grapes suspicion, and the girls at Lady Margaret Hall were reputed to be snobby, although the few I know didn’t seem different from anyone else.³²

These impressions and rivalries show that the boarding school image was not appropriate as St. Mary’s and St. Hilda’s developed their own college ethos. This sense of identity was drawn along the same lines as that of the male students and was an important element of college life as it provided a feeling of belonging.

²⁹ - Personal correspondence with Irene Rowell, 25.04.96. p. 22.

³⁰ - Personal correspondence with Irene Rowell, 23.05.96. p. 1.

³¹ - Personal correspondence, 31.08.96.

³² - Student Reminiscences, St. Hilda’s College Archive.

“Studious sisters and dashing damsels”³³

[Women] simultaneously cherished and feared... were kept at arm’s length with a mincing courtliness that seems strange, and a little distasteful, to a more liberated age.³⁴

The attitude of the male undergraduates did affect the women students’ experience at the colleges and their acceptance into university life, and it is often the negative aspects of their reception which are emphasised. In Durham the University Journal published articles in 1898 and 1899 which show the opposition to the new students, one entitled “Thus far shalt thou go and no farther”, after a Union vote against the admission of women to their society³⁵, and another entitled “The Intellectual Inferiority of Woman”³⁶, and there were similar occurrences at Oxford. Women were allowed their right to reply, but this usually did not take place publicly as this might court the criticism that women students were outspoken. Anonymous notes and articles to University publications claiming the moral high ground were often the preferred method, although, as Dyhouse has shown, this represents a retreat from argument rather than engagement in it.³⁷

By the early 1900s men seemed to accept the situation with a nervousness that prompted ridicule and satire rather than outright vocal opposition. Universities throughout the county referred to them as “sweet girl graduates” and at Durham they were called “doves”.

We are unable to discover the origin of the term. Some think it is because they “coo” especially in the Cathedral, but sometimes when one passes their abode strange sounds are heard which differ very much from the cooing of doves. Probably it is because their gowns look like “the wings of a dove”, or because some think they are harmless. The latter must be quite incorrect, for they are kept under many strict regulations.³⁸

Student magazines caricatured and stereotyped the women. They were represented as “swots” or “goody-goodies” who did not enjoy the other pleasures the university could offer to the full, which made it awkward for the men to do so also. Alternatively they were shown to be obsessed by matters other than the academic such as the colour of hoods and style of gowns, and as such they were

³³ - “Girl Undergrads” in the *Durham University Journal*, 1895. Vol. XI. May, 18th. 1895. p. 208

³⁴ - Tudor, H. 1988. *St. Cuthbert’s Society 1888-1988*. Durham: St. Cuthbert’s Society. p. 29.

³⁵ - *Durham University Journal*, 1898. Vol. XIII. (2) Saturday, March 5th. p. 25.

³⁶ - *Durham University Journal*, 1899. Vol. XIII (13) Saturday, May 13th. p. 265.

³⁷ - Dyhouse. 1995. p. 198.

³⁸ - *Durham University Journal*, 1905, in Hird. 1982. p. 37.

criticised as not being serious students and for distracting the men. According to Tudor, at Durham and elsewhere “muscular Christianity was the fashion, sport was the king, and “swots” were regarded as dangerous deviants”³⁹. The Durham student magazine *The Sphinx* is just one example of the traditional masculine ethos trying to reassert itself within this altered framework by emphasising these elements of university society and ridiculing women’s attempts to become part of it. In an issue of 1908 one article entitled “Our Examination” suggested a paper for the degree of Spinster of Cooring, and covered all aspects of the women’s activities and concerns. The last question was as follows.

If 4 beauties equal 1 bevy; and 5 beviess, one galaxy, granted that 1 dove equals 1 beauty, express the contents of the Dovecote in terms of a galaxy. Show that the Science of Mathematics is founded on fallacies.

The tone of the male undergraduates view of the women students was therefore jokey, condescending or derisory.

However it would appear that the criticisms were really only verbal rebuffs of the women’s advances. As the number of female undergraduates increased they do appear to have become increasingly accepted into the university by the men, and after World War I the derogatory criticisms disappeared and the references to woman in the magazines and journal reflected their achievements. Individually, the men appear to have enjoyed the presence of the women students and certainly the reminiscences of students at St Mary’s and St. Hilda’s show this enjoyment of each others company. Gradually, as mixed clubs and societies were allowed, greater socialising was possible although the regulations attempted to keep it within strict limits. As has been said, ways around the rules could always be found if necessary. So, a certain level of double standards operated amongst the men.

I did ask my ex-boyfriend some years ago, when women were admitted to the Castle [in 1987], what he thought. His reply was “Young ladies in the Castle? You ask me what I think? Words fail me!” Yet they asked us to tea and were proud of the fact!⁴⁰

Many reminiscences relate stories of meetings with boyfriends, and several refer to marriages between students. The men were therefore far more friendly towards the women students than some of their public statements might indicate.

³⁹ - Tudor. H. 1988. p. 30.

⁴⁰ - Personal correspondence with Irene Rowell, 23.05.96. p. 5.

Women took part in a wide range of activities which did not draw any criticism from college or University authorities. Initially the small numbers at Durham and the lack of official recognition at Oxford, meant that the women had to organise much of their own entertainment. Most popular were cocoa or tea parties and games, and invitations to these were constantly being exchanged between the girls and their tutors. Many girls received parcels of home baking each week for the purpose.

Cocoa parties at 9 p.m. were our frequent recreation. Two of us were very hard up, so we advised people to bring their own spoons and food. Our parties were often enlivened by an order, half-an-hour before the time, to come in fancy dress.⁴¹

Other games were charades or hunt the needle. Tea parties did provide the opportunity for guests to be invited from outside, but permission had to be obtained and due decorum observed. Other college socials included piano playing, dancing and singing on a Saturday evening in the common room or hall. Such activities certainly appear to have been harmless enough, but gradually involvement in other activities took over from these traditional entertainments.

Sport was encouraged from the beginning although, originally, regulations concerning dress had to be met. The rise of women's competitive sport had been an innovation challenging Victorian perceptions of feminine roles and frailty, but by 1914 it had become an accepted part of college life and "remained so far removed from the male variety as to minimise stress in participants and offer little threat to womanliness or masculine exclusivity".⁴² College magazines and newsletters refer to hockey, lacrosse, rowing, netball, and tennis amongst others. For some time strict dress codes had to be observed which could prove impractical as one student of St. Hilda's between 1910-13 shows.

[For rowing] we wore our every day clothing, blouses up to our necks and skirts to our ankles, but we did use garters instead of our usual corsets. By 1913 when we had progressed to sliding seats we tied an elastic band round our knees, but even then there was, at times, a cry "Stop, my skirt has caught!"⁴³

However, as society's views on the suitability of vigorous exercise for women changed, and it became more acceptable to see bare ankles and knees, less restrictive clothing was approved.

⁴¹ - Callender, c. 1970. p. 14.

⁴² - McCrone, K. E. 1988. *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women 1870-1914*. London: Routledge. p. 50.

⁴³ - Student reminiscences. St. Hilda's College Archive.

White shirts and blue shorts were worn for rowing and white frocks for tennis and punting and canoeing; gym tunics with college tie and girdle for other sports.⁴⁴ Because of the small numbers of women students the colleges originally had to combine their efforts in order to produce a team and this enabled friendships between the women's colleges. However, as the number of students increased so did the number of inter collegiate tournaments as the colleges were able to form their own teams. The facilities also gradually improved. The women's colleges were therefore able to conduct their friendly rivalries on the sports field as the men's did, which contributed further to their sense of identity and community. There is no doubt that sport played an important socialising function for the women.

Other activities and societies were largely based within the college itself until after World War I. Discussion groups and circles were set up on topics of literary, social or political interest, which could be conducted during the tea parties, although these were largely reserved for gossip and fun. College drama societies also existed but they too were limited initially by social convention. Women were not meant to perform wearing trousers and there were to be no bare legs unless the play was done in Greek dress. This limited the choice of play and scene as, Bessie Callender relates.

We found a little book called "Tryphena in Love" where the young man was an invalid and lay on a sofa decorously covered with a rug, but when the love affair turned out well he miraculously recovered - curtain at that point!...Another time we did the mad old gentlemen next door courting Mrs Nickleby over the wall (legs well hidden; we would have done the scene where he comes down the chimney but that meant legs coming first)⁴⁵

The drama societies at both colleges, however, proved popular and usually successful, and once the restrictions were removed staged a wider variety of productions. In addition to college-centred activities, some women undertook social work, helping with children or in homes and clinics, and everyone did so during the Second World War. Women also participated in the University Rag Week events for charity, although again the levels of participation increased with time, from helping to make costumes to "leaping from the bus and running gaily down the middle of Stockton High Street waving a Rag mag".⁴⁶

⁴⁴ - Personal correspondence with Irene Rowell, 23.05.96. p. 2.

⁴⁵ - Bessie Callender, c. 1970. p. 15.

⁴⁶ - Irene Rowell in Hird. 1982. p. 49.

At intercollegiate student societies women could enjoy male company, the reminiscences drawing attention to this fact as explaining the amount of interest in them. However, the one society at both the universities which seems to have accepted the changes grudgingly and slowly was the debating society. These Union societies operated as men's clubs, Dyhouse describing them as "quintessentially arenas of masculine performance,"⁴⁷ and they wanted to retain this status. At both Oxford and Durham they voted to reject the admission of women because of the influence they might allegedly have on the type and course of debate, and also the effect their presence might have on the quality of the men's performance. This remained the outcome of subsequent votes until the early 1940s at Durham, and as late as 1963 at Oxford. Instead, the women set up their own debating societies, which operated on the same lines. They sometimes attended the men's societies as guests on "ladies' nights", but largely kept themselves separate. In an all female environment, the practice at debate increased self-confidence which by the time of the amalgamation with the men's societies meant they could effectively challenge the male prejudice that the quality of debate would be diminished and the topics become frivolous.

Therefore, St Mary's and St. Hilda's, from their foundations through to 1952, had to meet society's expectations of women and conduct their affairs accordingly. Consequently a large number of rules and regulations structured their students' day and governed their behaviour, and being caught breaking them could cause serious reprisals. Generally, however, the regulations provided more independence to women than remaining at home and most kept to the limits. Otherwise, from the evidence of the students, not getting caught was the key. Overall, the women students enjoyed as full a participation in university life as possible with their own and intercollegiate societies and clubs. The effect of two World Wars on society's perceptions of women and on the numbers of women students at the colleges resulted in further freedoms. All the students draw attention to their enjoyment of the time spent at college, the sense of identity they felt whilst there, and their appreciation of the opportunity, whether felt at the time or with hindsight. However, how far the experiences of the

⁴⁷ - Dyhouse. 1995. p. 206.

students at St. Mary's and St. Hilda's shaped their lives *after* university needs to be examined in order to assess the real extent of its impact.



Pic. 7. - The Women's Hostel Members, 1916.
Miss R.E.D. Donaldson in centre.



Pic. 8. - A College Play, c. 1928.



Pic. 9. - The Women's Hostel Hockey Team, 1911.



Emily Stuart	?	Mrs Burrows	Edith Horsfall	Lilian Counsell	Christine Burrows
?	Louisa Selby	?	Mildred Miller	?	

Pic. 10. - St. Hilda's Principals of St. Mary's College:
Laura M. Roberts.

Miss Laura M. Roberts is known to be one of the four remaining unidentified students in this photograph of the Principal and students, 1894. Despite research into many different archives a photograph of Miss Roberts has not, as yet, been found.



Pic. 11. - St. Hilda's Principals of St. Mary's College:
R.E.D. Donaldson.
Taken from the College Photograph, 1931.



Pic. 12. - St. Hilda's Principals of St. Mary's College:
Joan M. Kenworthy.
Pictured here at the College Garden Party, 1996.

Chapter 7. - The "After-Life"

The ideas that there were neatly divided types of woman in society, and that there was a market for higher education meeting the forces of supply and demand, are well established. They give the impression that for the period up to 1952 the universities continued to provide for the dual market of the leisured lady seeking cultivation and the new woman seeking qualifications for self support. It could be assumed, then, that only two categories of graduate were produced by the women's colleges: the independent career woman who would not marry or the lady of the higher social classes whose future was secured by marriage or independent means. However, this is too clear cut and does not take into account individual and chronological differences. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the nature of the "after-lives" of the students at St. Mary's and St. Hilda's in an attempt to assess the effect of a university education.

A thorough examination of the women's after-lives is limited by the nature of the information available from college records on each student. Both St. Mary's and St. Hilda's have attempted to keep track of their graduates by updating the information in their matriculation books. Old student associations, reunions and friendship networks also provide important additional information by maintaining personal contact with the colleges after leaving. There are, however, always going to be gaps. Some women choose not to keep in touch with their old colleges or respond to university correspondence and so their life after graduation cannot be considered. Therefore, the study cannot be totally comprehensive. For example, it is possible to ascertain a number of girls who definitely got married as their married name is recorded in the matriculation books. The number for whom there is no record at all of their later life is also clear. However, the remainder cannot be assumed to have remained single as it is possible that the college was simply not informed by either writing or word of mouth of their marriage. Similarly, the information on employment upon leaving college cannot be determined accurately. Dates are not always given for years of employment, and graduates would not necessarily inform college of all their career moves but maybe respond when asked, or college might find out through

friends and reunions. There are, then, serious limitations upon the study of the students' after-lives due to the nature of the data involved. However, once these limitations are recognised they do not devalue the information which is certain, and this can provide considerable insight into the effect of university education on women in the period up to 1952.

The career orientated new woman is the alleged result of demographic trends producing a number of surplus women who would need to be financially independent as they would be unable to secure a marriage. It is also the result of the marriage bar on women in employment. This reinforced the traditional notions of separate spheres for married men and women by legislation which assumed that marriage and motherhood were incompatible with a career. The 1912 Royal Commission on the Civil Service reinforced the bar agreeing that marriage made it impossible for "the devotion of a woman's whole time and unimpaired energy to the public service".¹ The marriage bars were not dropped formally until after the Second World War. However, these considerations did not automatically ensure that women leaving university with the qualifications for employment were necessarily going to remain single in order to pursue a lifelong career.

Change in personal situation and priorities must be taken into account. The aims and aspirations of a woman at 21 years old are bound to differ from those at 18, having undergone change or refinement, and it is therefore difficult to assess personal intentions. There are reminiscences of student life, some of which tell of the reason for going to college, such as Irene Rowell who explained that the idea of being a "lady chemist" appealed to her.² However, aside from these occasional instances there is little record of the influences upon, and the decisions made, by each individual student at St. Mary's or St. Hilda's colleges. A factor which must have prompted a change in attitude was meeting with men at University. A large body of unmarried male undergraduates of a similar age, background or interest to the women was bound to create a wider marriage market. Whilst the intention to provide for a career as a single woman may have

¹ - H. Martindale, in Lewis, J. 1984. p. 102.

² - Personal Correspondence with Irene Rowell. 05.07.96. p. 15.

been one of the reasons to go to college it was likely that this would change for at least some whilst they were attending it. Out of the total number of Oxford women students between 1930-39 who got married, 46% married an Oxford man, and it is likely that there was a similar pattern at Durham.³ This fact must have offset traditional beliefs held by parents that a university education reduced their daughters chances of getting married by threatening her femininity and her family's social status, or by causing her to view it as "a rather dull and unintellectual career".⁴

Out of the total number of women students who attended St. Mary's college between 1899-1952, 56.5% are known to have married and there were only two student who came to college already married. For St. Hilda's 61.1% definitely got married with 12 students already married on entry. For 15.7% of St. Mary's students and 5.4% of St. Hilda's there is no record of their post college life. St. Hilda's records are more complete in this way due to St. Hilda's and the Oxford colleges recognising the importance and advantages of maintaining close links with their graduates earlier than Durham. For the remaining 27.6% of St. Mary's and 32.8% of St. Hilda's students there is some information concerning initial employment but no mention of marriage, yet this does not mean that all of these women remained single throughout their lifetime. Therefore the figures for the number of women students of the colleges who married, which are already considerable, are the very lowest and could well be increased were full statistics available.

The high number of those who married may have been a result of the different social background of the students at the colleges and it is necessary to look at the marriage statistics in this way [Figs. 42 and 43]. Almost the same proportion of students from social class I married at both colleges, 63.3% at St. Mary's and 64.3% at St. Hilda's. This suggests that either for many of these girls a marriage was already secured, or that a university education did at least not diminish their chances in the marriage market. Those at St. Mary's from social class IV had a 50-50 chance of getting married but at St. Hilda's the odds were

³ - Greenstein, D. I. in Harrison, B. (ed.) 1994. p. 77.

⁴ - Hutchins, B. L. 1913. "Higher Education and Marriage." *The Englishwoman*, XVIII., p. 955-60.

almost three to one against, although the number of girls from this background was very small at both colleges. This suggests that for these women a university education provided the means to improve their social standing and personal income by gaining the qualifications for a career which would improve their social mobility, and staying single could have been a conscious decision. It remains to be seen, however, how many of the total number of women who did not marry enjoyed a career which maintained their social class and in how many cases it actually improved it.

Fig. 42 - Social class background of students at St. Mary's 1899-1952 in terms of marital status after graduation.

	I		II		III		IV		No Rec.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	124	63.3	134	53.0	123	58.0	13	50.0	37	48.1
Already Married	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2.6
Pos. Not Married	46	23.5	76	30.0	57	26.9	9	34.6	23	29.9
No Record	26	13.3	43	17.0	32	15.1	4	15.4	15	19.5
Total	196	100	253	100	212	100	26	100	77	100

Fig. 43 - Social class background of students at St. Hilda's 1893-1952 in terms of marital status after graduation.

	I		II		III		IV		No Rec.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	401	64.3	405	63.8	182	63.2	2	28.6	105	44.3
Already Married	4	0.6	7	1.1	0	0	0	0	1	0.4
Pos. Not Married	187	30.0	196	30.9	95	33.0	5	71.4	104	43.9
No Record	32	5.1	27	4.3	11	3.8	0	0	27	11.4
Total	624	100	635	100	288	100	7	100	237	100

The number of college students who married changed throughout the period and followed a similar pattern for both St. Mary's and St. Hilda's [Figs. 44 and 45]. Overall the number of students getting married was increasing. This may have been due to changes in the social background of the students. The gradual shift from a predominantly upper middle class recruitment to more representation of social classes II, III and a small but growing number from social class IV is compatible with studies which have shown that probably

daughters of professional men were least likely to marry.⁵ However the high proportion of social class I students at the colleges who did marry does not correspond with this interpretation. The easing of regulations governing the contact between male and female students meant that there were a larger number of opportunities in which to meet each other, and this no doubt encouraged relationships between undergraduates. Although many rules still applied, and college authorities up to 1952 observed student activities as closely as possible, with the removal of restrictions such as chaperonage and separate societies the students were increasingly able to enjoy each others' company. Another influence may have been the changing social perceptions of marriage. Legislative changes were gradually placing women on equal terms with men in and out of marriage and this challenged the traditional male dominance within the family. This was still not equivalent to the "companionate marriage"⁶ and many limitations remained, but the post Second World War period saw the beginning of greater freedom

Fig. 44 - Marital status after graduation for students at St. Mary's within specific time periods.

	1899-1913		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-45		1946-52	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	28	36.8	15	50.0	96	57.1	73	57.0	80	54.1	139	65.0
Already	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.7	1	0.5
Pos. Not	28	36.8	12	40.0	56	33.3	30	23.4	37	25.0	48	22.4
No Record	20	26.3	3	10.0	16	9.5	25	19.5	30	20.3	26	12.1
Total	76	100	30	100	168	100	128	100	148	100	214	100

Fig. 45 - Marital status after graduation for students at St. Hilda's within specific time periods.

	1893-8		1899-1913		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-45		1946-52	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	12	29.3	68	35.8	34	38.6	180	52.6	269	69.3	228	69.1	304	73.8
Already	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.29	2	0.52	2	0.61	7	1.7
Pos. Not	25	61.0	109	57.4	47	53.4	146	42.7	100	25.8	79	23.9	81	19.7
No Rec.	4	9.76	13	6.8	7	8.0	15	4.39	17	4.38	21	6.36	20	4.85
Total	41	100	190	100	88	100	342	100	388	100	330	100	412	100

⁵ - C. E. Collet, in Howarth, J. and Curthoys, M. 1987. p. 227.

⁶ - Lewis, J. 1984. p. 134.

within marriage, and spinsterhood was no longer the only way to challenge the role prescription of separate spheres. The distinctions of the new woman were becoming blurred and St. Mary's and St. Hilda's were, therefore, not producing graduates who saw their future simply as either a career woman or a wife.

Studying the careers of the women graduates of St. Mary's and St. Hilda's is very difficult due to the limitations of the sources. A full chronological record of all the jobs taken by each student is just not available. Neither is there full supplementary information, such as dates of marriage, number of children or dates of death, for every student at each college, although the records of St. Hilda's are more complete in this sense than St. Mary's. Therefore, in order to investigate and compare the types of employment which women graduates of the colleges might take, only the information on their first job on leaving higher education has been used [Fig. 46]. This shows clearly that the most popular form of employment for women after graduation was the teaching profession: for 52.1% of St. Mary's and 46.3% of St. Hilda's students. Teaching was traditionally considered both a suitable and socially accepted form of employment for women, and so if they had to support themselves many were encouraged to teach in order to do so. The high numbers can also be explained by the large number of women who had taken a state or county council training grant or scholarship to fund their higher education and which bound them to teach for a certain period of time after graduation. Some of these women might not have chosen teaching had they been self-funding. It is hard to determine the number that entered college who had already decided that they wanted to teach, and student reminiscences confirm only a few, but personal aims should not be underestimated. So, the high percentage of teachers can be explained by both those who chose to teach and those who were bound to do so. It should be noted that a larger number of St. Hilda's girls maintained a career in education, with more of its graduates becoming head mistresses, university tutors and college principals of other university women's residences or hostels: three students between 1893-1952 went on to become Principal of St. Mary's College! This suggests that the value of an Oxford qualification in demonstrating academic ability might have been an extra asset or that maybe more women students at

Oxford were committed to teaching and a profession. However, the deficiencies in the quantity of chronological information available for St Mary's girls should not be underestimated.

Fig. 46 - Careers on leaving higher education of students at St. Mary's 1899-1952 and St. Hilda's 1893-1952.

	St. Mary's		St. Hilda's	
	No.	%	No.	%
No Record	263	34.4	394	22.0
Prof - Teaching	398	52.1	829	46.3
- Medicine	2	0.3	27	1.5
- Nursing	2	0.3	11	0.6
- Law	0	0	7	0.4
- Journalism	2	0.3	9	0.5
- Lib./Arch./Mus.	14	1.8	52	2.9
- Other	1	0.1	2	0.1
Religious Order	2	0.3	2	0.1
Other Religious	0	0	1	0.1
Research	14	1.8	59	3.3
Administration	7	0.9	57	3.2
Civil Service	9	1.2	60	3.4
Commercial	1	0.1	14	0.8
Clerical/Sect	33	4.3	132	7.4
Translator	0	0	6	0.3
Media	2	0.3	34	1.9
Arts	0	0	19	1.1
Civilian Defence	0	0	2	0.1
Social / Welfare	13	1.7	73	4.1
Missionary	1	0.1	1	0.1
Total	764	100	1791	100

Clerical and secretarial employment has the second largest numbers from both colleges, 4.3% of St. Mary's and 7.4% of St. Hilda's girls. The next largest group for St. Hilda's, 4.1%, was social and welfare work but this accounted for only 1.7% of St. Mary's students, and this may have been a result of the higher middle class background of the St. Hilda's students and women entering this type of employment for considerations of social status. Many of these women went on to do missionary work later in life. Both secretarial and social work were, again, more socially acceptable forms of employment for women than, for example, the professions which only very few graduates entered. However, how did these occupations after graduation change with time? (See Appendix G)

It can be seen from Fig. 48 that the number of women who attended St. Hilda's and who entered teaching declined over the whole period from a high of 60.2% in 1914-18 to only 33% by 1946-52. Although the number of women for whom there is no record of their employment after leaving higher education increases over the same period, even if all of these women did become teachers, which would be unlikely, there would still have been an overall reduction in this occupation's majority, from 90.3% to 60.5%. However, the figures for St. Mary's students who entered teaching do not follow such a clear pattern [Fig. 47]. Instead the figures reach a peak of 69% in 1919-28, fall to 43.2% by 1939-45 and then increase again in the post war period to 46.7%. Similarly the numbers for whom there are no record fluctuate between year groups. Again, if the numbers for teaching and for no record are combined there is an overall decrease in the number of women who might have entered teaching, from 96% to 77.5%, but this decrease is not as great as for St. Hilda's. This difference can probably be explained by social background. The higher middle class background of St. Hilda's students meant that more girls were able to fund themselves whilst more St. Mary's students held scholarships which entailed a teaching commitment. Whilst there was a gradual shift at both colleges towards recruitment from a wider social range, at St. Mary's, which started from a lower class base anyway, this meant that more rather than fewer of their students had to rely on training grants to secure higher education. However, although teaching was the main occupation for both of the colleges' graduates, its dominance had declined by the end of the period.

Opportunities within other areas of employment after graduation appear to have occurred mainly in the post war periods and by 1946-52 there were a larger number of women entering a greater variety of occupations other than teaching: 39.5% of St. Hilda's girls and 22.5% of St. Mary's by 1945-52 compared with 26.3% and 4% in 1899-1913. The effect of war certainly influenced these developments. Recruitment of women into the Civil Service, for example, doubled for St. Hilda's during the second world war and St. Mary's records her first graduates in this occupation during this period. The number in other occupations expanded, such as in research and administration, but there

Fig. 47 - Careers on leaving higher education of students at St. Mary's within specific time periods.

	1899-1913		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-45		1946-52	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No Record	40	52.6	8	26.7	36	21.4	51	39.8	62	41.9	66	30.8
Prof - Teaching	33	43.4	20	66.7	116	69.0	65	50.8	64	43.2	100	46.7
- Medicine	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.9
- Nursing	0	0	0	0	1	0.6	0	0	1	0.7	0	0
- Journalism	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.8	1	0.7	0	0
- Lib./Arch./Mus.	0	0	0	0	3	1.8	1	0.8	2	1.4	8	3.7
- Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.7	0	0
Religious Order	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.4	0	0
Research	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.8	2	1.4	11	5.1
Administration	0	0	0	0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0	6	2.8
Civil Service	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	3.4	4	1.9
Commercial	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.5
Clerical/Sect.	1	1.3	2	6.7	7	4.2	9	7.0	4	2.7	10	4.7
Media	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.9
Social / Welfare	1	1.3	0	0	4	2.4	0	0	4	2.7	4	1.9
Missionary	1	1.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	76	100	30	100	168	100	128	100	148	100	214	100

Fig. 48 - Careers on leaving higher education of students at St. Hilda's within specific time periods.

	1893-9		1899-1913		1914-18		1919-28		1929-38		1939-45		1946-52	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No Record	10	24.4	40	21.1	12	13.6	66	19.3	76	19.6	81	24.5	109	26.5
Prof - Teaching	27	65.9	100	52.6	54	61.4	181	52.9	188	48.5	139	42.1	140	34.0
- Medicine	0	0	1	0.5	1	1.1	1	0.3	4	1.0	12	3.6	8	1.9
- Nursing	1	2.4	1	0.5	2	2.3	2	0.6	2	0.5	1	0.3	2	0.5
- Law	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.9	0	0	3	0.9	1	0.2
- Journalism	0	0	1	0.5	1	1.1	5	1.5	0	0	0	0	2	0.5
- Lib/Arch/Mus	0	0	2	1.1	0	0	14	4.1	7	1.8	10	3.0	19	4.6
- Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	1	0.2
Religious Order	0	0	2	1.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other Religious	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.2
Research	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	9	2.3	13	3.9	36	8.7
Administration	0	0	4	2.1	1	1.1	5	1.5	13	3.4	16	4.8	18	4.4
Civil Service	0	0	1	0.5	2	2.3	0	0	17	4.4	27	8.2	13	3.2
Commercial	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	4	1.0	1	0.3	8	1.9
Clerical/Sect.	1	2.4	20	10.5	9	10.2	34	9.9	38	9.8	11	3.3	19	4.6
Translator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.8	0	0	3	0.7
Media	0	0	1	0.5	0	0	8	2.3	8	2.1	8	2.4	9	2.2
Arts	0	0	5	2.6	1	1.1	3	0.9	4	1.0	1	0.3	5	1.2
Civilian Defence	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	1	0.3	0	0
Social / Welfare	1	2.4	12	6.3	5	5.7	17	5.0	14	3.6	6	1.8	18	4.4
Missionary	1	2.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	41	100	190	100	88	100	342	100	388	100	330	100	412	100

was still only 7.9% of St. Hilda's and 4.6% of St. Mary's students in professional occupations other than teaching by 1946-52. The marriage bars might have dissuaded some from attempting a medical or law career after leaving university. Also, some did not enter these careers immediately but changed to them later in life, after teaching commitments for example. However the figure for each college was low and reflected the limitations which remained governing women's employment, both legislative and social.

Yet, rather than just considering these general types of employment it is possible to draw attention to a number of individual occupations which emphasise the variety and that not all women considered teaching to be their future. St. Mary's for instance can claim among her graduates the producer of BBC's "Blue Peter", a Mayor, a secretary to David Lloyd George MP and a distinguished phonetician of West African Languages, whilst St. Hilda's can boast an opera soloist, an actress, a sculptor, a computer programmer, a congregational minister and one of her American students went on to be a judge. These examples make it clear that changes in society as a result of war and the increased opportunities for women meant that the variety of employment female graduates could enter was widening, and that women students could not necessarily all be pigeonholed as future teachers. However, as Figs. 47 and 48 show, these changes were only gradual.

The advantages of a university qualification in ensuring that women would be better able to find employment enabled some of St. Mary's and St. Hilda's graduates to improve their social mobility and class status. Fig. 49 shows that out of all the girls who entered St. Mary's college from social class IV, 69.2% for whom there are records entered the teaching profession. At St. Hilda's [Fig. 50] 71.4% entered teaching whilst 14.3% entered both research or administration occupations. A university education was, therefore, no doubt responsible for providing greater opportunities in employment than these women might have had otherwise. A small minority of social class III girls, 4.7% of St. Hilda's and 1.4% of St. Mary's, even managed to enter professional employment other than teaching, including medicine and law. However, the higher figure for St. Hilda's again suggests the advantages of the status of the Oxford

Fig. 49 - Careers on leaving higher education in terms of social background on entry to St. Mary's 1899-1952.

	I		II		III		IV		No Rec.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No Record	69	35.2	84	33.2	73	34.4	8	30.8	29	37.7
Prof - Teaching	91	46.4	136	53.8	116	54.7	18	69.2	37	48.1
- Medicine	2	1.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
- Nursing	2	1.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
- Journalism	1	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.3
- Lib/Arch/Mus	7	3.6	4	1.6	3	1.4	0	0	0	0
- Other	0	0	1	0.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Religious Order	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.5	0	0	0	0
Research	5	2.6	4	1.6	4	1.9	0	0	1	1.3
Administration	0	0	4	1.6	3	1.4	0	0	0	0
Civil Service	1	0.5	3	1.2	2	0.9	0	0	3	3.9
Commercial	1	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clerical/Sect.	13	6.6	13	5.1	5	2.4	0	0	2	2.6
Media	0	0	1	0.4	1	0.5	0	0	0	0
Social / Welfare	3	1.5	2	0.8	4	1.9	0	0	4	5.2
Missionary	1	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	196	100	253	100	212	100	26	100	77	100

Fig. 50 - Careers on leaving higher education in terms of social background on entry to St. Hilda's 1893-1952.

	I		II		III		IV		No Rec.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No Record	153	24.5	129	20.3	41	14.2	0	0	71	30.0
Prof - Teaching	239	38.3	316	49.8	160	55.6	5	71.4	109	46.0
- Medicine	17	2.7	7	1.1	1	0.3	0	0	2	0.8
- Nursing	5	0.8	1	0.2	3	1.0	0	0	2	0.8
- Law	2	0.3	1	0.2	2	0.7	0	0	2	0.8
- Journalism	5	0.8	1	0.2	1	0.3	0	0	2	0.8
- Lib/Arch/Mus	23	3.7	16	2.5	7	2.4	0	0	6	2.5
- Other	2	0.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Religious Order	1	0.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.4
Other Religious	1	0.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Research	18	2.9	25	3.9	12	4.2	1	14.3	3	1.3
Administration	19	3.0	23	3.6	12	4.2	1	14.3	2	0.8
Civil Service	23	3.7	22	3.5	12	4.2	0	0	3	1.3
Commercial	1	0.2	10	1.6	2	0.7	0	0	1	0.4
Clerical/Sect.	59	9.5	42	6.6	14	4.9	0	0	17	7.2
Translator	3	0.5	2	0.3	1	0.3	0	0	0	0
Media	18	2.9	11	1.7	3	1.0	0	0	2	0.8
Arts	5	0.8	6	0.9	2	0.7	0	0	6	2.5
Civilian Defence	1	0.2	0	0	1	0.3	0	0	0	0
Social / Welfare	29	4.6	23	3.6	14	4.9	0	0	7	3.0
Missionary	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.4
Total	624	100	635	100	288	100	7	100	237	100

qualification within these traditional professional occupations despite social class background. The idea that the higher education of women was an investment in the future rather than a luxury for the higher classes was extended further, and encouraged more lower social class families to meet the expense.

For those girls entering the colleges from social class I, higher education was able to ensure that they could earn their own living should circumstances, such as not marrying, make it necessary to do so. However, it also provided extra security against downward social mobility as Figs. 49 and 50 show that only 9.5% from St. Hilda's and 6.6% from St. Mary's of this class entered clerical or secretarial occupations. These Figs. also show that a larger number of women from a social class I background entered the non-teaching professions than those from lower social classes: 8.6% of St. Hilda's and 6.1% of St. Mary's graduates. It is possible that these women were following in their fathers' footsteps, that their fathers had contacts to help them find an appropriate vacancy, that they were better able to finance further training within higher education for professional work, or simply that not as many were bound to teaching by the terms of a scholarship. Overall, therefore, the number entering teaching decreased and the variety of employment increased with social class, generally as a result of greater financial support. However, a higher education qualification was responsible for enabling women from all class backgrounds to take advantage of the widening opportunities and improve their standing within society, intellectually and materially.

Changes in personal aims and situation which challenge the idea of the career driven new woman as the main product of the university colleges can be seen in a comparison of the women's careers on leaving higher education with their married status [Figs. 51 and 52]. With the exceptions of the Civil Service, Administration and Librarian graduates of St. Mary's College, at least half of the women in each occupation from both colleges got married, and these figures could be greater still considering the limitations of the information on marriages. The total figure for those in the professions who got married is similar for each college, 59.1% of St. Mary's and 54.7% of St. Hilda's girls. The marriage bar in most cases would force these women to leave their jobs immediately despite

their hard work to achieve them. When they were able to continue, and as the marriage bars were removed, women faced the problem of finding part time work suitable for their family commitments.

After 1945 marriage proved a greater obstacle to women's careers because there were insufficient part-time or short-term jobs to go round among an increasing proportion of women who needed employment between graduation and marriage.⁷

In all forms of employment, from professional to clerical, women also faced interruptions, such as having to move house or area according to their husband's employment. However, despite these restrictions upon their freedom of employment as a direct consequence of "tying the knot", over half of the graduates from both St. Mary's and St. Hilda's still got married. The colleges were, therefore, not simply producing the stereotypical new woman who had to choose a career in order to support herself financially for life or who wanted to challenge the sexual prescriptions of society. Some may have been more restricted in their options, such as those from social class IV who entered teaching, but, on the whole, most women appear to have been able to make their own decisions according to personal circumstances both after graduation and later.

⁷ - Greenstein, D. I. in Harrison. 1994. p. 77.

Fig. 51 - Careers on leaving higher education in terms of marital status for students at St. Mary's, 1899-1952.

	Married		Already Marr.		Pos. Not Marr.		No Record		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
No Record	137	52.1	1	0.4	5	1.9	120	45.6	263
Prof - Teaching	238	59.8	0	0	160	40.2	0	0	398
- Medicine	2	100.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
- Nursing	1	50.0	0	0	1	50.0	0	0	2
- Journalism	2	100.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
- Lib./Arch./Mus.	4	28.6	0	0	10	71.4	0	0	14
- Other	1	100.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Religious Order	0	0	0	0	2	100.0	0	0	2
Research	9	64.3	0	0	5	35.7	0	0	14
Administration	3	42.9	0	0	4	57.1	0	0	7
Civil Service	3	33.3	0	0	6	66.7	0	0	9
Commercial	0	0	0	0	1	100.0	0	0	1
Clerical/Sect.	22	66.7	0	0	11	33.3	0	0	33
Media	1	50.0	0	0	1	50.0	0	0	2
Social/Welfare	8	61.5	1	7.7	4	30.8	0	0	13
Missionary	0	0	0	0	1	100.0	0	0	1
Total	431	56.4	2	0.3	211	27.6	120	15.7	764

Fig. 52 - Careers on leaving higher education in terms of marital status for students at St. Hilda's, 1899-1952.

	Married		Already Marr.		Pos. Not Marr.		No Record		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
No Record	274	69.5	6	1.5	17	4.3	97	24.6	394
Prof - Teaching	440	53.1	3	0.4	386	46.6	0	0	829
- Medicine	24	88.9	0	0	3	11.1	0	0	27
- Nursing	6	54.5	0	0	5	45.5	0	0	11
- Law	4	57.1	0	0	3	42.9	0	0	7
- Journalism	7	77.8	0	0	2	22.2	0	0	9
- Lib./Arch./Mus.	31	59.6	0	0	21	40.4	0	0	52
- Other	1	50.0	0	0	1	50.0	0	0	2
Religious Order	0	0	0	0	2	100.0	0	0	2
Other Religious	1	100.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Research	40	67.8	2	3.4	17	28.8	0	0	59
Administration	36	63.2	1	1.8	20	35.1	0	0	57
Civil Service	42	70.0	0	0	18	30.0	0	0	60
Commercial	11	78.6	0	0	3	21.4	0	0	14
Clerical/Sect.	88	66.7	0	0	44	33.3	0	0	132
Translator	5	83.3	0	0	1	16.7	0	0	6
Media	25	73.5	0	0	9	26.5	0	0	34
Arts	11	57.9	0	0	8	42.1	0	0	19
Civilian Defence	1	50.0	0	0	1	50.0	0	0	2
Social/Welfare	48	65.8	0	0	25	34.2	0	0	73
Missionary	0	0	0	0	1	100.0	0	0	1
Total	1095	61.1	12	0.7	587	32.8	97	5.4	1791

Chapter 8. - Beyond 1952

The students of St. Mary's College were not the only women at Durham University, yet they attended the only University founded residential institution for women students in Durham until Trevelyan College was opened in 1966. It is clear from the personal information available for each student, including social class, educational and geographical background, that the College's foundation and early development responded to the demands of the middle classes. By 1952, however, the pattern of recruitment had changed: St. Mary's accepting more students from a wider range of social backgrounds in a more nationally representative way. This pattern is reflected in the students of St. Hilda's College, Oxford, although a certain level of exclusivity survived, no doubt due to its Oxbridge status. Throughout the period, the effect of two World Wars, social change, education reforms and the achievement of women within university institutions, all contributed to the widening of the opportunities for the higher education of women: the women's colleges ceasing to be the preserve of only the middle classes who could afford them. Graduates of each college did not fit neatly into the traditional stereotypical categories of the career-minded single woman or the more cultured wife, and were able to make a greater number of choices about their future based upon individual circumstances. Although teaching remained the main avenue of employment, the variety of opportunities was increasing and the degree qualification became as accepted for women as it always had been for men.

Yet, how did this situation change after 1952? Whether the process of change in the patterns of recruitment continued can only be determined definitely by an ongoing investigation of the students at each college up to the present day, and although the sources are available to make this possible, pressures of space do not permit a detailed study here. However, by looking simply at the recent college intakes of St. Mary's and St. Hilda's it can be seen that the changes in the women's colleges did continue. The students now come from all sorts of personal situations and social background, both international and local, and certainly none would question their right to the advantages of higher education.

Indeed, the completion of the university application form (UCAS) is an automatic part of today's Sixth Form. However, the very nature of higher education itself has changed, and the effect on the women's colleges must be taken into consideration.

The 1960s and 1970s proved to be key decades in the history of higher education. Different social values introduced important elements of change. The lowering of the age of majority from 21 to 18 in 1970 meant that the college's function of acting *in loco parentis* ceased as students were now young independent adults. The old rules and regulations became outdated and these had to be revised under careful negotiation with the college authorities, taking into account developments such as the increasing availability of alcohol to students, and the advent of the student bar. Other less obvious changes in student lifestyle occurred as a result of changes in domestic staff and also in the provision of self-catering facilities leaving students responsible for their own space with greater opportunity to look after themselves. However, it was university expansion, heralded by the Robbins Report in 1963, which had the biggest impact upon higher education. It brought with it an increase in government involvement and changes in the nature of funding, which meant that the government could issue alternating directions to expand and contract leaving the universities in a considerable state of uncertainty. The aspect of expansion which had the most profound effect on the very nature of the residential university colleges was the effort to increase the proportion, and not merely the number, of women students.

In 1966 the new women's college, Trevelyan, opened in Durham, and as St. Aidan's society had already gained collegiate status in 1961, these developments contributed to an increase in the overall percentage of women students within the university. However the most significant step taken to increase numbers was to "go mixed" and it was the men's colleges which changed first. St. Cuthbert's Society was the first at Durham to accept women in 1969, followed by Van Mildert in 1971. In 1972 Collingwood was the first college to be founded as mixed and between then and 1992 all other colleges followed suit, with the exception of St. Mary's. At Oxford, Brasenose, Jesus, Wadham, Hertford and St. Catherine's Colleges all went mixed in 1974, and

when in 1993 Somerville admitted men for the first time, St. Hilda's was left as the only remaining women's and single sex college within the university. As a result of these changes the number of women students at the collegiate universities did increase and in such a manner as to avoid lowering standards. In 1964/5 the number of women at Durham represented 23% of the student body which had increased to 40% by the mid 1970s.¹ The same development in numbers occurred at Oxford, and this percentage has remained fairly constant ever since. Yet, this development is one that has been made at the expense of the women's colleges themselves and continuous criticism of the system suggests that women's interests are not properly safeguarded within the traditionally male college environment. Also, it is interesting to note that although the proportion of women students has increased the proportion of female academics lags well behind. In 1993-4 the proportion of women students at Durham was approximately 46%, but for women academics only 18%.² The debates as to why continue, based upon the difficulties of combining a career and family and discrimination.

The debate over mixed education is also ongoing, and the pros and cons will not be discussed here, but the initial reaction from the women's colleges was the fear that their numbers and final results would decline as the men's colleges "creamed off" the best female applicants. It is possible to support the idea that the two remaining colleges do continue to lose students purely on the grounds of being single sex institutions. Many young women who have been to an all girls school often want something different on application to university, whilst those who have been at mixed schools are unlikely to opt for a single sex college for their university years. On talking to the students of St. Mary's it is clear that a large proportion did not apply to the college itself and either left their application form open or were passed on from other colleges which had already filled their own intake. This also appears to be true of St. Hilda's students. There are also several examples of students having left the colleges for the sole reason that they did not like the fact that it was single sex and could not adapt to its lifestyle. This

¹ - *A Question of Degree*, Exhibition booklet - Durham University Library, 1995.

² - loc. cit.

situation has been alleviated, to an extent, by the changes brought by pressures of accommodation and funding which have meant that students now “live out” for at least one year of their university education, although first years are guaranteed a place in college. Students who really do not want to live in an all woman college can live out with friends from other colleges for the remainder of their degree.

There is a new “case” for all-female colleges. It is claimed that within a single sex environment women gain greater confidence when compared with their counterparts in mixed colleges. This is reflected at college in their standing for JCR office and University Society Executive positions. However, it is difficult to judge this concept as there is no way of determining whether these women would have stood for the same positions if they had been in a mixed environment. It has also been suggested, mainly by studies in secondary education, that a single sex environment produces better results from female students and this could be transferred to higher education. However, this too is difficult to determine as University lectures and tutorials are mixed and it is only College accommodation which is now single sex. As few women apply to the single sex colleges they often take people passed on to them from the others. Therefore, it could be assumed that the “creaming off” process, first feared when the colleges went mixed initially, leaves the single sex colleges with academically weaker students. However, as the results are often very good it would be interesting to examine whether the final results achieved by the students of St. Mary’s are better than their academic background on entry would have suggested. If there is this “improvement” level the single sex college would have another point in its favour.

Overall, however, despite the difficulties in the actual recruitment of students, the numbers now at the colleges are a far cry from the few individuals of the 1890s, with well over 500 women at St. Mary’s College alone, over 300 of whom actually live in. Once there, most students adapt to the single sex atmosphere and develop a sense of loyalty to their college just the same as those in other colleges. Many even speak of the advantages as having an excuse to go out and a retreat to come back to, and the additional confidence and friendships it

provides. It is interesting that over such a short period of time the single sex college within the collegiate university has changed from being the norm to the unusual, and those girls who attend them are the subject of jokes evoking the stereotypes of the pioneers. However, the difference is that their presence is completely accepted in all areas and women can now answer back freely.

As to the future of St. Mary's and St. Hilda's remaining single sex, the way seems unclear. Until the academic year 1995-96, successive ballots at both colleges on the question of going mixed produced results clearly opposed to change. However, the most recent ballot at St. Mary's resulted in J.C.R. opinion favouring change, and, for the first time, by a clear majority. Whether this will mean the college will become mixed, and, if so, how quickly, remains uncertain as the technicalities of change are discussed. The debate over single sex education continues to influence public opinion on both sides, but the need for funding and security of student intake influences the university and college. As the student body which voted for change gradually leaves the college, new ballots are necessary in order to ensure that the change is representative of their wishes, in order to avoid a repeat of the scenes at Somerville in 1992, and there is always a possibility that the new students could vote to remain single sex. Therefore, maybe St. Mary's will still be able to celebrate its centenary in 1999 as an all women's college. However, even if it cannot, the achievement of the women's colleges in developing the higher education of women, and the continued role of St. Mary's and St. Hilda's in securing the opportunity of a collegiate based university education to women from a wide range of society, should not be forgotten.

APPENDIX A. - Student Age

The age of each student by year of entry to St. Mary's College, Durham, 1899-1952, and St. Hilda's College, Oxford, 1893-1952.

Students' age on entry to St. Mary's College by year of intake, 1899-1952.

	17-	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30+	No R.	Total
1899		2	1		2	2										7
1900			1	1	3											5
1901		1		3		1										5
1902			1		3	1										5
1903	2	1		4		3		1						1		12
1904	1		2	2		1	1	1								8
1905					1		1									2
1906		2		1	4		1									8
1907	1	1	1	1												4
1908	1		1	3												5
1909	1	2	1													4
1910			3													3
1911																0
1912		1			1		1									3
1913			1	2											2	5
1914		2		2	1											5
1915	1	2	2													5
1916		4	3		1											8
1917		1													3	4
1918	1														7	8
1919	2	5		2											3	12
1920	1	4	2													7
1921	4	5	5	3	1										1	19
1922	2	10	6	2												20
1923	3	11	3	1												18
1924	1	11	4	2	2	1									1	22
1925	5	14	3												3	25
1926	2	7	6	2	1										1	19
1927	4	6	2	2		1										15
1928	2	5	2		1										1	11
1929		5	3	1												9
1930	2	5	4	1				1					1			14
1931	3	6	4													13
1932	7	6	3	2		1										19
1933	4	7	2													13
1934	2	11	4	1	1				1							20
1935	2	5														7
1936	1	5	2	1												9
1937	4	5	1													10
1938	2	10	2													14
1939		10			3											13
1940	2	10	4	1					1							18
1941	6	9	5													20
1942	3	15	2	1											1	22
1943	8	14														22
1944	5	14			1					1		1	1			23
1945	6	10	4	2	2	1		1						2	2	30
1946	1	12	3	1	1	2									2	22
1947	5	12	7			1		1	1							27
1948		20	5		1						1					27
1949		16	8	2			1		1						1	29
1950		15	11	2				1								29
1951	2	12	9	2	1	1		1								28
1952	1	29	17	2	2									1		52
Total	100	360	150	52	33	16	5	7	4	1	1	1	2	4	28	764

Students age on entry to St. Hilda's College by year of intake, 1893-1952.

	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30+	No R	Total
1893		1			1	1					1				3	7
1894				1										1	4	6
1895			3				1		1	1						6
1896		1	4	1			1							1		8
1897		1	2	3										1		7
1898	1		3	1	2											7
1899		1	6	4				2	1	1				1	1	17
1900		3	3									1				7
1901		1	2	3											1	7
1902		1	2	5	1								1	1	1	12
1903			3	1			1	1					1			7
1904	1		2	4							1	2			1	11
1905		3	1	1	1	1	1			1	1					10
1906		1	2	1		1										5
1907	1	1	4	2	1	2	2								2	15
1908		2	5	5	1	1	1		1	1			1		1	18
1909		1	6	3	1	2	1									14
1910		2	6	2									1	1		12
1911		3	6	8	1	2	1	1	1				1	1		25
1912		5	1	3	1				1	2				1		14
1913		1	7	2	3				1					2		16
1914		4	7	4	2	2					1			1	2	23
1915		3	2		3		1									9
1916		4	3	3												10
1917		6	6	5		1		1		1				1		21
1918		5	13	3	3		1									25
1919		5	9	10	1	3	1				1					30
1920		6	7	5	3	1			2					1		25
1921		6	13	10	2		1									32
1922	1	9	19	6	2	1		1	1	1				1		42
1923		9	14	2		2			1	1				1		30
1924		11	18	3			2		2							36
1925		11	24	3	2			1	1							42
1926		18	10	3				1								32
1927		10	14	5	1										1	31
1928		11	17	11	3											42
1929		10	12	8	1				1				1			33
1930		12	15	4	1		1	1		1						35
1931	1	17	14	3	1											36
1932		9	17	6	2									2		36
1933		18	16	3								1			1	39
1934	1	15	24	6	1	1										48
1935		16	19	2												37
1936	1	11	16	5			1	1					1			36
1937	1	14	21	4	2				1							43
1938	1	18	19	4		1						1		1		45
1939		14	19	3												36
1940	4	31	15					1								51
1941	1	16	15	2	3	2	1									40
1942	3	28	12	3	1					2						49
1943	7	33	12	3		1								1		57
1944	12	34	4	1						1				2		54
1945	2	22	3	6	2	1	2	1	1	2	1					43
1946	1	21	14	6		7	1	1	2	1	2			2		58
1947		28	20	2	3	3	1						2	1		60
1948		28	16	2	5		3		2	1		1		1		59
1949	1	15	23	4	3	2	1	1		1				1		52
1950		20	29	2	2	2		1	1			1		3	1	62
1951		16	26	2	5		1	3				2		2		57
1952	2	25	22	5	1	2	2	1		1				3		64
Total	42	617	647	209	68	41	29	19	21	19	8	9	9	34	19	1791

APPENDIX B. - Father's Occupation

Father's occupation of each student by year of entry to St. Mary's College, Durham, 1899-1952, St. Hilda's College, Oxford, 1899-1952, and St. Hild's College, Durham, 1898-1907.

Father's Occupation by Year of Entry to St. Mary's College, 1899-1952 (continued on next page).

	Ac	CoE	Non	Eng	Law	Med	Ed	J	Sc	Oth	AM	Com	Fin	Cle	Man	Pri	A/F	C/D	Ag	B/C	T/C	Min	Ent	P/S	OW	No.R.	Total		
1899	1							1				2		2												1	7		
1900	1				2							1										1						5	
1901	3										1	1																5	
1902				1				1			1											2						5	
1903	4			1	1						2	1		1					1			1						12	
1904	2					1					1				2		1										1	8	
1905	1											1		1														2	
1906	2							1			1	3										1						8	
1907	1					1					1											1						4	
1908							1		1					1								1						5	
1909											1	1		1														4	
1910																												5	
1911																												4	
1912																												3	
1913																												0	
1914												2										1					1	3	
1915													2															5	
1916												3																7	
1917														1														6	
1918																												5	
1919																												4	
1920																												1	8
1921																												3	12
1922																												7	7
1923																												2	19
1924																												1	20
1925																												1	18
1926																												2	22
																												2	25
																												1	19

	Ac	CoE	Non	Eng	Law	Med	Ed	J	Sc	Ofh	A/M	Com	Fin	Cle	Man	Pri	A/F	C/D	Ag	B/C	T/C	Min	Ent	P/S	OW	No.R.
1927		1		3		1						3		3		1								1		2
1928	1	2		1			2					2								1	1					1
1929		1		3							1	2							1	1						
1930		1		1			3					3		1					1			2				2
1931		1	1	1	1		2				1	3		1								2				
1932		1	1	1			4		1	1	1	3		1								1	2			2
1933							2			2	2	1	1	1	1			1		1			2			1
1934							7					2	1	2	1			1	1			2				
1935		1										3	1	1	1											
1936		2		1								2			2											2
1937		3					1							1									1			4
1938		1					3				1	3							2				1			2
1939							2					1											1			4
1940		1		1		2	1			1	2	2				1			1				1			2
1941			1			1	4					1	1	5	2				1	1		3				1
1942				3			2				4	1	1	1	1				3			2				5
1943		1		3			2				2	2	2	1	2			1	2	1		1				1
1944		1		1		1	1			1	1	2	1	2	1				1			5	1	1		3
1945		1		4			1		1		3	3			6							3	2	1		5
1946		2		1					1		3	1		2			1		3			3	1			4
1947		3		4	1		1				3	4		3	2							2	1			3
1948	2		1	4		1	1				2	2		3	3	1		1				3				2
1949	2	3	2				4				4		2	2					1			3				2
1950		2		3							3		1	4	5		1					4	2			2
1951	1	1		2		1	3			1	4	4	2		1				3			4				2
1952		7	2	4	1	1	7		1	1	3	3	3	4	2				2	1		2			1	2
Total	6	36	8	41	3	9	54	1	3	5	40	51	17	37	34	3	2	3	26	9	46	16	4	6	2	54

Fathers Occupation by Year of Entry to St. Hilda's College, 1893-1952 (continued on next page).

	Ind	Ac	CoE	Non	Eng	Law	Med	Ed	J	Sc	Oh	A/M	Com	Fin	Cle	Man	Pri	A/F	C/D	Ag	Fis	B/C	T/C	Min	Ent	P/S	OW	No.	R	Total			
1893																			1											6	7		
1894																															6	6	
1895																															6	6	
1896																															8	8	
1897				1																											6	7	
1898																															7	7	
1899				1																											16	17	
1900																															7	7	
1901																															7	7	
1902				1																											11	12	
1903																															7	7	
1904				1																											10	11	
1905				1																											9	10	
1906																															5	5	
1907				2			2						1																		10	15	
1908				2			1	3				1	1																		8	18	
1909	1	1	1	1			2						1																		6	14	
1910				1	1			2	1			1	2																		2	12	
1911	1		3		1		3	3				2	5	2																	4	25	
1912	2		1			2	1			1		3																			14	14	
1913	2		1				1	2				1	5	2																	2	16	
1914	3	1	4	1	3	1	1	1				1																			2	23	
1915				3	1		2					1	2																			9	9
1916	1	1	1	1	2		2					1	1																		1	10	
1917	1	1	2	2	2	3	2	3				2	1																		21	21	
1918			4	1	1	1	1	3				8	1																			25	25
1919	1	3	2	2	2	3	1					2	7																		30	30	
1920	1	1	2	2	6	1	2	1				3	2	2																		25	25
1921	1	1	1	1	3		3	5				2	2	2																	1	32	
1922			3	2	1	3	4	6	1			3	7	1																	1	42	
1923			3	1		3	2	4	1			2	1	2	6																1	30	
1924	2	1	1	1	2	3	4	4	2	2		2	6	1																	2	36	
1925	1		2	5	1	4	3	1				6	6	2	4																1	42	
1926	1	1	2	3	2		4	5	1	1		1	4	3	2																1	32	

	Ind	Ac	Cof	Non	Eng	Law	Med	Ed	J	Sc	Oth	AM	Com	Fin	Cle	Man	Pri	A/F	C/D	Ag	Fis	B/C	T/C	Min	Ent	P/S	OW	NoR.	Total
1926	1	1	2	3	2		4	5	1	1		1	4	3	2					1			1						32
1927			3		2	4	1	2	2			2	3	4	2	3		2											31
1928	1	1	3		3	2	2	5				5	1	2	6	1		3		1		1							42
1929	1	1		1	4	2	1	3	1	2			5	1	1	2		1	1	1			2						33
1930	1				2	5	1	6				4	5	2	3	1		1		1		1	2						35
1931					5	2	1	6				4	4	1	6	1	1	3		1									38
1932			1		3	4	1	2	1		1	6	4		4		3			1		1							34
1933				2	1	1	2	4				7	7	4	4	1				1									39
1934				2	6	5	3	5	1		1	7	5	2	3		2			2			1						48
1935			5	1	4	2	3	3				4	5	2	2		2			1			1						37
1936	1	1	2	5	1	2	6	1			2	6	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1									36
1937	2	1	1	3		3	7		1		6	4		3	2					3		1	1						43
1938	2		1		6	2	2	2			10	7		5	1			2		1									45
1939				2	1	1	1	7	1		1	5	4	1	5	2	1	2		1									36
1940			1	1	4	2	1	5	2			8	9	2	3			6		1			1						51
1941	3		3	6	1	3	5		1		3	6	1	1	1	1		2	1										40
1942	1	2	1	3	1	1	8		1		1	9	5	2	3	2	1	2					2						49
1943	2	1		3		3	5	8		2	12	4	1	5	1		3		2		1	2	2						57
1944	2	2		2	5	1	2	12			9	7	2	5		3		3		2			2						54
1945	1	3		3	2	6	4	2			8	2	4	3	1	1	1												43
1946	1	1	2	4	3	2	7		2		11	5	5	3			3	1	1		2								58
1947	1	2	1	5	1	4	9	2	3		10	5	2				3		3	1	4								60
1948	1	3	1		4	2	1	9	3		10	5	2	3	1		7		1		4								59
1949			1		6		5	7	2	2	1	7	3	2	4	4		2	1	1	1								52
1950				1	3		2	6	1	3	1	16	7	2	7	1	4		2		2								62
1951			4	1	1	2	2	4	10		11	3		5	1	2	3	1	2		1	1	2						57
1952			2	1	3	3	4	2	3	2	17	7	2	4	6		1		2		2		1	2					64
Total	15	39	74	42	122	80	100	197	25	30	7	227	186	69	125	34	12	78	8	39	1	14	30	1	4	8	2	222	1791

Fathers Occupation by Year of Entry to St. Hild's College, 1898-1907.

	Ac	CofE	Non	Eng	Ed	J	A/M	Com	Fin	Cle	Man	Pri	C/D	Ag	Fish	B/C	T/C	Min	Ent	P/S	OW	Unsk	No R	Total
1898	1	1		2	7		1	8		3	2	1	1	2		1	3	2		2	2		2	41
1899				2	2		1	3		2	9			3		3	4						16	45
1900				2	4			6		2	8		2	7		1	6	6				2	9	55
1901	3	1		1	6			5	1	4	9			4			5		1		1	1	8	50
1902	1			3	8			5	1	1	5			7		3	3	1		3			9	50
1903	1			2	11	1	2	8	1	4	6			5		2	6	3	1		1		4	58
1904		1		6	3			4		5	8			6		1	2		1				11	48
1905		1	1	3	4		2	5		9	7			3		2	9	3		2	2		9	62
1906		1		3	3	1	1	6	1	8	9		2	1	1	2	2	1		2	1	1	9	55
1907	1			3	12	1	1	7	2	6	9	1		3		3	1	2		2	1		8	63
Total	7	5	1	27	60	3	8	57	6	44	72	2	5	41	1	18	41	18	3	11	8	4	85	527

APPENDIX C. - Social Background

The social background of each student by year of entry to St. Mary's College, Durham 1899-1952, St. Hilda's College, Oxford, 1893-1952, and St. Hild's College, Durham, 1898-1907 in terms of the social class, socio-economic group and salary-wage earner definition of their father's occupation as classified in *The Census of England and Wales, 1951*.

Description of the unit groups of *The Census of England and Wales 1951*,
Classification of Occupations.

Social Class

Each occupational unit has been assigned as a whole to the appropriate social class, although there may be individuals just falling within the margin of a group by virtue of their occupation for whom the social class grading may seem less appropriate. As the social framework is not based on a separate classification of individuals, but only on a broad aggregation of unit groups, such marginal differences of allocation are inescapable; looked at in their proper context, however, they are relatively insignificant.¹

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------|
| 5 Broad Categories - I | - Professional |
| II | - Intermediate |
| III | - Skilled |
| IV | - Semi - Skilled |
| V | - Unskilled |

Socio-economic Group

The Census notes explain that in order to compensate for the deficiencies of the social class grading not being adequate for all the socio-economic group was “a different arrangement into a somewhat larger number of slightly more sharply defined groups”.²

A - Agricultural

- | | |
|---|------------------------|
| 1 | - Farmers |
| 2 | - Agricultural Workers |

B - Non-Agricultural

i) Non-Manual

- | | |
|---|--|
| 3 | - Higher Administration / Professional /
Managerial |
|---|--|

¹ - *Census of England and Wales 1951 - Occupation Tables*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office. p. x.

² - *ibid.* p. xi.

- 4 - Other Administration / Professional / Managerial
- 5 - Shopkeepers (including proprietors / managers of wholesale businesses).
- 6 - Clerical Workers
- 7 - Shop Assistants
- 8 - Personal Service

ii) Manual

- 9 - Foremen
- 10 - Skilled Workers
- 11 - Semi-skilled Workers
- 12 - Unskilled Workers

C - Special Group

- 13 - Armed Forces (non-commissioned officers and other ranks).

Salary-Wage Earner Classification

The Census notes here that this group may not necessarily mean the terms of remuneration but “merely groups occupations earning similar amounts into bands”.³

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| Salary Earners - | A - Managerial |
| | B - Technical and Professional Staff |
| | C - Clerical |
| Wage Earners - | D - Industrial (relating to mining / production / non retail distribution of commodities) |
| | E - Non-Industrial (rendering of services) |
| | F - Agricultural |

³ - *The Census of England and Wales 1951 - Occupation Tables*. p. xi

Social Class Background by Year of Entry for St. Mary's (M) and St. Hilda's (Ha).

	I		II		III		IV		No Rec.		Year Total		
	M	Ha	M	Ha	M	Ha	M	Ha	M	Ha	M	Ha	
1893		1								6		7	
1894										6		6	
1895										6		6	
1896										8		8	
1897		1								6		7	
1898										7		7	
1899	2	1	1		3				1	16	7	17	
1900	3		2							7	5	7	
1901	3		1		1					7	5	7	
1902	2	1	2		1					11	5	12	
1903	6		3		3					7	12	7	
1904	2	1	2		3				1	10	8	11	
1905	1	1			1					9	2	10	
1906	3		3		2					5	8	5	
1907	2	4	1	1	1					10	4	15	
1908	1	5	2	4	2	1				8	5	18	
1909	1	5	1	1	2	1				7	4	14	
1910	2	4		6					1	2	3	12	
1911		9		11						5		25	
1912	2	7		4		3			1		3	14	
1913	1	3	3	8		1	1			4	5	16	
1914		12	1	3	1	3				5	5	7	23
1915	2	7	4	2							6	9	
1916	1	8	1	1	2		1			1	5	10	
1917		12		8						4	1	4	21
1918	1	10	6	10		5				1		8	25
1919	2	15	5	9	2	6				3		12	30
1920	2	16	3	5	2	3					1	7	25
1921	9	11	6	11	2	9				2	1	19	32
1922	5	18	5	16	7	7	2			1	1	20	42
1923	4	15	7	9	6	5	1				1	18	30
1924	9	18	6	13	5	3	2				2	22	36
1925	7	18	11	18	4	5	1			2	1	25	42
1926	7	14	4	12	7	5				1	1	19	32
1927	5	16	2	8	6	6				2	1	15	31
1928	4	18	5	10	1	9		1		1	4	11	42
1929	4	12	4	10		8	1				3	9	33
1930	2	11	7	16	2	6	1			2	2	14	35
1931	3	12	6	16	4	6		1			3	13	38
1932	4	15	9	12	2	5	2			2	2	19	34
1933	1	8	6	22	3	5	2			1	4	13	39
1934	2	20	10	17	6	7	2	1			3	20	48
1935	2	19	2	12	3	5					1	7	37
1936	3	16	1	16	2	4	1			2		9	36
1937	3	12	1	17	1	10	1			4	4	10	43
1938	1	12	8	15	2	12	1			2	6	14	45
1939		8	5	16	3	11	1			4	1	13	36
1940	4	16	8	21	4	9		1		2	4	18	51
1941	3	17	5	15	11	6				1	2	20	40
1942	3	12	9	20	5	12		1		5	4	22	49
1943	4	17	9	21	8	16				1	3	22	57
1944	3	15	7	22	9	15	1			3	2	23	54
1945	6	24	8	10	10	7	1			5	2	30	43
1946	5	20	5	20	7	13	1			4	5	22	58
1947	8	20	7	27	11	7	1	1			5	27	60
1948	8	17	6	26	10	10				3	6	27	59
1949	9	16	7	21	9	11	2	1		2	3	29	52
1950	6	13	7	32	14	14				2	3	29	62
1951	7	17	10	32	9	7				2	1	28	57
1952	16	24	19	29	13	10				4	1	52	64
Total	196	624	253	635	212	288	26	7		77	237	764	1791

Socio-economic group background by year of entry to St. Mary's, 1899-1952.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	13	No Rec.	Total
1899			2		1	2	1						1	7
1900			3	1	1									5
1901			3		1	1								5
1902			2	2					1					5
1903	1		6	2	1	1			1					12
1904			2	1	1					2		1	1	8
1905			1			1								2
1906			3	2	1	1			1					8
1907			2	1						1				4
1908			1	2		1				1				5
1909			1	1	1	1								4
1910			2										1	3
1911														0
1912			2										1	3
1913			1	1	2						1			5
1914				1		1							5	7
1915			2	1	3									6
1916		1	1	1		1			1					5
1917													4	4
1918			1	5	1								1	8
1919			2	2	3	1				1			3	12
1920			2	2	1	1				1				7
1921	1		9	4	1			1	1				2	19
1922			5	4	1	2			1	4	2		1	20
1923	2		4	1	4	2	1		3		1			18
1924			9	5	1	2	1			2	2			22
1925	1		7	4	6		1		1	2	1		2	25
1926		1	7	1	3	3			2	1			1	19
1927			5	1	1	3	1			2			2	15
1928			4	3	2					1			1	11
1929	1		4	3							1			9
1930		1	2	4	3	1				1			2	14
1931			3	5	2				1	2				13
1932			4	7	2	1			1		2		2	19
1933			1	4	1	1			1	2	2		1	13
1934	1		2	9	1	2			3		2			20
1935			2	1	1	1	1			1				7
1936			3		1		1			1	1		2	9
1937			3	1		1					1		4	10
1938	2		1	4	2		1			1	1		2	14
1939				4	1			1	1	2			4	13
1940	1		4	5	2				1	3			2	18
1941			3	4	1	6			1	4			1	20
1942	2	1	3	8	1				1	1			5	22
1943	2		4	7	2	1			1	4			1	22
1944		1	3	5	2	1		1	1	6			3	23
1945			6	5	3	1			2	7	1		5	30
1946	3		5	2	1	3			1	2	1		4	22
1947			8	9	1	2	1			5	1			27
1948	1		8	4	2	2			2	5			3	27
1949		2	9	7		2			3	4			2	29
1950	1	2	5	6	1	4			1	6		1	2	29
1951	1	1	7	8	2	1	1			5			2	28
1952	3	1	16	13	3	7	1			4			4	52
Total	23	11	195	173	71	61	11	3	33	84	20	2	77	764

Socio-economic group background by year of entry to St. Hilda's, 1893-1952.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	13	No Rec.	Total
1893			1										6	7
1894													6	6
1895													6	6
1896													8	8
1897			1										6	7
1898													7	7
1899			1										16	17
1900													7	7
1901													7	7
1902			1										11	12
1903													7	7
1904			1										10	11
1905			1										9	10
1906													5	5
1907			4		1								10	15
1908		1	5	4									8	18
1909			5	1						1			7	14
1910			4	3	2	1							2	12
1911	1		9	7	3								5	25
1912			7	1	3	1				2				14
1913			3	6	3								4	16
1914			12	4					1	1			5	23
1915			7	2										9
1916			8	1									1	10
1917			12	7	1								1	21
1918	1	1	10	4	6	1	1					1		25
1919	1		15	5	4	4			1					30
1920			16	4	2	2							1	25
1921	2		11	8	2	5			2	1			1	32
1922	1	1	18	10	5	3	1			2			1	42
1923	1		15	9	1	3							1	30
1924			18	8	6	2							2	36
1925	2		18	11	5	3				2			1	42
1926	1		14	10	4	2							1	32
1927			16	5	3	2				3		1	1	31
1928		1	18	13	1	1		1	2	1			4	42
1929		1	12	9	2		2	1	1	2			3	33
1930			11	15	4	1				2			2	35
1931		1	12	14	4	2			2				3	38
1932			15	10	3	2	1			1			2	34
1933	1		8	18	6	1				1			4	39
1934	1	1	20	14	4	3	1			1			3	48
1935			19	7	4	2	1			3			1	37
1936	1		16	16		1				2				36
1937	3		12	17	2	1	1		3				4	43
1938	1		12	11	4	8	1			1		1	6	45
1939	1		8	16	2	4			3	1			1	36
1940			16	16	6	2	1	2				4	4	51
1941			17	10	6	1				4			2	40
1942			12	21	4	2		1		3		2	4	49
1943	2		17	22	3	2	1	1	1	3		2	3	57
1944			15	23	5	5	1		1	1		1	2	54
1945			24	11	1	3			1	1			2	43
1946	1		20	23	1	5				2		1	5	58
1947	1	3	20	23	3				1	2		2	5	60
1948			17	24	4	2			1	1		4	6	59
1949	1		16	20	1	4	1			4	1	1	3	52
1950	1	1	13	26	6	6			3	1		2	3	62
1951	2		17	28	2	2	1			3		1	1	57
1952	2		24	22	5	3			3	4			1	64
Total	28	11	624	539	134	92	14	6	26	56	1	23	237	1791

Salary - Wage earner background on year of entry to St. Mary's (M) 1899-1952 and St. Hilda's (Ha) 1893-1952.

	A		B		C		D		E		F		No Rec.		Total		
	M	Ha	M	Ha	M	Ha	M	Ha	M	Ha	M	Ha	M	Ha	M	Ha	
1893															7	0	7
1894															6	0	6
1895															6	0	6
1896															8	0	8
1897				1											6	0	7
1898															7	0	7
1899	1		2	1	3									1	16	7	17
1900	1		4												7	5	7
1901	1		3		1										7	5	7
1902	1		3	1	1										11	5	12
1903	3		6		2				1						7	12	7
1904	1		3	1			2							2	10	8	11
1905			1	1	1										9	2	10
1906	3		3		1				1						5	8	5
1907	1	1	2	4			1								10	4	15
1908		3	3	6	1		1				1				8	5	18
1909	1	1	1	6	1				1						7	4	14
1910		4	2	5		1							1	2	3	12	
1911		10		10											5	0	25
1912		4	2	7		1		2					1		3	14	
1913	2	8	2	4			1								4	5	16
1914			1	13	1	1		1		2				5	6	7	23
1915	3	3	3	6												6	9
1916		2	2	7	1		1				1				1	5	10
1917		4		15										4	2	4	21
1918	2	9	5	11		2					1		1	1	2	8	25
1919	6	9	1	14	1	4	1	1		1			3	1	12	30	
1920	2	6	3	15	1	2			1	1				1	7	25	
1921	5	7	10	14		7	1	2	1	1				2	1	19	32
1922	2	11	8	20	2	4	7	1		1		1		1	4	20	42
1923	6	6	4	14	4	4	4			2				4	18	30	
1924	5	9	8	21	5	2	4			1				3	22	36	
1925	9	16	10	18		4	3	1	1					2	3	25	42
1926	4	10	7	19	4	2	2				1			1	1	19	32
1927	2	9	5	14	3	2	2	3	1					2	3	15	31
1928	3	8	6	16		2	1	3		5		1		1	7	11	42
1929	3	6	4	15		1	2	3		3		1			4	9	33
1930	4	13	5	14	1	1	1	2		2	1			2	3	14	35
1931	3	10	6	14	1	4	2	2	1	2		1			5	13	38
1932	4	9	9	13	1	4	3	1		2				2	5	19	34
1933	4	18	2	11	1	2	4	1	1	3				1	4	13	39
1934	3	12	10	23	3	4	4	1		2		1			5	20	48
1935	3	9	1	18	1	2	1	3	1	2					3	7	37
1936	1	9	3	21		1	2	2	1	1				2	2	9	36
1937		8	4	18	1	3	1	3		7				4	4	10	43
1938	5	12	4	13	1	10	2	1		1				2	8	14	45
1939	3	7	2	14	1	5	1	4	2	3				4	3	13	36
1940	6	18	6	17		3	4			3				2	10	18	51
1941	2	9	6	23	7	1	4	1		2				1	4	20	40
1942	5	14	6	18	2	2	1	3	2	6	1			5	6	22	49
1943	7	13	8	23	1	4	3	4	2	7				1	6	22	57
1944	5	10	5	26	2	7	6		1	6	1			3	5	23	54
1945	7	12	8	21	1	3	9	2		2				5	3	30	43
1946	5	15	4	22	4	5	2	2	2	6				5	8	22	58
1947	5	14	11	28	4	1	4	2	3	4			3		8	27	60
1948	7	16	8	23	4	3	4	2	1	3				3	12	27	59
1949	6	10	11	24	4	5	5	4		3	1	1		2	5	29	52
1950	6	20	6	17	5	7	7	4		6	2	1		3	7	29	62
1951	8	19	9	25	1	5	5	3	2	1	1			2	4	28	57
1952	11	28	24	21	7	3	3	7	2	3	1			4	2	52	64
Total	177	451	272	726	86	124	111	71	28	94	10	12	80	313	764	1791	

Social Class background on year of entry to St. Hild's College, Durham 1898-1907.

	I	II	III	IV	V	No. Rec.	Total
1898	4	16	14	5		2	41
1899	2	8	17	2		16	45
1900	2	16	19	7	2	9	55
1901	5	16	18	1	2	8	50
1902	4	21	12	3	1	9	50
1903	5	24	20	5		4	58
1904	6	14	15	1	1	11	48
1905	5	19	25	4		9	62
1906	6	11	26	2	1	9	55
1907	5	26	21	3		8	63
Total	44	171	187	33	7	85	527

Socio-economic group background on year of entry to St. Hild's College, Durham 1898-1907.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	No Rec.	Total
1898	1	1	4	8	7	3	1	2	1	8	3		2	41
1899	1	2	2	5	2	1	1		2	13			16	45
1900	6	1	2	5	4	2	2		4	13	5	2	9	55
1901	3	1	5	10	3	3			2	13		2	8	50
1902	6	1	4	10	5	1		2	1	9	1	1	9	50
1903	2	3	5	15	7	5			1	14	2		4	58
1904	5	1	6	5	4	4			1	10	1		11	48
1905	3		5	11	5	8		1	5	11	4		9	62
1906	1		6	6	3	7	2	2	7	10	1	1	9	55
1907	2	1	5	19	5	5	1		3	12	2		8	63
Total	30	11	44	94	45	39	7	7	27	113	19	6	85	527

Salary - Wage earner background on year of entry to St. Hild's College, Durham 1898-1907.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	No Rec.	Total
1898	9	11	4	11	3	1	2	41
1899	5	4	3	15		2	16	45
1900	12	6	3	22	2	1	9	55
1901	9	11	4	17		1	8	50
1902	13	12	1	11	3	1	9	50
1903	14	16	5	16		3	4	58
1904	9	11	5	11		1	11	48
1905	11	11	9	20	2		9	62
1906	7	8	10	15	5	1	9	55
1907	11	17	7	17	2	1	8	63
Total	100	107	51	155	17	12	85	527

APPENDIX D. - Geographical Background

The regional background of each student by year of entry to St. Mary's College, Durham, 1899-1952, St. Hilda's College, Oxford, 1893-1952, and St. Hild's College, Durham, 1898-1907.

Regional background on year of entry to St. Mary's, 1899-1952.

	NE	NW	N Mids	E&W Y.	Mids	E	SE	S	SW	Other	No Rec.	Total
1899	3				3		1					7
1900	3	1								1		5
1901	4		1									5
1902	5											5
1903	3	2		1	2		1	2		1		12
1904	3	1			2		1			1		8
1905	1						1					2
1906	2			1	2		1			2		8
1907	1	1	1							1		4
1908	4		1									5
1909	1	1		2								4
1910	1	1					1					3
1911												0
1912	1					1	1					3
1913	2		1	1			1					5
1914	3			3			1					7
1915	3						2	1				6
1916	3	1		1								5
1917	2						2					4
1918	6					1		1				8
1919	9			2			1					12
1920	5		1				1					7
1921	10	2		1		2	2			2		19
1922	13	1	1	2	1		1	1				20
1923	14		2		2							18
1924	14	3	1			2	1			1		22
1925	18	2	2	2					1			25
1926	8	7		2	1	1						19
1927	8	5		1			1					15
1928	9				1						1	11
1929	6			1		1				1		9
1930	7	3	1	1	1			1				14
1931	13											13
1932	13	3		1	1					1		19
1933	10	2	1									13
1934	14			4			1	1				20
1935	4	1		1		1						7
1936	4	1		2		1				1		9
1937	6	2		1						1		10
1938	9	2		1					1	1		14
1939	5	2		1	2		1		2			13
1940	7	3	2	2			1	1	1	1		18
1941	7	6	1	3			1	1			1	20
1942	12	5		4			1					22
1943	13	4	1	3						1		22
1944	10	1	2	5	2			1		1	1	23
1945	11	4	3	2	2	2	3			3		30
1946	9	2	1	4	1		2		2	1		22
1947	7	5	3	3	1		4	1		3		27
1948	11	6		6	2		2					27
1949	7	5	2	5		1	6	1		2		29
1950	8	3	4	2	2	3	5	1		1		29
1951	5	7	1	4	2	3	2		1	3		28
1952	14	12	1	13	2	3	1	3	1	2		52
Total	371	107	34	91	29	22	50	16	9	32	3	764

Regional background by year of entry to St. Hilda's, 1893-1952.

	NE	NW	NMids	E&W Y.	Mids	E	SE	S	SW	Other	No Rec.	Total
1893		1	1			1	1	2		1		7
1894				2					1	2	1	6
1895		1					3		2			6
1896		1	2				3		2			8
1897		1			1		2	1	1	1		7
1898		1					2		2	2		7
1899					3	2	7		2	1	2	17
1900	1	1		1			2		2			7
1901						2	2		1	2		7
1902		3	1	1			5		2			12
1903		2	1				3	1				7
1904							3	1	1	5	1	11
1905				1			3	1	2	3		10
1906				1			2		1	1		5
1907				2			5	2		6		15
1908		2	2	3			2	1	3	5		18
1909		2		2	1		2	3	2	2		14
1910			1			1	4	1	2	3		12
1911	1	3	3	1	1		7		1	7	1	25
1912		2		1	2	2	3	1		3		14
1913		1	1	1	2		5	2		4		16
1914	1	3		1		4	5	2		7		23
1915		1	3		1		3			1		9
1916		2			1	1	4		1		1	10
1917		1	1		2		10	1	1	5		21
1918	1	3	2	5	1	1	6	1	2	3		25
1919	1	5	2	3	3	2	6	2	3	3		30
1920		3	1	3	2		7	3		6		25
1921		2	2	2	3	2	10	6	1	4		32
1922	2	5	3	2	2		14	3	2	9		42
1923		4	1		3		11	3	3	5		30
1924		2	2	1	2	1	11	7	2	8		36
1925	1	2	1	8	3	3	14	1	5	4		42
1926	1	1		4		3	12	5	1	5		32
1927	1			5	1	4	13	1		4	2	31
1928	1	3	2	2	2	3	11	3	6	8	1	42
1929	2	1	2	2	6	1	12	2	3	2		33
1930	1	4	3	2	4	1	8	1	5	6		35
1931	3	2	1	7	5		12	2	2	2	2	38
1932		3			2	1	15	4	5	4		34
1933	1	3	1	3	2	1	11	5	6	6		39
1934		7	3	3	2		17	2	4	10		48
1935	1	7	1	2	2	1	12	3	3	3	2	37
1936		5	2	4	2		10	2	1	9	1	36
1937	1	10	2	2	3	2	10	1	1	11		43
1938		1	1	2	3		21	3	5	8	1	45
1939	1	4	2	3	6	2	9	2	3	2	2	36
1940		3	1	9	6	1	18	8	4	1		51
1941	1	3	3	2	7	1	13		4	6		40
1942	1	4	2	3	3	1	15	8	7	4	1	49
1943	1	4	5	6	4	4	17	6	6	2	2	57
1944		9	7	4	5	1	15	6	5	2		54
1945	1	6	5	3	1	1	12	3	2	6	3	43
1946	1	7	7	7	4		16	6	4	5	1	58
1947	3	8	4	3	7	1	17	4	3	9	1	60
1948	3	2	3	5	3	2	20	8	3	10		59
1949		5	1	1	4	1	21	1	7	10	1	52
1950	1	4	3	2	4	2	23	7	6	9	1	62
1951	2	1	3	3	3		19	6	4	12	4	57
1952	1	4	2	2	4	7	15	10	6	9	4	64
Total	36	165	96	132	128	63	561	154	153	268	35	1791

Regional background by year of entry to St. Hild's College, Durham, 1898-1907.

	NE	NW	NMids	E&W Y.	Mids	E	SE	S	SW	Other	No Rec.	Total
1898	24	7		2	1		2	1	3			41
1899	32	8		1							4	45
1900	40	8		4	1	1					1	55
1901	35	9		1	1				1	1	2	50
1902	36	10		2	1						1	50
1903	38	5		12			1				2	58
1904	31	11		3	1		2					48
1905	42	9	1	6	2		1	1				62
1906	45	9	1									55
1907	41	15		3			2				2	63
Total	364	91	2	34	7	1	8	2	4	1	13	527

APPENDIX E. - Scholarships

The type of scholarships received by each student by year of entry to St. Mary's College, Durham, 1899-1952, and St. Hilda's College, Oxford, 1893-1952.

Type of scholarship received by year of entry to St. Mary's, 1899-1952.

	LEA	TG	State	School	Col/Uni	Char.	F.Gov.	Other	None	Total
1899		5			3					8
1900		2			2				1	5
1901		2			1				2	5
1902	1	4							1	6
1903		2		1	4				5	12
1904		2							6	8
1905					1				1	2
1906		3			1				4	8
1907	1				1				3	5
1908	1				2				2	5
1909		1							3	4
1910	2				1				1	4
1911										0
1912				2					1	3
1913				1	1				3	5
1914				2	3				2	7
1915	3	1			3			1	1	9
1916	3				3				1	7
1917									4	4
1918					3				5	8
1919	6	1			3				6	16
1920	4	1			1				3	9
1921		2			1			3	15	21
1922	9				4			1	7	21
1923	10			1	5				5	21
1924	7	3			3				13	26
1925	17	4		2	6				5	34
1926	7	7		1	4				7	26
1927	4	10		1	2				4	21
1928	3	6			2				2	13
1929		7		1	1				2	11
1930	1	7			1				7	16
1931	4	10		1	1				2	18
1932	10	9			1	1		1	5	27
1933	1	7	1		1				4	14
1934	7	5		1	5			1	7	26
1935		6			1					7
1936	1	7			2				1	11
1937	3	8			3				1	15
1938	8	12			1	1				22
1939	5	13			1	2				21
1940	4	10	1		2				5	22
1941	8	16				1			3	28
1942	7	15			2				6	30
1943	9	20			4				1	34
1944	6	21		2	2	1		2		34
1945	6	21		1	6	1		4	4	43
1946	4	14			2				4	24
1947	9	11	1		3	1			6	31
1948	15	9	2	1	1		1		3	32
1949	17	6	1		3				7	34
1950	19	7	1		3				4	34
1951	18	3	2		2				6	31
1952	35	7	5	1	3				8	59
Total	275	307	14	19	111	8	1	13	199	947

Type of scholarship received by year of entry to St. Hilda's, 1893-1952.

	LEA	TG	State	School	Col/Uni	Char.	F.Gov.	Oth Uni	Co	Oth	None	Total
1893											7	7
1894											6	6
1895											6	6
1896											8	8
1897											7	7
1898											7	7
1899											17	17
1900											7	7
1901											7	7
1902											12	12
1903											7	7
1904					2						9	11
1905					2						8	10
1906					2						3	5
1907					3						12	15
1908	1			1	3						13	18
1909					4						10	14
1910					5						7	12
1911					4	1					21	26
1912				1	2				1	1	10	15
1913	1	1			4			1		1	11	19
1914	3			3	3		1				13	23
1915	1				4				1		5	11
1916				1	5						5	11
1917	3		1	2	5					2	13	26
1918	5	2		4	6					1	15	33
1919	7	2		5	4		1		2	1	13	35
1920	2	3		1	6			2			15	29
1921	8	11	1	4	6						11	41
1922	7	10	3	6	5	1				1	22	55
1923	7	9		1	7			1		1	16	42
1924	10	6	1	3	9	1				3	16	49
1925	12	11	1	5	8					2	20	59
1926	11	4		4	11			1		1	10	42
1927	7	5	1	1	11					2	15	42
1928	6	9		5	9	1		1			23	54
1929	9	10		2	8				1		15	45
1930	8	6	1	5	13		1	1	1	2	15	53
1931	16	12	1	7	12	1		1	1	1	11	63
1932	7	8	1	6	11	2	1	1	1	2	14	54
1933	15	7	1	3	14	2				3	14	59
1934	16	7		6	14	1				2	23	69
1935	10	6	4	9	13	2				1	14	59
1936	16	8	7	7	14	1			1	3	9	66
1937	11	6	8	10	9		1	1		3	14	63
1938	15	6	6	6	16		2	1	1	1	20	74
1939	13	9	6	5	7	1			1	4	14	60
1940	26	9	8	6	13		2		1	2	15	82
1941	14	8	4	11	15			2	1	3	9	67
1942	24	14	7	10	17	1	1	1	2		13	90
1943	25	8	5	12	14			1			20	85
1944	32	10	11	8	13	1			1	7	14	97
1945	21	13	5	3	15	1		1	1	1	13	74
1946	21	18	5	3	20			3		1	8	79
1947	18	14	7	2	14		1	2			18	76
1948	19	10	3	2	15	1	1	1		1	18	71
1949	17	8	10	4	13			3		2	9	66
1950	20	12	5	5	14	1		1		2	19	79
1951	22	7	12	1	14			1		1	10	68
1952	14	10	16	1	16		1	2		1	16	77
Total	500	299	141	181	454	19	13	29	17	59	752	2464

APPENDIX F. - Examination Results

The final examination result of each student by year of entry to St. Mary's College, Durham, 1899-1952, and St. Hilda's College, Oxford, 1893-1952.

Result of final examination by year of entry to St. Mary's, 1899-1952.

	1	2	3	4	Aeg	Rec	Pass	Dist	Fail	Went	Sent	With	Call	Post	NFE	No Rec	Total
1899		2					4		1								7
1900	1						1	2		1							5
1901		1		1			1	2									5
1902							5										5
1903		1		1			6	2		2							12
1904							5	1	1		1						8
1905							2										2
1906							6			2							8
1907							2			2							4
1908							5										5
1909							4										4
1910		1					2										3
1911																	0
1912							3										3
1913							3			2							5
1914		1					5		1								7
1915	1	1	2				2										6
1916		2	1				2										5
1917		1	1				2										4
1918		1	3				4										8
1919		3					8			1							12
1920		2	1				4										7
1921	1	1	6			1	9			1							19
1922		4	8			1	6		1								20
1923		6	5			1	6										18
1924		5	5			1	6			5							22
1925	4	5	5				10			1							25
1926		7	1			1	8			2							19
1927	1	6	1				4			3							15
1928	1	5	1				4										11
1929	1	1					7										9
1930		4	3				2		2	3							14
1931		7	2			1	2			1							13
1932		9	2			1	3			4							19
1933	1	6					4			2							13
1934	2	9					4			4				1			20
1935		5	1							1							7
1936		5	1				2			1							9
1937		2					5		1	2							10
1938		11					2		1								14
1939		4	1				5		1	2							13
1940	3	8					3			2		1				1	18
1941		8	1				5		2	3			1				20
1942	2	8	1				7		1	1			2				22
1943	2	8	3				6			3							22
1944	1	10	2			1	9										23
1945	1	9				2	13		2	1						2	30
1946	1	8	1			1	9		1	1							22
1947		7	2			1	15		1	1							27
1948		13	4				9			1							27
1949		14	2			2	7		1	2					1		29
1950		14	5				8		1						1		29
1951		8	2			1	11		2	1					2	1	28
1952		22	4		1		24		1								52
Total	23	255	77	2	1	15	291	7	21	58	1	1	3	1	4	4	764

Result of final examination by year of entry to St. Hilda's, 1893-1952.

	1	2	3	4	Aeg	Pass	Dist	Fail	Went	With	NFE	No Rec	Total
1893		3				1		1			2		7
1894		1	1			1					3		6
1895	1	1									4		6
1896	1	6									1		8
1897		1	1								5		7
1898		2	1								3	1	7
1899		4	6			1					4	2	17
1900		1	1								4	1	7
1901		2				1					2	2	7
1902	2	2	4								3	1	12
1903		1	1					1			2	2	7
1904	2	2	2	1		1					1	2	11
1905			2	1							5	2	10
1906		3									1	1	5
1907	2		3	1		3		1			4	1	15
1908	1	6	2	1	1	2		1			3	1	18
1909		8						1		1	3	1	14
1910		3	3								4	2	12
1911		6	5		1						8	5	25
1912	1	2	3	1	1	1					4	1	14
1913		4	4	2		1		1			3	1	16
1914		3	8	2			1	2			3	4	23
1915		2	2	1		1					1	2	9
1916		3	4	1							2		10
1917	2	2	3	3	1						7	3	21
1918	1	10	7								1	6	25
1919		6	17	1			1				1	4	30
1920	1	6	10	2		1					3	2	25
1921	1	15	10	3							2	1	32
1922	2	14	14	3							4	5	42
1923		8	11	3				1			2	5	30
1924	1	15	13	2							1	4	36
1925		22	16									4	42
1926	1	11	13	1							1	5	32
1927	2	9	14	2							3	1	31
1928	2	15	13	3							3	6	42
1929		15	9	1		1					2	5	33
1930		17	13	1								4	35
1931	4	19	10	2				1			1	1	38
1932		16	10	2							4	2	34
1933	1	21	12	1	1						2	1	39
1934	1	24	17	1	1	1		2				1	48
1935	2	19	12								2	2	37
1936	1	19	9	1		1		1			2	2	36
1937	2	13	18	1				1			4	4	43
1938	2	15	9	3	1			1			8	6	45
1939	1	16	10	2	1			1	1		1	3	36
1940	4	24	15	2				2			1	3	51
1941	1	16	6	1							5	11	40
1942	5	21	16	1							1	5	49
1943	3	29	18	1				1			1	4	57
1944	1	24	21	3							1	4	54
1945	3	16	16	2				3				3	43
1946	2	19	20	6	1		1	1			2	6	58
1947	2	33	14					1			4	6	60
1948	2	30	16	1				1			4	5	59
1949	5	28	8	2							1	8	52
1950	4	34	13					1			1	9	62
1951	2	34	10	1								10	57
1952	3	43	5								5	8	64
Total	74	744	501	69	9	17	3	26	1	1	155	191	1791

APPENDIX G. - Career on Leaving Higher Education

The career on leaving higher education of each student by year of entry to St. Mary's College, Durham, 1899-1952, and St. Hilda's College, Oxford, 1893-1952.

Career on leaving higher education by year of entry to St. Mary's, 1899-1952.

	Teach	Med	Nurs	J	Lib	Oth	Rel	Res	Adm	CS	Com	Cler	Media	Soc	Miss	No Rec	Total
1899	7																7
1900	2															3	5
1901	2															3	5
1902	1															4	5
1903	3															9	12
1904	1															7	8
1905	2																2
1906	2											1				5	8
1907	2															2	4
1908	3															2	5
1909	2													1		1	4
1910	3																3
1911																	0
1912	1														1	1	3
1913	2															3	5
1914	5															2	7
1915	6																6
1916	4															1	5
1917	1											1				2	4
1918	4											1				3	8
1919	10															2	12
1920	6											1					7
1921	16											1				2	19
1922	16				1							1				2	20
1923	13				1				1			2				1	18
1924	13													1		8	22
1925	13											1		2		9	25
1926	9		1		1							1		1		6	19
1927	11															4	15
1928	9															2	11
1929	7							1								1	9
1930	6											3				5	14
1931	9											2				2	13
1932	11											1				7	19
1933	11															2	13
1934	7											3				10	20
1935	1															6	7
1936	2															7	9
1937	3															7	10
1938	8			1	1											4	14
1939	8															5	13
1940	7									1		1				9	18
1941	11									2						7	20
1942	7		1	1		1		1		1						10	22
1943	4						1					2				15	22
1944	18				1		1							3			23
1945	9				1			1		1		1		1		16	30
1946	10				1				2	1		2		1		5	22
1947	9							1		1		2				14	27
1948	19	1										2		1		4	27
1949	16				1			2	1	1		1	1			6	29
1950	15				3			4	1							6	29
1951	7							2	2			3				14	28
1952	24	1			3			2		1	1		1	2		17	52
Total	398	2	2	2	14	1	2	14	7	9	1	33	2	13	1	263	764

Career on leaving higher education by year of entry to St. Hilda's, 1893-1952.

	Teach	Med	Nurs	Law	J	Lib	Oth	Rel	Res	Adm	CS	Com	Cler	Tra	Media	Arts	C/D	Soc	Miss	No Rec	Total
1893	4																		1	2	7
1894	4																	1		1	6
1895	2		1																	3	6
1896	6												1							1	8
1897	6																			1	7
1898	5																			2	7
1899	11		1		1								1			1				2	17
1900	3												3							1	7
1901	4															1				2	7
1902	10																			2	12
1903	3																	3		1	7
1904	8															1				2	11
1905	3															1				6	10
1906	2					1										1		1			5
1907	8							2					2		1			1		1	15
1908	10												4							4	18
1909	7												1						1	5	14
1910	8																	1		3	12
1911	12					1							4					3		5	25
1912	5	1								3			2							3	14
1913	6									1	1		3					2		3	16
1914	15	1											5							2	23
1915	1		1							1	1		2						3		9
1916	6												1					1		2	10
1917	14		1																	6	21
1918	18				1					1			1			1		1		2	25
1919	15		1		1	1				1			4		2			2		3	30
1920	12			1	2	2												3		5	25
1921	21					2				1			3							5	32
1922	19	1	1			2							5					2		12	42
1923	18				1								3		1	1		1		5	30
1924	22									1			2			1		3		7	36
1925	24				1	3							5		1		1	1		6	42
1926	19			1		1							3		1			1		6	32
1927	12			1		2				2		1	5		1	1		1		5	31
1928	19					1			1				4		2			3		12	42
1929	20		1			1			1		1		3					1		5	33
1930	22					1							3					1		8	35
1931	20	1	1						2		1		3	1				1		8	38
1932	16									1		1	6		1			2		7	34
1933	18					3	1			1	1		3	1	2	2		2		5	39
1934	23					1				2	3		4		1	1				13	48
1935	12					1			1	1	4		3	6						9	37
1936	19	2								1	2	1		7		1				3	36
1937	21								1	4	4		1		1	1		2		8	43
1938	17	1							3	2	2		2	1	2			5		10	45
1939	17	1				1				1	6		2				1	1		6	36
1940	26	2		1					2	2	5		1		1			1		10	51
1941	20	2							2	3	1		1		1			1		9	40
1942	16	2				1			1	6	8				1			1		13	49
1943	19	2		2		4			2	3	3		5		1			1		15	57
1944	22	2	1			2			4	1	3	1	1		2					15	54
1945	19	1				2			2	1	1		1		2	1		1		13	43
1946	19	1				2			3	1	5	2	2					2		21	58
1947	29	1				3			5	3	2		1		2			2		12	60
1948	18					2			5	4	2	2	1	1	2	1		4		17	59
1949	14				1	3			6	1			4		1	1		2		19	52
1950	19	3		1		4			8	3	3		2	2	3	2				12	62
1951	24	2	1						6		1	1	3		1			4		14	57
1952	17	1	1		1	5	1	1	3	6		3	6			1		4		14	64
Total	829	27	11	7	9	52	2	3	59	57	60	14	132	6	34	19	2	73	1	394	1791

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