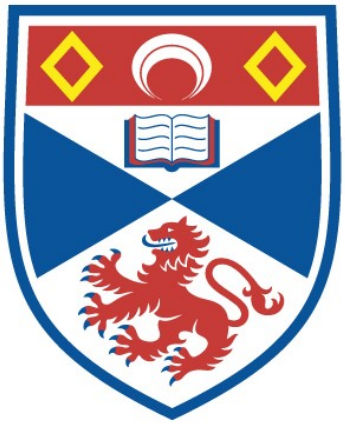
TO WALK UPON THE GRASS: THE IMPACT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS' LADY LITERATE IN ARTS, 1877-1892

Elisabeth Margaret Smith

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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To walk upon the grass: the impact of the University of St Andrews' Lady Literate in Arts, 1877-1892

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For my parents, to whom this was long ago promised

Contents Page

List of tables

Abstract

In 1877 the University of St Andrews initiated a unique qualification, the Lady Literate in Arts, which came into existence initially as the LA, the Literate in Arts, a higher certificate available to women only. Awarded by examination but as a result of a programme of distance learning, it was conceived and explicitly promoted as a degree-level qualification at a time when women had no access to matriculation at Scottish universities and little anywhere in the United Kingdom. From small beginnings it expanded both in numbers of candidates and in spread of subjects and it lasted until the early 1930s by which time over 36,000 examinations had been taken and more than 5,000 women had completed the course. The scheme had emerged in response to various needs and external pressures which shaped its character. The purpose of this thesis is to assess the nature and achievements of the LLA in its first fifteen years and to establish its place within the wider movement for female equality of status and opportunity which developed in the later decades of the nineteenth century.

The conditions under which the university introduced the LLA, its reasons for doing so, the nature of the qualification, its progress and development in the years before 1892 when women were admitted to Scottish universities as undergraduates and the consequences for the university itself are all examined in detail. The geographical and social origins and the educational backgrounds of the candidates themselves are analysed along with their age structure, their uptake of LLA subjects and the completion rates for the award. All of these are considered against the background of the students' later careers and life experiences.

This thesis aims to discover the extent to which the LLA was influential in shaping the lives of its participants and in advancing the broader case for female higher education. It seeks to establish for the first time the contribution that St Andrews LLA women made to society at large and to the wider movement for female emancipation.

Acknowledgements

This thesis has been a long time in the making and over the years many individuals and institutions have been of much help in providing information and answering my questions. These have included family and local historians whose enquiries to the Special Collections Department of St Andrews University Library have metamorphosed into mutually beneficial exchanges when we discovered that we had an LLA woman in common. My thanks go to them for often thought-provoking and fascinating insights.

I am grateful to staff of the Special Collections of the University of Edinburgh, the archives of Aberdeenshire City and Aberdeenshire Councils, of Cheltenham Ladies College, and of Dollar Academy for particular assistance. Researchers working on parallel subjects have been generous of their time and interest: these include Kenneth Hunter, private scholar; Charlotte Wilson of University College, London; Marsali Taylor of Shetland Archives; Susan Bennet of the 'Women of Moray' project. Nigel Shepley, archivist of St George's College, Edinburgh, and Sylvia Lassam, of Trinity College, University of Toronto have both provided assistance beyond the call of duty. Especially rewarding and supportive have been extended conversations and communication with Alison McCall of Dundee University, whose work on her own doctoral thesis concerning 'lasses o' pairts' has dovetailed with mine on so many points. I only hope that I was able to help her almost as much as she has me.

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Abbreviations

BFS:	The British and Foreign Society
BMD:	The British Medical Directory
BMR:	The British Medical Register
CEB:	Census Enumerators' Books
CUWFA:	Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association
EAUEW:	The Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women
EIS:	The Educational Institute of Scotland
ELEA:	Edinburgh Ladies Educational Association
EWJ:	The English Woman's Journal of Social and Industrial Questions
EWR:	The Englishwoman's Review: a journal of woman's work
GPDSC	The Girls' Public Day School Company
GPDST	The Girls' Public Day School Trust
KQCPI	King's and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland
LA:	Literate in Arts [University of St Andrews]
LEDS:	The Ladies Edinburgh Debating Society
LLA:	Lady Literate in Arts [University of St Andrews]
LLA Calendar:	Calendar of the LLA and Local Examinations
LSMW:	The London School of Medicine for Women
LSWS:	London Society for Women's Suffrage
NS:	The National Society
ODNB:	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, online edition, Oxford University Press.[http://www.oxforddnb.com]

Scotlandspeople:	http:/www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk
Senatus:	The Senatus Academicus of the University of St Andrews
SPEW	The Society for Promoting the Employment of Women
StAUL:	St Andrews University Library Special Collections
StGHCC:	St George's Hall Correspondence Classes
WFL:	Women's Freedom League
WHR:	Women's History Review
WLF:	The Women's Liberal Federation
WSPU:	The Women's Social and Political Union
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

Chapter 1

A 'greater liberty of choice': the LLA in context

The nineteenth century in the United Kingdom was a period of upheaval and change in social terms and saw progress in education at all levels. Advances were made in both the breadth and provision of schooling and major legislation brought the sector more fundamentally into the public domain. At the same time the training and certification of teachers was established on a professional level, and the number of universities increased substantially. Amongst these, emerged a new type of more inclusive institution beyond the traditional model of the ancient universities, which themselves were to some extent reformed. Alongside such developments the availability of higher quality education specifically for girls and women developed more slowly and from a lower base. There was movement, however, and by the end of the century substantial changes had taken place in school provision and in the higher education sector. Within this process, the University of St Andrews played a prominent part by offering the opportunity for many women to take responsibility for their own education in a manner that allowed a greater ease of access than had hitherto been possible.

Its qualification, the Lady Literate in Arts, first came into existence in 1877 as the LA, the Literate in Arts, a higher certificate available to women only, but it was quickly promoted as a degree-level qualification. From small beginnings it expanded both in numbers of candidates and in spread of subjects and lasted until the early 1930s by which time over 36,000 examinations had been taken and more than 5,000 women had completed the course. The scheme was arguably unique in intention and outcome but was conceived in response to needs and pressures expressed from many directions. In the beginning access was open to all women able to pay the relatively modest fees and candidates were able to pursue a broad range of subjects over a flexible time scale to suit their own circumstances. Entrants were of a variety of ages, social classes, geographical origins and religious beliefs.

The purpose of this thesis is to determine the nature and achievements of the LLA in its first years and to assess its relationship with the wider movement for female equality of status and opportunity which developed in the United Kingdom in the later decades of the nineteenth century. It will, in seeking an understanding of the nature of the place of the LLA, examine the social and educational contexts within which women were seeking higher education during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and the forms in which it may have already been available to them. The scheme did not emerge out of a vacuum: its role, its relationship to the explicit demands of women, to existing educational provision and to society more generally will require particular scrutiny. This chapter will

engage with the nature of the current academic debate in which the study is set and identify the main strands of current research to which it relates. It will also introduce the principal sources employed and describe the manner in which key issues will be analysed.

Reform and changing attitudes to female education in the nineteenth century

The movement for educational reform in the United Kingdom had its origins in the later eighteenth century and was at least in its first stages a preoccupation of the middle classes. Mary Wollstonecraft in the 1790s had argued for women to be enabled through education to become more enlightened citizens:

> …if women were led to respect themselves, if political and moral subjects were opened to them; and, I will venture to affirm, that this is the only way to make them properly attentive to their domestic duties. An active mind embraces the whole circle of its duties, and finds time enough for all. It is not, I assert, a bold attempt to emulate masculine virtues; it is not the enchantment of literary pursuits, or the steady investigation of scientific subjects, that lead women astray from duty. No, it is indolence and vanity… [1]

Joseph Priestley, Erasmus Darwin, and Richard Lovell Edgeworth, amongst others, were responsible for promoting more liberal attitudes to education than hitherto but, although Darwin wrote on the conduct of female education, interest in general was concentrated on the education of boys. [2] Likewise, Utilitarian writers of the first decades of the nineteenth century, such as James Mill and Jeremy Bentham, while proposing radical changes in the education available to children, in practice focussed on that delivered in boys' schools. The reforming parliamentarian, John Stuart Mill, on the other hand, in his *Treatise of the Subjection of Women* referred to

> the larger question, the removal of women's disabilities – their recognition as the equals of men in all that belongs to citizenship – the opening to them of all honourable employments, and of the training and education which qualifies for those employments.[3]

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[1] M.A. Wollstonecraft, *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (London, 1792), p. 54.

[2] E. Darwin, *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education in Boarding Schools* (Derby, 1797).

[3] J.S. Mill, *The Subjection of Women* (London,1869), p.148; Mill was Rector of the University of St Andrews from 1865 to 1868, but apart from presenting his Rectorial Address, seems to have had little direct involvement with the politics of the university. See A.J. Mill, 'The First Ornamental Rector at St. Andrews University: John Stuart Mill', *Scottish Historical Review*, 43 (136.2) (1964), 131-44.

John Ruskin too had an input to the debate:

> Let a girl's education be as serious as a boy's. You bring up your girls as if they were meant for side-board ornaments, and then complain of their frivolity. Give them the same advantages that you give their brothers... [4]

Nevertheless, only gradually did awareness that specific problems pertained to female education emerge. The introduction of the decennial censuses was in some part indirectly responsible for a formal realisation that an issue existed. The Census of 1851 was the first that was able to produce viable demographic statistics which drew attention to the fact that in England and Wales there were as many as 876,920 unmarried women in the population and that 24,770 of these described themselves as governesses. By 1861 both figures were yet higher.[5] In other words, there were a great many women forced by circumstances to make an independent living as educators. At the same time, complex changes in society had produced a substantial middle class, often wealthy and leisured, from which were emerging groups of women with academic aspirations, women who sought the ability to broaden their career opportunities and, especially, to stand alongside men in the medical profession. Levitan in her consideration of the 'surplus women problem' states that:

> Of all the 'redundant' populations isolated by the census, however, single women were the most articulate in the public sphere, the ones who most explicitly challenged the label of 'surplus' that was attached to them, and the ones who were ultimately the most successful in redefining the debate about nationhood and population.[6]

She argues, however, that the Census statistics merely underlined an existing concern and prompted increased interest on the issue. Possible remedies such as emigration, improved education, and the opening of more professions to women were now raised in the press and the problem became part of national debate.[7]

The Langham Place group which took its name from the office of the *English Woman's Journal*, established in December 1859 at 19 Langham Place in London, emerged at precisely this time. A

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[4] J. Ruskin, *Of Queen's Gardens, Lecture II Sesame and Lilies*. Project Gutenberg. http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/1293/pg1293.html accessed 9 June 2014.

[5] United Kingdom Census 1851, 1861.

[6] K. Levitan, 'Redundancy, the "Surplus Woman" Problem, and the British Census, 1851-1861', *Women's History Review*, 17.3 (2008), 361.

[7] Levitan, *Redundancy, the "Surplus Woman" Problem, and the British Census*, 359-76.

number of women, notably the Unitarians Barbara Bodichon and Bessie Rayner Parkes, began to campaign for improvements to the situation of women. In identifying their own, undoubtedly middle-class, needs this set also promoted a moderate form of liberal feminist politics which lent respectability to their aims. In 1862 Bodichon, with Emily Davies and Isa Craig, formed a committee to campaign for women's entry for university examinations, initially in support of Elizabeth Garrett's application to matriculate in medicine at London University. [8]

Some account of the beliefs and attitudes of those who promoted and of those who opposed educational and occupational improvements is relevant here. For the opposition, one of the most fundamental concerns was physical. Darwinism was deployed to reinforce the argument that women would be damaged by education and their reproductive capacities weakened to the extent that the survival of the human race and the Empire would be threatened. The sitting of examinations in particular was considered by some to be potentially detrimental to the physical and mental health of young girls and women. Some of the proponents of this view were themselves women. The novelist and teacher Elizabeth Sewell in 1865 wrote emphasising the physical weakness of girls and their consequent inability to undertake long hours of study.[9] Emily Davies, one of the foremost writers and campaigners, friend of Elizabeth Garrett and member of Girton College, responded to these accusations by affirming that the preservation of health was within the control of parents and teachers as long as common sense was employed. The successful outcome of opening the Cambridge Local Examinations to girls, she claimed, had been sufficient to dispel any myths on that score.[10] The Irish-born feminist and journalist Frances Power Cobbe also argued along these lines and indeed advocated the introduction of more rigorous subjects, such as geometry, to encourage greater mental discipline.[11] There is an echo even of the opposition of Sewell and others in an address given in Edinburgh in 1872 to the Edinburgh Ladies' Educational Association on the Higher Education of Women. Sir Alexander Grant, Principal of Edinburgh University, was generally a supporter of the Association, and an advocate of the introduction of Latin and Mathematics as core

[8] Jane Rendall, 'Langham Place group (*act.* 1857–1866)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/937 accessed 17 March 2012.

[9] E. Sewell , from 'Principles of Education', in D. Spender, ed, *The Education Papers: Women's Quest for Equality in Britain, 1850-1912* (New York and London, 1987), pp. 144-5.

[10] E. Davies, 'The Higher Education of Women' (London and New York, 1866), p. 141.

[11] F.P. Cobbe, 'The Education of Women, and how it would be affected by University Examinations', in D. Spender, ed, *The Education Papers: Women's Quest for Equality in Britain, 1850-1912* (New York and London, 1987), pp 37-49.

subjects for girls in secondary schools as also was William Knight, eventual director of the St Andrews LLA programme.[12] Nevertheless Grant firmly believed that women should not participate in degree examinations, which would, he said, be harmful to them.[13] Thus the issue persisted so that even as late as 1886, Knight, when lecturing to the University Colleges of Leeds, Liverpool and Bristol, continued to feel the need to refute the belief that higher education and examination of women would lead to 'over-pressure, and the consequent injury of the health of the candidates, and therefore to the injury of the coming race'.[14]

A further strand of debate in this period concerned the poor levels of pre-existing education from which young women might be forced to seek further intellectual achievement or to access a satisfactory career. Emily Davies, again writing in 1866, complained that while parents were prepared to make sacrifices to acquire a good education for their sons, they did not consider the same efforts necessary for their daughters. Speaking of middle-class families she described the earlier education of girls as taking place either at home or at 'an inferior school', before being sent for up to two years to a school or college 'to finish'. The Heads of such schools objected that they 'cannot finish what has never been begun' and that it was impossible to provide a sound education in the time available.[15] A year earlier, Dorothea Beale had questioned how the daughters of the higher middle class could be more ignorant and untrained than the children of the national schools.[16] Grant, referring to Scotland, maintained that there had never been a proper system of secondary education and that even if such subjects as French, music, art and science were taught to girls they were stripped of all intellectual content and delivered purely as accomplishments.[17] Isabella Tod in 1874, writing on the education of girls of the middle classes, argued that all levels of

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[12]W.A. Knight, *The higher education of women with special reference to the St Andrews University L.L.A. title and diploma: being a lecture delivered in the University Colleges of Leeds, Liverpool, Bristol etc by William Knight* (Edinburgh and London, 1887).

[13] S.A. Grant, *Happiness and utility as promoted by the higher education of women: an address delivered by Sir Alexander Grant in opening the sixth session of the Edinburgh Ladies' Educational Association on the 5th November 1872* (Edinburgh, 1872).

[14] Knight, *The higher education of women*, pp. 27-9.

[15] Davies, *The Higher Education of Women*, pp. 40-1.

[16] D. Beale, 'Address to the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science', in D. Spender, ed, *The Education Papers: Women's Quest for Equality in Britain, 1850-1912* (New York and London, 1987), pp. 123-39.

[17] Grant, *Happiness and Utility.*

girls' schools 'from the most fashionable and expensive down to those which are but little above the state-aided schools…' compared badly with those for boys of the same grade. Tod's solution was to raise the standards of curricula by substituting German, which she considered more intellectually demanding, for French, and by introducing Greek, English literature, Mathematics and Sciences. In addition she argued for greater use of examinations.[18]

Certain of the advocates for the introduction of much more robust systems than those condemned by Davies and Beale directed their attention beyond a narrow social class. Frances Buss, for example, would 'draw no line of demarcation to limit the amount of knowledge either a boy or girl may acquire' and would apply the same principle to the different classes of society, rich and poor. It would, she affirmed, be unwise and unjust to fix any arbitrary limit to the education the poor were to get.[19] This was not a universal view, however. Mary Carpenter, a founder of Ragged Schools then of Reformatory Schools, writing just a few years earlier, did not mention the need for female pupils in her schools to possess any literary skills at all. Instead she laid emphasis on domestic training in preparation for keeping a home and the teaching of fine needlework as a means to earn a livelihood.[20]

For those, however, who were expected to have received a broad subject-based intellectual education, numerous outcomes were proffered. Josephine Butler, a leading figure on the North of England Council for Higher Education, insisted, in putting the emphasis on the single woman, that the desire for learning did not have its origin in any 'conceit of cleverness' but instead from the awareness that it was the only way to earn a decent living. She looked optimistically ahead to a situation where women would not limit themselves to improving their position as governesses but would take on many other occupations waiting to be done by them: 'the work of healers, preachers, physicians, artists, organisers of labour, captains of industry'.[21] Davies argued similarly,

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[18] I.M.S. Tod, 'On the Education of Girls of the Middle Classes', in D. Spender, ed, *The Education Papers: Women's Quest for Equality in Britain, 1850-1912* (New York and London, 1987), pp. 230-47.

[19] F. Buss, 'Evidence to the Schools Inquiry Commission; from Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science: The Education of Girls', in D. Spender, ed, *The Education Papers: Women's Quest for Equality in Britain, 1850-1912* (New York and London, 1987), pp. 140-3.

[20] M. Carpenter, 'On the Education of Pauper Girls', in D. Spender, ed, *The Education Papers: Women's Quest for Equality in Britain, 1850-1912* (New York and London, 1987), pp. 50-7.

[21] J. Butler, 'The Education and Employment of Women', in D. Spender, ed, *The Education Papers: Women's Quest for Equality in Britain, 1850-1912* (New York and London, 1987), pp. 69-89.

acknowledging that there were women even from the upper classes who needed to earn their own living, and drew from history examples of the manner in which women had once been employed. From this she deduced that the tending of the sick, the dispensing of drugs, 'the service of the afflicted in mind, body and estate' were eminently suitable to women. The functions of caring for the poor, the insane and the criminal, she believed, could be further entrusted to 'educated Christian ladies', as could some of the offices of the chaplain. More radical, however, was her determination that various branches of farming, commerce and, what she described as 'that profession of modern growth which has been called management', could be carried out by competent women. Davies concerned herself with married women also and questioned whether marriage necessarily meant giving up a profession. Citing the case of wives of clergymen, she suggested that a superior education would fit these better for the supporting role which they already carried out. Many schoolmistresses were married and literature was a field where, according to Davies, married women could and did achieve prominence and she names Margaret Oliphant as an example.[22] William Knight, in discussing the range of degree courses to which he considered women should be admitted, also stressed that 'all restrictions should be removed', but, although he agreed that the medical profession should be open to women, paradoxically was at the same time convinced that females were not suited to be lawyers or clergy.[23]

Which educational systems were best fitted to develop these talents was also a subject of much debate. Above all, most agreed that, for the purposes of teaching, an extended course of study was vital to counteract the fact that 'the incompleteness of the education of schoolmistresses and governesses is a drawback which no amount of intelligence and goodwill can enable them entirely to overcome.'[24] Butler had stressed the requirement to ameliorate the condition of the female teacher and to raise her intellectual status by the acquisition of qualifications. Writing in 1863 she suggested the establishment of institutions offering a higher education than schools were able to provide, and the award of university certificates to women who reached a certain standard.[25] In giving evidence to the Schools Enquiry Commission in 1865, Frances Buss, who had been an evening student of Queen's College in its early days, stated her strong belief that teachers should undertake some course in the art of teaching, but only after achieving a certificate of attainment.[26] At the time,

[22] Davies, *The Higher Education of Women*, pp. 102-3, 166.

[23] Knight, *The higher education of women*, pp. 11-12.

[24] Davies, *The Higher Education of Women,* p. 80.

[25] Butler, *The Education and Employment of Women*.

[26] Buss, *Evidence to the Schools Inquiry Commission*, p. 140-1.

teachers trained in the one college she knew, the Home and Colonial in London, were only allowed to work in national schools. Davies believed that particular training for specific professions should be provided in separate institutions.[27] This applied to medicine as well as teaching and she regretted the lack of a medical school for women. Sophia Jex-Blake in 1873 looked for the day when equal facilities for medical education would be available to both male and female students in universities.[28] The expectation that access to study would also become more geographically spread was voiced five years later by Davies who, when speaking to the Birmingham Higher Education Association, praised the fact that the University of London had admitted women to degree studies in all faculties and expressed the hope that Cambridge and Oxford would do the same. Simultaneously, she introduced the idea that it would be advantageous for female students to remain at home while studying, alluding presumably to the fact that facilities in Birmingham and the northern cities would allow that option for many more women but a notion also with implications for the potential emergence of distance studies. [29]

Continuity and progress: existing provision for girls and women in nineteenth-century England and Wales

The St Andrews LLA may be ranked among the concrete outcomes of such debates but it was by no means the first or only such qualification to emerge. Attempts to promote provision for women to a more equal footing to that of men had been principally focussed on unsuccessful campaigning for medical education from as early as 1856 and then again in 1862 when Elizabeth Garrett sought to matriculate. Progress there was, however, as in 1866, under pressure from the London Ladies Educational Association, measures were taken by the University of London to ensure that the idea of special examinations for women was given substance, with the award of Certificates of Proficiency in six subjects and of Higher Proficiency in a choice of fourteen. In 1869 six candidates passed although in the decade of its existence the Certificate never attracted significant numbers of students.

Indeed, the University of London had as early as 1848 established specifically women's institutions offering courses in many branches of knowledge. Queen's College, the first in the United Kingdom to be set up solely for the education of women, had its origins in the Christian Socialist Movement and

[27] Davies, *The Higher Education of Women*, p.15.

[28] S. Jex-Blake, 'The Medical Education of Women', in D. Spender, ed, *The Education Papers: Women's Quest for Equality in Britain, 1850-1912* (New York and London, 1987), pp. 268-76.

[29] E. Davies, 'Home and Higher Education', in D. Spender, ed, *The Education Papers: Women's Quest for Equality in Britain 1850-1912* (New York and London, 1987), pp. 268-76.

was a progression from the Governesses' Benevolent Institution, founded in 1841 to provide training for governesses so that they might command higher salaries. F.D. Maurice and other professors from King's College delivered lectures. Queen's was followed in 1849 by Bedford College which, founded as the Ladies' College in Bedford Square and eventually in 1878 instituted as a college of the University of London, had strong connections with Non-Conformism, especially through its Unitarian founder, Mrs Elizabeth Jesser Reid. The courses offered were delivered under special arrangements by supportive professors from University College within Bedford's own rooms. Vera Brittain later described these colleges as they were at this time as 'not, by male standards, much better than a good secondary school'. [30] Westfield followed in 1882 and the opening of the residential Royal Holloway in 1887 prompted the other female colleges to provide better facilities.

Pressure continued from organisations concerned with the education of women in the form of a series of petitions and in the same year as the St Andrews LLA was initiated the Senate at London finally admitted women to full degree courses in all faculties and to the same examinations as men. This decision had been aided by the passing a year earlier of the Russell Gurney Act which allowed, but did not require, universities to examine women in medicine and for women to be eligible to be entered on the Medical Register. University College immediately became co-educational and London's first women graduates were produced in 1880 when four passed the final examination for the BA.[31]

Residential establishments for women were opened elsewhere with the foundation in 1869 at Hitchin of what was to become Girton College and of Newnham College in 1873, and rather later of Lady Margaret and Somerville Halls at Oxford in 1879. Although independently managed, these colleges from the beginning sought, unlike the London institutions, to provide courses equivalent to those followed by male undergraduates and their students proved themselves well able to compete on equal terms in the Mathematical and Classical Tripos examinations at Cambridge. There were, however, intrinsic differences in attitudes, both academic and religious. Somerville was a staunchly Non-Conformist foundation but Lady Margaret Hall adhered to a largely Anglican tradition. It was not until 1920 for Oxford and 1948 for Cambridge that the women's colleges became fully integrated and their graduates were able to receive degrees from the respective universities themselves.

[30] V. Brittain, *The Women at Oxford: A Fragment of History* (London, 1960), p. 35.

[31] N. Harte, *The University of London 1836-1986: An Illustrated History* (London, 1986).

The new civic universities of England and Wales of the nineteenth century moved forward more quickly in most cases, but not without difficulties and complications, and all post-date the St Andrews LLA in their admission of women to full-time study. Most of these institutions began as colleges without charters to award their own degrees and initially offered preparation for qualifications from the University of London, with Owen's College in Manchester first permitting women access to its classes in 1886. The Victoria University federation, comprising Liverpool, Leeds and Manchester, admitted female students on a partial basis but even by 1897 still excluded them from degrees in medicine and engineering. University College, Bristol was established in 1876 but while admitting women from the start was unable to grant its own degrees until it received its Royal Charter in 1909. Durham, founded in 1832, remained a male bastion until 1895, but the University of Wales, which did not receive its charter until 1893, allowed full access from that year.

The pattern in England and Wales was therefore disparate, with different arrangements in existence between various institutions and faculties, in marked contrast to the more coherent situation in Scotland, to which attention will later turn. A significant amount of the progress made had been achieved under pressure from the Ladies Educational Associations formed across Britain in the 1860s and 1870s. The North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women in 1867 subsumed local organisations in Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, Sheffield and Newcastle and also became highly influential. These associations often organised local classes and lecture series which the various universities were eventually persuaded to take under their own auspices, but there is evidence to suggest that, for many women, a single class on an extra-mural basis continued to be adequate for their requirements. [32]

Just as the 1851 Census had highlighted the large number of governesses, teaching in its various forms remained by far the most populous profession for middle class or educated women. By no means all of them received any kind of formal training but for those who aspired to it the churches provided the majority of the earliest opportunities in England and Wales. The Church of England did so through a system of Diocesan Training Colleges. York, for example, founded its Female Training School in 1846, Derby established a College for the Training of School Mistresses in 1851 and Lincoln in 1862. The Wesleyan Methodist Conference in 1851 established its college at Westminster, which trained both men and women, and an increased demand for female places was met by the foundation in 1872 of Southlands College in Battersea. Government-trained teachers were first produced from 1840 in London colleges assisted by Parliamentary grants, but these teachers were

[32] C. Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities, 1870-1939* (London, 1995); email correspondence with Charlotte Mitchell, University College London, November 2008.

destined only for elementary schools. As Departments of Education began to be set up in universities, so too did certificate courses for women in secondary teaching appear and Day Training Colleges at the same level were also established. The example of the Day Training College for Women in Cambridge set up in 1885, primarily for Girton and Newnham students who would otherwise have taken up teaching posts without any additional preparation, was quickly followed by the majority of the universities of England and Wales. At Cheltenham, Miss Beale in 1885 established St Hilda's Training College in connection with the Ladies College, which allowed older pupils to remain for teacher training and also to prepare for external examinations such as those of the University of London and for the St Andrews LLA itself.

A brief examination of the provision of school education in the second half of the nineteenth century is also necessary, since not only might that provision be the basis upon which women could qualify themselves for higher forms of education, but it was also, as we have seen, the most frequent outlet for a subsequent female career. In England, where the long-standing Scottish tradition of parish education was lacking, the situation differed significantly from that pertaining north of the border. Provision of both elementary and secondary schooling, fragmented in origin and not universally available, was deemed inadequate, with reform therefore seen as even more necessary. Advances were consequently made more rapidly during the course of the century.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, the main provision of day schools for both sexes in England had come from the British and Foreign Society founded in 1808 and the National Society, a Church of England foundation, from 1811. The curriculum offered was variable with that in most schools consisting, for girls, of Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Religious Knowledge and Sewing, although model schools and a few others also proffered Geography, History, Domestic Economy, Singing and Physical Exercise. Monitorial systems, advanced by Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell, were frequently used in the Societies' schools, but the inefficiency of these in practice prompted the eventual introduction of a more formal pupil-teacher system which provided a funded five-year apprenticeship to pupils with ability and a consequent route to more formal training and a career in teaching. Nevertheless, these institutions remained as providers of education to a largely working-class intake and delivered only as much education as was deemed appropriate for the needs of this group. The first state system of elementary schools was established in England by the 1870 Education Act leading to a massive increase in the number of schools, but education remained non-compulsory for another ten years and even then was obligatory only up to the age of ten. Higher grade state-funded schools for girls took time to develop and widespread opportunities to enjoy the broader curricula these afforded were rarely available before the 1890s. Neither the long-

established endowed English grammar schools nor the great public schools made provision for girls. Middle-class girls were generally educated at home by family or governesses or at small private schools where they rarely spent more than two or three years and it could be a matter of chance whether they received instruction in more than the perceived accomplishments of the day. As Scotswoman Marion Kirkland Reid wrote in the middle of the century in her early and influential plea for women's rights:

> Of course, the greatest contrast in the education of the sexes is in those classes where the sons receive a university education; but, even in the middle and lower classes, the instructions which the girls receive is, we believe, on the whole, inferior both in quantity and quality...[33]

In general, reformers had an uphill struggle to persuade parents of the value of investing in their daughters' education, although those belonging to Non-Conformist households might fare better. Quaker and Unitarian girls not only received the same education as their brothers at home but also might have access to higher level schools founded by their communities. The Moravian Brethren were particularly assiduous in promoting boarding schools, and those at Dukinfield, Gomersal, Wyke, Ockbrook and Bedford, and at Gracehill in Ireland had been in existence since the turn of the nineteenth century.[34] Although Methodism also set great store by education, its girls' boarding schools, Penrhos College in North Wales and Kent College, were not founded until the 1880s.

The 1850s had seen the emergence of opportunities for secondary education for English girls, albeit still in real terms only for those from restricted sections of society. The North London Collegiate School, opened by Frances Mary Buss who called for training as similar as possible to that of boys, provided a model for girls' day schools, where the curriculum from the outset included a broad range of academic subjects and girls were encouraged to take University Local Examinations.[35]

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[33] M.K. Reid, *Woman, her Education and Influence* (New York, Boston [etc.], 1847), p. 170.

[34] J.T. Hamilton and K.G. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church: The Renewed Unitas Fratrum 1722-1957* (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1983).

[35] The University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate was at the forefront of introducing public examinations for schools with the aim of raising standards in education: it accepted entries from girls under eighteen on a permanent basis from 1865 and Oxford followed suit. Significantly, since the papers set were intended to match the curricula of boys' schools, they provided a stimulus to extend the range of subjects taught to girls.

Maria Grey, her sister Emily Shirreff, Mary Gurney, and Henrietta , Lady Stanley jointly were creators of a group which came to be known as the Women's Education Union, formed to state the case for women's rights to professional recognition as teachers. The Girls' Public Day School Company (later Trust) founded by the Union opened its first high school in 1873 at Chelsea, followed closely by others, and by 1891 the Company had 36 schools across the major English cities which prepared girls for Oxford and Cambridge Locals and the examinations of the College of Preceptors. These establishments were non-sectarian and offered a full range of academic subjects taught by well-qualified teachers. With fees which were considered moderate, they were attractive to middle-class families.[36] The establishment of Cheltenham Ladies' College as a boarding school after 1858 under the headship of Dorothea Beale, one of the first students and a tutor at Queen's College, London, served as an equivalent for girls to the institutions attended by their brothers. Beale was initially opposed to girls taking the same external examinations as boys and encouragement from the school for its pupils to enter Local Examinations was initially weak. Instead, Cheltenham from 1869 issued its own certificates, although in time Beale, who herself held certificates from Queen's College, London, capitulated. [37]

Continuity and progress: existing provision for girls and women in nineteenth-century Scotland

Progress at every level, from elementary schooling to higher education, differed in manner and scale in Scotland. The education system there, its integrity preserved by the Treaty of Union of 1707, had remained detached and in many ways distinct from that of the rest of the United Kingdom. Its structures and their influence on the development of opportunities for girls and women, therefore, need to be considered separately. In spite of growing public support and partial academic approval, the full admission of women on equal terms to the Scottish universities, was a halting process. In 1875 The Universities (Scotland) Degrees to Women Bill, pushed by MPs William Cowper-Temple, Russell Gurney and Archibald Orr Ewing, received much public support and achieved a second reading but foundered in part because its wording laid it open to dispute and because of the fall of the Liberal government.[38] Only when the 1889 Universities (Scotland) Bill allowed all four of the

[36] J. Kamm, *Indicative Past: A Hundred Years of the Girls' Public Day School Trust* (London, 1971).

[37] J. Kamm, *How Different from Us: A Biography of Miss Buss and Miss Beale* (London, 1958); F.C. Steadman, *In the Days of Miss Beale: A Study of her Work and Influence* (London and Cheltenham, 1931).

[38] C.D. Myers, *University Coeducation in the Victorian Era: Inclusion in the United States and the United Kingdom* (New York, 2010), pp. 49-50; W.W.J. Knox, *Lives of Scottish Women: Women and Scottish Society 1800-1980* (Edinburgh, 2006) p. 85.

Scottish universities to offer entrance to women to pursue degree-level studies at the same time in 1892 did the individual institutions provide some measure of higher education for women and each adopted somewhat different methods and advanced at differing rates. Earlier progress in St Andrews was, as will be seen, demonstrated by the establishment of the LLA itself in 1877. In Edinburgh, from 1865 the Edinburgh Essay Society, later the Ladies' Edinburgh Debating Society, brought together a number of women eager for 'self-improvement'. However, the Edinburgh Ladies Educational Association founded in 1867 gave more immediate impetus to the provision of education at higher levels. With no immediate prospect of the admission of women to the Scottish universities, this organisation (from 1879 the Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women) set up lecture courses at degree standard specifically for women and taught by university lecturers sympathetic to their aspirations. This programme in turn stimulated Edinburgh University to provide its own Certificate in Arts for those who had taken the Association's courses, but, unlike the LLA, it achieved only predominantly local uptake and had limited wider impact. At Aberdeen University the majority of academics had initially been largely unsympathetic to the idea of women undergraduates. Under pressure from the Aberdeen Ladies Educational Association, which had instituted lecture courses, the University introduced a Higher Certificate for Women, but it was short-lived, being discontinued in 1886 after just four years. It failed through a lack of support, which according to Moore was due not only to lack of funding but also to the greater popularity of the St Andrews LLA in Aberdeen and north-east Scotland.[39] Glasgow began relatively early, in 1868, with specific ladies' classes, and a Ladies Association was formed in 1877. The University's longer-term solution, however, was the formation of the separate Queen Margaret College in 1883, linked to the university, but effectively segregating women. It did include a female medical school from 1890, the first of the Scottish higher education institutions to do so.[40] A significant exception to the norm in Scotland was the new foundation of University College, Dundee which from the outset, on the terms of its principal founder Mary Ann Baxter, was obliged by its Constitution of December

[39] L. Moore, *Bajanellas and Semilinas: Aberdeen University and the Education of Women, 1860-1920* (Aberdeen, 1991); this view, as will be seen in Chapter 3, is borne out by the numbers of girls and women enrolling for the LLA from this area.

[40] J. Geyer-Kordesch, R. Ferguson and J. Ferguson, *Blue Stockings, Black Gowns, White Coats: a brief history of women entering higher education and the medical profession in Scotland, in celebration of one hundred years of women graduates at the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1994); W. Alexander, *First Ladies of Medicine: The Origins, Education and Destination of Early Women Graduates of Glasgow University* (Glasgow, 1987).

1881 to promote the education of both males and females.[41] Seventy-five of the first intake of 373 students attending classes were women, but University College was unable to award its own degrees and, until its eventual incorporation into St Andrews in 1897, it only prepared candidates for the external examinations of the University of London.[42]

The training of teachers was long established in Scotland by 1877 and had been in origin the province of the Church of Scotland, with the Edinburgh Sessional School being used by 1826 as a model school for observation by teachers. In Glasgow the first Normal School in Britain was founded in 1836 by the Glasgow Educational Society and later transferred to the domain of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland at the same time as its Edinburgh equivalent, although both received state financial assistance. From the time of the 1843 Disruption, the two major cities acquired a dual system of Normal Schools run by both Established and Free Churches of Scotland. Not until the 1870s did both churches open colleges in Aberdeen, but when they did these were initially intended for women only. Other denominations similarly had some limited input. Methodist teacher training for women had been undertaken in the Glasgow Normal Seminary from 1841, and in Edinburgh the Scottish Episcopal Church established its own college in 1855 as an exclusively male institution, only much later opened to women. No Roman Catholic Training College existed before the creation of Notre Dame in Glasgow in 1895 and girls wishing to become teachers were obliged to attend Mount Pleasant College in Liverpool.

Apparently insufficient numbers of teachers were coming forward from existing institutions in the early years, because the Council of Education in 1846 had introduced a pupil-teacher scheme across Britain whereby promising scholars could undertake an apprenticeship of up to five years. The most able students, selected by examination, were awarded a Queen's Scholarship to support their maintenance at Normal School. While male students were awarded a grant of £25, female students received two thirds of this and indeed many women entered the Normal Schools as self-funding students with attendant implications for their social and economic backgrounds. The numbers of women students gradually increased until by 1860 they had become more numerous than men. With the implementation of the 1872 Education Act in Scotland, there was a need for yet more teachers to fill the new requirement for compulsory education. But female teachers' roles remained restricted more often than not to infant schools and were more poorly paid, while male graduates took posts in the expanding numbers of secondary schools which in the Scottish tradition were

[41] D.G. Southgate*, University Education in Dundee: A Centenary History* (Edinburgh, 1982).

[42] M. Shafe, *University Education in Dundee, 1881-1981: A Pictorial History* (Dundee, 1982).

mainly co-educational.[43] Burgeoning awareness of the unsatisfactory nature and inequalities of the situation prompted a number of initiatives over the following years.

The Ladies Edinburgh Debating Society and the Edinburgh Ladies Educational Association provided a forum for women with reforming zeal and energy, from whom emerged several who became responsible for the St George's Hall Classes, initiated in 1876 in the first instance to prepare women for the Edinburgh University Local Examinations. These quickly expanded to offer courses by correspondence designed as preparation for the St Andrews LLA itself. According to Shepley there is scant information available on the backgrounds of the students taking up this scheme, although he argues that they were in the main drawn from middle- and upper-class families.[44] The evidence indicates that a number came from the parish schools but that others had received various forms of private education which had apparently given them an inadequate basis from which to proceed further.[45] Dissatisfaction with the existing Scottish system of teacher training in Normal Schools which, as has been noted, fitted women predominantly for teaching in infant schools or domestic economy, had by 1886 brought the St George's Hall Committee, in collaboration with the Cambridge Teacher Training Scheme, to open the first secondary training college for women in Scotland and to follow it, within two years, with a high school for girls on the model of the Girls' Public Day School Trust in England to function as a demonstration school.

The First Book of Discipline of 1560 had been the instrument through which the Scottish Reformers had expressed the ambition to establish a uniform educational system in Scotland at all levels. While it was close to a century later before that aim was partially fulfilled, the parish schools had been in principle open to all, regardless of class and gender, since their inception, with their primary objective being to instruct a population literate enough to read the scriptures. These schools had in addition provided a route by which the poor but able scholar, the 'lad o' pairts', could potentially gain access to the Scottish universities. In many of these, the master was himself a product of the system, a graduate, able to instruct in the classics and thus prepare the more able pupils in turn for university entrance. In north-east Scotland this pattern was particularly prevalent as a result of the Dick Bequest, which required schoolmasters to be examined for university-standard proficiency in

[43] M. Cruickshank, *A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland* (London, 1970).

[44]N.H. Shepley, *A respectable revolution ?: The genesis of higher education for women and girls; St George's Training College and High School, 1886-1914,* (MEd Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1986).

[45] It is expected that my own subsequent research on those who took the St George's Hall Correspondence Classes as direct preparation for the LLA will help to elucidate this question.

Latin and Greek.[46] Yet although girls attended parish schools throughout the country, few of them joined the higher classes or received any motivation or encouragement to study classics.[47]

In the Scottish towns, burgh schools, which had traditionally been grammar schools and taught Latin, likewise offered a ladder of opportunity and were generally open to girls but entry was not everywhere possible with schools in larger cities, such as the High Schools of Edinburgh and Glasgow, firmly intended for the education of boys. Where co-education existed, there remained uncertainty about the status of girl pupils with some major urban schools such as the High School of Stirling rarely acknowledging their existence or requirements.[48] Alongside ran a plethora of charity, works, and private or 'adventure' schools of hugely variable quality, and the last often proved more popular with parents for their daughters. Endowed schools, although in origin often intended for the education of the more needy, by the later nineteenth century catered largely for a middle-class intake. The co-educational Dollar Institution, subsequently Dollar Academy, had been founded in 1818, significantly, 'to educate the boys and girls of Dollar parish.' [49] Scotland in 1877 acquired its first girls' boarding school, St Leonard's in St Andrews, staffed by women with strong connections to both Girton College and Cheltenham Ladies' College and much modelled on the latter.[50] It was intended to promote the highest standards of female education and, importantly, found strong support for its foundation amongst university staff.

After the implementation of the 1872 Act, there was some rationalisation, a substantial building programme, and the emergence of more integrated secondary schools, in principle, if less so in practice, more accessible to a range of social classes. The introduction by the Scottish universities of their Local Examination schemes had provided reason, as in England, for the teaching of a broader range of subjects to girls. Edinburgh led in 1864, and St Andrews followed with a re-introduction in 1877 of the scheme it had first run ten years earlier, while Glasgow also established its scheme in 1877 and Aberdeen in 1880, But until there was a possibility of obtaining a higher education, there continued to be no great incentive for many girls at school level to reach the necessary standard.

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[46] M. Cruickshank, 'The Dick Bequest: The Effect of a Famous Nineteenth-Century Endowment on Parish Schools of North East Scotland', *History of Education Quarterly* , 5 (1965), 153-65.

[47] H. Corr, 'Where is the Lass o' Pairts, Identity and Education in Nineteenth century Scotland', in D. Broun, R.J. Finlay and M. Lynch, eds, *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-Making of Scotland through the Ages* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 220-8.

[48] A.F. Hutchison, *The High School of Stirling* (Stirling, 1904).

[49] http://dollaracademy.org/history-of-Dollar.asp accessed 18 March 2012

[50] J.M. Grant, J.H. McCutcheon and E.F. Sanders, *St Leonard's School, 1877-1927* (London, 1927).

As has been indicated, significant and substantial progress in improving educational provision for girls and women occurred throughout Great Britain during the nineteenth century, even if few universally-based schemes existed or had yet made their full impact felt. That there were increased opportunities for daughters of Victorian families to achieve secondary and higher levels of education is clear, although these were not universal and girls from the poorest backgrounds were still largely excluded. At the same time, the establishment of more secondary schools, training colleges and women's colleges linked to universities had made for greater employment opportunities than had hitherto been enjoyed. The struggle to attain even this much had been long and hard, however, and campaigners for women's education in this period had already by the 1870s, when the LLA was first mooted at St Andrews, faced and overcome some daunting obstacles.

The research context

The hurdles which were in part surmounted by those seeking to advance female education in the nineteenth century might be seen as deriving largely from societal inertia and prejudice: the former involved passive resistance to change in educational structures which were deemed adequate for the needs of females; the latter entailed a more determined opposition to equalising their prospects. These obstacles, therefore, need to be linked to a wider scholarly literature on social mobility, educational and feminist studies which can be understood as a context to the St Andrews LLA. Hence comparisons are necessarily embedded in a number of distinct paradigms which encompass a broad set of social, educational and gender issues.

Upward social mobility as an outcome of the higher levels of education acquired must be seen as a likely intrinsic consequence both for individual women and for LLAs as a group. Research on social mobility dates from the work done in the 1950s and 1960s by a number of pioneering scholars for example that edited by Glass whose collection of essays includes Berent's study of marriage, education and social mobility in Britain since 1911.[51] Later empirical studies of female mobility, in particular like that of Dublin, have more often than not concentrated on working class women and intra-class mobility.[52]

[51] D.V. Glass, *Social Mobility in Britain* (London, 1954).

[52] T. Dublin, 'Women Workers and the Study of Social Mobility', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 9 (Spring 1979), 647-65.

Serious analysis of social mobility in the nineteenth century specifically owes much to the seminal work of Kaelble several decades later.[53] He recognised two separate approaches to the history of social mobility, namely the short-term, often local, studies of the historian, and the longer-term, macro-scale approach of the sociologist, the latter normally of the twentieth century and attempts to reconcile and interconnect them.[54] For him,

> the period of organized capitalism coincided in a number of European countries with the rise of the professions…Professionalization created a new stratum which was prestigious, highly qualified, and generally well-to-do, and this gave rise to new, if highly formalized, opportunities for social ascent.[55]

His writing on opportunities in higher education, however, at no time acknowledges the possibility of differing experiences of the genders.[56]

Likewise adopting a combined approach, Miles's detailed and comprehensive work on social mobility tackles the awkward position of the subject as falling between the disciplines of history and sociology and seeks to overcome this handicap by using the methods and sources of both. As he argues, 'from within the Victorian and Edwardian working class the occupational horizons of most families were confined to their own skill sectors, and beyond it the status and advantages of a middle-class existence remained out of reach to all but an isolated few'.[57]

Dealing principally with Victorian and Edwardian England, Miles also makes the point that many studies of social mobility are based upon data taken from marriage registers and therefore offer only a single snapshot view. He argues that, while simple intergenerational movement between classes

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[53] Major works are: H. Kaelble, *Historical Research on Social Mobility: Western Europe and the United States in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London, 1981); H. Kaelble, *Industrialisation and Social Inequality in Nineteenth Century Europe* (Leamington Spa, 1986); H. Kaelble, *A Social History of Western Europe, 1880-1980* (Dublin, 1990).

[54] H. Kaelble, 'Eras of Social Mobility in 19th and 20th Century Europe', *Journal of Social History,* 17.3 (1984), 489-504.

[55] Kaelble, *Eras of Social Mobility*, 495.

[56] Kaelble, *Industrialisation and Social Inequality.*

[57] A. Miles, *Social Mobility in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century England* (Basingstoke, 1999), p. 46.

can adequately be deduced from these, the unmarried are necessarily excluded.[58] Attention to women in his work, however, is almost entirely based upon the relationship between marriage and social mobility with no direct consideration given to the implications of education as a potential factor. The question, therefore, arises as to how much specialised work has in fact been undertaken on the relationship between education and social or occupational mobility for British women in this period.[59]

Payne and Abbott in a collection of essays on female social mobility which concentrated on the twentieth century have certainly broken new ground in claiming evidence that 'women experience distinctive kinds of mobility' and that 'the traditional framework simply cannot accommodate female social mobility'.[60] A common finding from this group of papers, however, was that while female patterns of mobility were much less clear-cut than those of men, at the same time intra-generational movement was also less common.[61] The educational qualifications of women were an important determination of class, and in overall conclusion it was also suggested that for daughters maternal levels of education were more significant in ultimate occupational destinations than they were for sons.[62] Thus, while general principles might be drawn from these studies and be applied to the nineteenth century and specifically to an understanding the role of the LLA, we also need to remain aware of the divergences of expectation existing in a period in which the labour market was very different and female employment was established in different patterns.

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[58] Miles, Social Mobility, p. 97.

[59] In its early stages, set up only in 2013, the Oxford Research Centre in the Humanities (TORCH) Project Rags to Riches: Experiences of Social Mobility since 1800, will hopefully go some way towards filling this gap. 'This interdisciplinary research group will explore the history and experience of social mobility in nineteenth and twentieth century Britain and Europe. The network aims to foster the development of new perspectives on social mobility by adopting a qualitative and family biographical approach. We seek in particular to uncover the previously neglected areas of female social mobility and the impact of family members on an individual's life chances. Our comparative approach will promote the setting of individual findings within a broader geographical and temporal context.' http://torch.ox.ac.uk/socialstatus accessed 20 April 2014.

[60] G. Payne and P. Abbott, *The Social Mobility of Women: Beyond Male Mobility Models* (Basingstoke, 1990), p. 11.

[61] Payne and Abbott, *The Social Mobility of Women*, pp. 43-4.

[62] Payne and Abbott, *The Social Mobility of Women*, pp. 161-2.

Lacking a substantive body of literature which specifically deals with education, social mobility and women in Britain in the relevant period, the work that does exist must be complemented by recourse to separate and broader branches of scholarship. While it is acknowledged that this study clearly relates to a wider field of education than that of Scotland alone, there is a strand of recent debate on Scottish education that has specific relevance to the impact of the LLA. In particular, histories of Scottish education ceased to be largely narrative in character only during the middle decades of the twentieth century.[63] Thereafter attention has tended to be dominated by debate on the question of the 'democratic intellect'. This construct of George Elder Davie in his work of 1961 with the consequent acceptance of the notion of the 'lad o' pairts' whereby any scholar of ability had been able, regardless of his station in life, to make his way to the top through the indigenous education system, came to preoccupy many other writers.[64] Robert Anderson disputed Davie's proposition in a number of works from the 1980s and suggested that those who succeeded in attaining any significant degree of social mobility as a direct result of public education provision were most often sons of the manse or the schoolhouse or, at best, of skilled artisan parentage.[65] The sociologist McCrone too, while accepting that the 'lad o' pairts' idea had to some extent assumed mythical status, has argued that the democratic intellect, if it bore the attributes of a myth, had nevertheless formed a persistent one and he provided evidence of its being a self-fulfilling concept.[66]

While Anderson in his later work acknowledged that women's place in this scheme of things was generally neglected, it was left to Helen Corr in 1998 to address the fact that women had been excluded from attention in the 'democratic intellect' debate.[67] Her contribution, however, had been to develop a branch of studies concerned with equality of occupational opportunities for women

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[63] W.M. Humes and H.M. Paterson, ed, *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education, 1800-1980* (Edinburgh 1983); this publication delivers a series of essays which represent that changing focus.

[64] G.E. Davie, *The Democratic Intellect: Scotland and her Universities in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1961).

[65] R.D. Anderson, *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland: Schools and Universities* (Oxford 1983); R.D. Anderson, 'In Search of the "Lad of Parts": the Mythical History of Scottish Education', *History Workshop*, (Spring 1985), 82-104; R.D. Anderson, 'Universities and Elites in Modern Britain', *History of Universities*, X (1991); R.D. Anderson, *Universities and Elites in Britain since 1800* (Basingstoke and London, 1991).

[66] D. McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation* (London and New York, 1991).

[67] Corr, *Where is the lass o' pairts ?*

with its focus directed principally towards status within the teaching profession rather than on female educational experiences.[68] For this reason, the question as to whether there might be such a creature as the 'lass o' pairts' had remained essentially unexplored.[69] Corr does nevertheless stress a 'greater occupational upward mobility under the single sex schooling system in England than in the Scottish co-educational system'.[70] Jane McDermid's considerable body of work on the education of girls, particularly working-class and Roman Catholic girls, and on teacher training is also informative.[71]

When Eleanor Gordon claimed in 1990 that the history of Scottish women has been largely a second-hand one, she was signalling the emergence of a new wave of scholarship on the subject.[72] While her two volumes published with Breitenbach on Scottish women in the long nineteenth century filled a long-standing gap in female social history, their emphasis was rightly on the much larger group of working-class women and their occupations.[73] Only Wendy Alexander's essay in the first of these, looking at women who entered medical education at Glasgow University, overlapped with studies of higher education. It did, however, consider both the social origins and ultimate achievements of these early doctors in some useful detail, highlighting the need for further work on women experiencing higher education at this crucial time.[74] Lindy Moore's study has concentrated attention on female undergraduates at Aberdeen and in a chapter on social origins suggests that, in the early

[68] H. Corr, 'The Sexual Division of Labour in the Scottish Teaching Profession, 1872-1914', in Humes and Paterson, *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education*; H. Corr, 'Dominies and Domination: Schoolteachers, Masculinity and Women in 19th Century Scotland', *History Workshop*, 40.1 (1995), 151-64.

[69] The forthcoming PhD thesis by Alison McCall, Dundee University, will pursue this issue.

[70] Corr, *Where is the lass o' pairts ?,* p. 223.

[71] For instance: J. McDermid, *The Schooling of Working Class Girls in Victorian Scotland: Gender, Education and Identity* (London, 2005); J. McDermid, 'Catholic Women Teachers and Scottish Education in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *History of Education*, 38 (2005), 605-20.

[72] E. Gordon,' Women's Spheres', in W.H. Fraser and R.J. Morris, ed, *People and Society in Scotland, 1830-1914* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 206-36.

[73] E. Breitenbach and E. Gordon, *The World is Ill-Divided: Women's Work in Scotland in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Edinburgh, 1990); E. Breitenbach and E. Gordon, *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society, 1800-1945* (Edinburgh, 1992).

[74] Alexander*, First Ladies of Medicine*; W. Alexander, 'Early Glasgow Women Medical Graduates', in Breitenbach and Gordon, *The World is Ill-Divided*.

years, girls from relatively humble origins were able to matriculate and graduate from that university.[75] Sheila Hamilton in her thesis on early university women also shed light on the Ladies' Educational Associations in Scotland and on their efforts at entry to the University of Edinburgh.[76] For a later period Judy Wakeling's work on the origins and destinations of women at Glasgow served as a valuable comparative study, and Campbell Fox Lloyd's exploration of the communities of the Scottish Universities between 1858 and 1914 broadened the dimension.[77] All of these studies draw greater attention to the subject, with Alexander and Moore particularly concerned, amongst other issues, to analyse actual patterns of female social mobility within Scotland. More recent work which is closely relevant to this study is represented by Laura Kelly's thesis on the origins and careers of early women medical students in Ireland.[78]

Nevertheless, the subject of Scottish women's access to university-level education in the Victorian and Edwardian eras has continued to inspire relatively little academic activity. Cant and Sellers have both written brief but comprehensive narratives of the LLA itself, as have Bell and Tight, but while the last engages with the concept of the LLA in the context of 'open universities', the need for the scheme to be examined in much closer detail clearly remains.[79]

For research on opportunities for women in higher education more generally, and particularly from the mainstream of women's historical studies, it is the work of scholars like Delamont, Duffin, Dyhouse and Pederson, especially when addressing a British context, which is most directly useful. In particular, Dyhouse's account of English higher education ranges from initial access to the

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[75] Moore, *Bajanellas and Semilinas*.

[76] S. Hamilton, *Women and the Scottish Universities c 1869-1939: a Social History*, (PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1987).

[77] J. Wakeling, *University women: origins experiences and destinations at Glasgow University 1939-1987.* (PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1998); C.F. Lloyd, *Relationships between Scottish Universities and their Communities c 1858-1914*, (PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1993).

[78] L. Kelly, *Irish medical women c 1880s - 1920s: The origins, education and careers of early women medical graduates from Irish institutions*, (PhD Thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2010).

[79] R.N. Smart, 'Literate Ladies – A Fifty year Experiment', *The Alumnus Chronicle*, 59 (1969), 21-31; Susan Sellers, 'Mischievous to the Public Interest: the Lady Literate in Arts Diploma and the Admission of Women to the University of St Andrews', in R. Crawford, ed, *Launch Site for English Studies: Three Centuries of Literary Studies at the University of St Andrews* (St Andrews, 1997), pp. 107-23; R. Bell and M. Tight, 'The Maddest Folly: Scotland, the Certification of Women and the St Andrews LLA', in *Open Universities: A British Tradition?* (Buckingham, 1993), pp. 73-87.

experiences of female academics in what was still an exclusive sector and Pederson's review of reform and change in English school and higher education in the Victorian period stresses the relatively more open nature of both sectors concluding that these met at least in part the feminist demands of the time.[80] Much other work which has examined women's educational experiences beyond the United Kingdom also informs the execution of this thesis.[81] Myers' recent study of co-education in the Victorian period, for instance, is a valuable comparison of women's experience of higher education in the United Kingdom and the United States of America.[82] The wider recent literature of women's history has tended to be dominated by feminist and socialist agendas, as has been pointed out by Purvis.[83] Leah Leneman has also covered the Scottish dimension of suffragism and much work, often biographical in nature, deals with the movement and its antecedents in a British context.[84] At the same time, Purvis herself and Vicinus have been major players in bringing the anomalous position of women in Victorian British society to the fore.[85]

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[80] S. Delamont and L. Duffin, *The Nineteenth Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World* (London, 1978); S. Delamont, *Knowledgeable Women: structuralism and the reproduction of elites* (London, 1989); J.S. Pederson, 'The Reform of Women's Secondary and Higher Education: Institutional Change and Social Values in Mid and Late Victorian England', *History of Education Quarterly*, XIX (1979), 61-91; Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex?*

[81] Some examples are: E.S. Eschbach, *The Higher Education of Women in England and America, 1865-1920* (New York and London, 1993); K.H. Jarausch,' Higher Education and Social Change: Some Comparative Perspectives', in K.H. Jarausch, *The Transformation of Higher Learning 1860-1930: Expansion, Diversification, Social Opening, and Professionalism in England, Germany, Russia and the United States* (Chicago, 1983).

[82] Myers, *University Coeducation.*

[83] J. Purvis, 'Women Worthies to Poststructuralism ? Debate and Controversy in Women's History in Britain', in J. Purvis,ed, *Women's History in Britain 1850-1945: An Introduction* (London, 1995), pp. 1-22.

[84] Especially in L. Leneman, *A Guid Cause: The Women's Suffrage Movemenr in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1995); D. Rubinste**i**n, *Before the Suffragettes: Women's Emancipation in the 1890s* (Brighton, 1986).

[85] J. Purvis, *A History of Women's Education in England* (Milton Keynes, 1991)**;** J. Purvis, *Women's History in Britain 1850-1945: An Introduction* (London, 1995); M. Vicinus, *A Widening sphere: changing roles of Victorian women* (Bloomington, 1977); M. Vicinus, *Suffer and be still: Women in the Victorian age* (London, 1980); M. Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (London, 1985).

The sources and their interpretation

This final section introduces the principal primary sources used in this research. It also outlines the type and range of data gathered and describes how these have been stored and classified, at the same time considering the most appropriate methods of analysis for addressing specific research questions.

Two overarching concerns of this work are to achieve a clear understanding of the aims of St Andrews in offering the LLA and to identify the motives and needs of the students. Firstly, the process by which the University came to implement the scheme is examined and its motives and the extent to which these were eventually fulfilled are also explored. Secondly, there is a need to reconstruct the backgrounds - familial, educational, and religious - of the women who came forward in such numbers to take the LLA; to assess the extent to which personal origins affected their choice of course or subjects; and to establish whether the LLA actually altered their subsequent status and lifestyle to any measurable extent. The research seeks to establish reasons why candidates chose this avenue of education over any others available, to measure the extent to which furthering a career was a direct objective, and to evaluate how effective the qualifications gained were in satisfying ambitions. In order to address issues of social and geographical mobility, questions are also asked concerning the social and economic status of LLA candidates, as measured in part by using parental occupation as a surrogate; about educational background and geographical origins; about ages at entry and completion of studies; and about later careers and other achievements. Certain other factors, such as religious background, which might have a bearing on attitudes to the value of education and on career outcomes will also need to be scrutinised.

The sources on both students and the internal institutional debate are held in the Muniments Collection of the University of St Andrews and are generally comprehensive and readily accessible. Candidate Registers for the LLA, available from 1877 onwards, contain extensive personal and academic information and these are supplemented by the published LLA and Local Examinations Calendars. [86] There are very few, largely unimportant, discrepancies between the Registers and the Calendars.

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[86] University of St Andrews Library Special Collections: LLA and Local Examinations Calendars. For examples of LLA Registers and Calendars, see Appendix 1, p. 192.

Since it is intended to make comparisons on the same issues with the early cohorts of female degree students who matriculated at St Andrews from 1892 onwards, equivalent muniments records are utilised for these. The matriculation records of the University, as well as the lists of students, degree examination results and graduates serve as equivalent basic sources to the LLA registration records.[87] The published work of Smart which collates academic and biographical details for matriculating students until 1897 is also vital.[88] For the deliberations of the Senatus Academicus and its sub-committees throughout the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s, Senate minutes and their related papers provide a clear, if not absolutely complete, record. [89]

These, then, are the core records on which this study relies. They have provided information on the 1675 individual women who registered on the LLA programme between 1877 and 1892, the date when the first women matriculands were admitted by St Andrews. For the same period a sample of male undergraduates has also been taken. From 1892 until 1899 details of female degree students, together with a sample of LLAs between 1892 and 1904, will allow comparison between the LLA women, male degree students of the same period, and those women who were first to elect to undertake a full degree course. The database designed to store this information comprises fields for aspects of personal and family background, academic achievements and career details and is broadly comparable to that described by Harper in her study of male Aberdeen University students between 1860 and 1880.[90] In populating this database, besides the muniments records of the University of St Andrews, Census enumeration information, available from 1841 to 1911, represents a major primary

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[87] University of St Andrews Library Special Collections Matriculation Roll 1888-1925: UYUY310/1; University of St Andrews Library Special Collections List of Students 1860-1909: UYUY322/1-31; University of St Andrews Library Special Collections Degree Examination Results 1893-1920: UYUY3262; University of St Andrews Library Special Collections List of Graduates 1800-1914: UYUY342/2.

[88] R.N. Smart, *Biographical Register of the University of St Andrews, 1747-1897* (St Andrews, 2004).

[89] University of St Andrews Library Special Collections Minutes of Senatus Academicus: UYUY452; University of St Andrews Library Special Collections Miscellaneous Papers Senatus Academicus: UYUY459.

[90] M. Harper, 'The Challenges and Rewards of Databases', in J. Carter and D. Withrington, ed, *Scottish Universities: Distinctivesness and Diversity* (Edinburgh, 1992).

data source. [91] The Census Enumeration Books, although not without problems, potentially provide a large amount of generally reliable data supplementary to that contained in the University muniments. Two principal online Census databases have been used – Scotlandspeople, specific to Scotland, and ancestry.co.uk, the former being the more reliable but the latter covering existing returns from right across the United Kingdom.[92] These, together with parish records of births, marriages and deaths, from before 1837 for England and Wales and 1855 for Scotland, and thereafter civil registration records, together with wills and testaments, form the core of available public information. By drawing from this range of sources, it is hoped to avoid most of the limitations encountered by single-source studies such as those described by Miles.[93]

Numerous published or online sources, such as the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [ODNB] and the *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* [BDSW], provide further information and, to identify career paths, professional registers such as the *Medical Directory*, the *Fasti Ecclesiae* of the Church of Scotland and those of the United Free Church of Scotland have also been used.[94] The Histories of the Congregations of the Presbyterian Church and of the Episcopal Clergy are important too for information on women students and their parents.[95] Commercial publications such as Trades Directories at times supply additional or confirmatory detail on occupations.

Muniments records of the University of St Andrews provide partial information about schooling, but it has also been possible to expand this from the archival records of the schools themselves where these exist. There is evidence that women who registered for LLA courses also undertook higher education at other institutions and such associations have been pursued where possible. In the main, matriculation records of Training Colleges, Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges, and Universities for this period exist as muniments within the institutions themselves. On occasion registers are found as published volumes, such as those of Girton College, Cambridge or the

[91] A significant number of Irish records were destroyed either by order of the government or by fire at the Public Record Office in Dublin in 1922.

[92] http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/ is the official government source of genealogical data for Scotland; http://www.ancestry.co.uk/ is a commercial genealogical resource.

[93] Miles, *Social Mobility*, pp. 15-18.

[94] H. Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae: Revised and Enlarged Edition* (Edinburgh, 1915); J.A. Lamb, *The Fasti of the United Free Church of Scotland 1900-1929* (Edinburgh and London, 1956).

[95] R. Small, *History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church, 1733-1900* (Edinburgh, 1904); D.M. Bertie, *Scottish Episcopal Clergy, 1689-2000* (Edinburgh, 2000).

Aberdeen Church of Scotland Training College.[96] More rarely available are online institutional registers, like those of the University of London, but these make for ready ease of access.[97] Both local and national newspapers potentially carry material of relevance in the form of advertisements, reports, and correspondence, with the indexed *Times Digital Archive 1785-1985*, *Scotsman Digital Archive 1817-1950*, and *Nineteenth Century British Library Newspapers online* being particularly useful resources.[98] The local newspaper, the *St Andrews Citizen*, is a rich source with an immediate concern for university affairs. Other categories of sources are often rarer, more fragmentary, or more difficult of access. Literary sources have the potential to add depth of understanding to the lifestyles and attitudes of individual women portrayed in them. Diaries have been rarely found, but where they exist, like that of Mabel Cartwright, a daughter of the Deputy Attorney General of Ontario, who went from Canada to Cheltenham Ladies College and was awarded the LLA in 1887, can prove invaluable. [99]

When collating and interrogating all of this information, an attempt has been made to ensure that the findings will be easy to compare with other similar studies. Anderson and Alexander notably, have used both quantitative and social statistics to probe the geographical and social origins of undergraduate students at the Scottish universities and attention has therefore been given here to the manner in which these factors have been presented. Occupational groupings conventionally employed as surrogates for social class have also been used, as have existing social classification systems, adapted where this will facilitate the presentation of the data in the most meaningful way.[100] Case studies of individual students have nonetheless been heavily used throughout not only to illustrate broader patterns which emerge but also to highlight and clarify significant variations within and between them.

The central chapters of the thesis aim to provide a structural analysis of the key questions. Thus, Chapter 2 considers the conditions under which St Andrews first introduced the LLA; its reasons for doing so; the attitudes of the individuals concerned towards the higher education of women; the

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[96] *Girton College Register 1869-1946* (Cambridge, 1948); J. Ogilvie, *The Church of Scotland Training College in Aberdeen: Records of the Classes from 1874-5 to 1894-5* (Aberdeen, 1896).

[97] http://www.shl.lon.ac.uk/specialcollections/archives/studentrecords.shtml

[98] http://gdc.gale.com/products/the-times-digital-archive-1785-1985/; http://archive.scotsman.com/; http://newspapers.bl.uk/blcs/

[99] The diary is held in Trinity College Archives, Toronto, Cartwright Family Papers, ms 120, Box 5. 1

[100] Anderson, *Education and Opportunity*; R.D. Anderson, *The Student Community at Aberdeen, 1860-1939* (Aberdeen, 1988); Alexander, *First Ladies of Medicine*.

initial nature of the qualification and its progress and development in its early years; and the potential outcomes for the university. Chapter 3 examines the geographical and social origins of candidates, their educational backgrounds and age structure and both the patterns of uptake between subjects and the completion rates for the award, as well as the careers and life experiences before the LLA. In order to assess the impact of the experience on the participants, Chapters 4 and 5 examine the outcomes for those who took LLA examinations, and in particular their careers and other life achievements. All of these factors will throughout be compared with those for other groups of both women and men who undertook full-time higher education in this period. Chapter 6 moves on to examine the nature of the LLA programme and candidates after 1892 when access to degree courses became available at first to women in Scotland and then gradually to institutions in other parts of the United Kingdom. In its conclusions, this thesis aims to demonstrate the extent to which the LLA was formative in shaping the lives of women in the period under study and was influential in promoting the case for female higher education. It also seeks to appraise the contribution LLA women made to society at large and to the broad movement for female emancipation.

Chapter 2

'To the highest pitch possible': the origins and development of the LLA, 1877-1892

Politics and progress in the early years

It has already been suggested that the LLA was unique in its conception, scale and success, a situation which begs the question as to how it came into existence in the form it took. The scheme was not alone, as has been noted, in providing a structured programme of studies for women, for this had been attempted, with greater or lesser success, alongside more informal provision of classes, at other universities and at technical colleges, elsewhere in Scotland and other parts of the United Kingdom. Thus it is necessary to examine in detail the context for the launch of the qualification in the first instance by the University of St Andrews, its apparent reasons for doing so, the benefits it accrued, and the very specific advantages it offered to women which engendered such popularity.

When the St Andrews higher certificate for women came into being in 1877 as the LA, its emergence appears to have been the outcome of a number of complex and interrelated factors, both internal and external to the university itself. In the mid-1800s the university in St Andrews had only very recently made, in the wake of the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858, the transition from its mediaeval embodiment to a modern constitution alongside its Scottish counterparts, but was struggling to remain viable in terms of student numbers.[1] Its catchment was largely local and served, besides the county of Fife, the neighbouring areas of Angus and Perthshire, although a small number of boys, principally of non-conformist backgrounds came from England, a hangover from before the 1850s when they were prevented from graduating from Oxford and Cambridge. The town of St Andrews itself was served by several schools, including dame schools run by usually unqualified women, private schools for boys, and the larger co-educational Madras School, founded in 1833, on the monitorial principles of its founder, the Rev. Dr Andrew Bell, and amalgamating the town's original Grammar and English schools.[2] Observers in 1866 indicated that girls at Madras were able to

[1] Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858; R.G. Cant, *The University of St Andrews: A Short History* (St Andrews, 1992), pp. 141-2; N.R. Reid, *Ever to Excel: An Illustrated History of the University of St Andrews* (Dundee, 2011), pp. 134-5.

[2] http://www.madras.fife.sch.uk/home/history.html accessed 31 March 2014.

participate in classes for German, English, Latin and Arithmetic and therefore had the opportunity in theory to attain university entrance standards along with their male counterparts.[3] From 1877, when the St Andrews Ladies' School, predecessor of St Leonard's School, was founded, young middle-class women were able to study to high levels in a broad range of subjects. There is no clear evidence, however, that there had been any particular attention given within the university to the movement for higher education for women until it was brought to its immediate attention when Elizabeth Garrett (later Anderson) attempted to gain admittance to medical studies, notably at London, then Edinburgh and eventually at St Andrews itself.

Daughter of a businessman, product of a ladies' boarding school in Blackheath and friend of the feminists Emily Davies and Sophia Jex-Blake, Garrett had made advances initially to the Universities of London, and Edinburgh before her approach to St Andrews in 1862. What exactly happened then is unclear. According to Glynn, Garrett's matriculation and examination fees for classes in anatomy and chemistry, issued by Professors Day and Heddle, were accepted by the college Secretary, and although these were later annulled she continued to take private classes with Dr Day, a personal friend, in anatomy and physiology. The certificates of attendance she received from him were subsequently accepted by the Society of Apothecaries but her medical degree had to be gained eventually from the University of Paris.[4]

The situation was clearly of considerable concern within St Andrews and was documented in some detail in a series of letters to and from J.D. Forbes, Principal of the United College.[5] Two letters of 30 October 1862 from Professors Day and Heddle to Walter Fogo Ireland, Secretary of United College, authorised class tickets for Garrett and by early in November Forbes was engaged in anxious correspondence with Principal Robert Christison of Edinburgh University as to the likely legality of her case.[6] As he wrote:

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[3] J.M. Beale, *A history of the burgh and parochial schools of Fife* (Edinburgh, c 1983).

[4] Day was Professor of Medicine in St Andrews, but subsequently resigned from the chair in 1863 on grounds of health and was succeeded by Oswald Hume Bell. Both Heddle and Day were recognised Examiners for Medical Degrees.; J. Glynn, *The Pioneering Garretts: Breaking the Barriers for Women* (London and New York, 2008), pp. 46-48.

[5] University of St Andrews Library Special Collections, James David Forbes, Principal of United College, Correspondence, ms dep 7.

[6] ms dep 7/ Incoming letters 1862, nos.154, 155; Professor Matthew Forster Heddle, Professor of Chemistry from 1862 until 1880, a prominent mineralogist and an MD of Edinburgh University.

> We are bothered by a pertinacious Female aspirant to the Medical Profession, who has managed to obtain a Matriculation Ticket ... Miss Garrett, a relative of Miss Nightingale, and evidently no ordinary woman either in accomplishment or determination [7]

Christison's reply cites his own response to her earlier application to Edinburgh in which he pleaded universal precedent in Scotland against the project, but admitted that he knew of no university statute to exclude her from becoming a medical student and undertook to bring her wishes before the Faculty of Medical and Senatus. When he did so, the proposal was, however, 'received with great disfavour in both bodies'.[8]

Forbes may have been relieved, but on the same day Garrett wrote to him to state her intention to seek admission to the two classes in the United College, despite the decision of the Senatus that she should not be allowed admission.

> This resolution, with a statement of the facts which led to the subject being brought before the Senatus, my father has submitted to the inspection of Sir Fitzroy Kelly, and acting on his advice, he directs me to appear in the lecture rooms of the two Professors from whom I have received tickets, and claim admission to their first lecture. I shall, of course, obey, though I regret extremely being obliged to act in opposition to the wish of the Senatus. Had the matter rested in my own hands I should have waited till the decision of the Senatus was known.[9]

The Senatus's response was little short of dramatic. It was mooted that university staff should mount a guard to prevent Garrett's entry to the college, but that in the meantime she should withdraw her claims. Professor Ferrier wrote to Forbes:

> … as the lady has knocked under, and is not to enter the college gates tomorrow, will it be necessary for us all to mount guard … as intended ? [10]

Forbes, who also sought advice from both the Universities of London and Glasgow, appears, while probably personally not in favour of Garrett's application, to have been anxious about the legality of the university's position, since her matriculation arguably had been initially accepted. He wrote to the University's solicitor, on 6 November seeking to know

[7] ms dep 7/ Letterbook VII, p. 162.

[8] ms dep 7 / Incoming Letters, nos. 154, 155.

[9] ms dep 7 / Incoming Letters, no. 162.

[10] ms dep 7 / Incoming Letters, no. 173b.

> the steps the University ought to pursue should it be found both legal and expedient to resist Miss Garrett's declared intention (I have it in her hand writing) of attending the Classes of Chemistry and Medicine ... the Chemical Class has been put off chiefly to elude this contingency. But we ought to be instructed what to do if it arises.[11]

There were, however, differences of opinion among the members of the Senatus. A note of the motions put relating to the case of Elizabeth Garrett lists these as: that the university hold the alleged act of matriculation to be null and void; that the Professors' tickets also be cancelled and the fees returned; that these resolutions should be intimated to Miss Garrett; and that it be remitted to the United College. In the ensuing vote on all motions, the results were: for: Forbes, Ferrier, Fischer, Sellar, Veitch, Swan, Shairp; against: Tulloch, Cook; neutral: Macdonald, Heddle, Mitchell.[12] Tulloch had been Principal of St Mary's from 1854 and Senior Principal of the University since 1859. His dissension, therefore, is significant in the light of the conspicuous role he later played in important developments within the University, while John Cook, Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Divinity from 1860-68, was likewise a member of St Mary's College and in 1869 his daughter, Rachel, was one of the first entrants to Girton College.[13] Heddle's abstention is perhaps understandable. Recently appointed to the Chair of Chemistry and as one of the two professors who had issued a class ticket to Garrett, he no doubt found himself in a delicate position. The motives of Macdonald and Mitchell are unknown.[14] The report in the Senatus minutes is cursory and although the items of correspondence demonstrate considerable embarrassment over the incident there is no indication of any blame being attached to the staff involved.

Some elements of the press were in support and several articles were published in *The Scotsman* newspaper. One entitled 'The Female Student Question' summarised the action taken by the university senate at St Andrews, and another, commenting on the case, declared that it was 'right to educate women to the highest pitch possible, and that female doctors of medicine would be a great

[11] ms dep 7 / Incoming Letters, nos. 174-175.

[12] ms dep 7 / Incoming Letters, nos. 174a, b; UYUY452/18 Minutes of the Senatus Academicus, 4 November 1862.

[13] *Girton College Register 1869-1946* (Cambridge, 1948), p. 1.

[14] William Macdonald was Professor of Civil and Natural History, 1850-1875; Alexander Ferrier Mitchell was Professor of Oriental Languages in St Mary's College, 1848-1868.

boon to society', perhaps placing the University under some pressure.[15] However, although the Garrett case was to become the impetus for more focussed measures on a larger scale to establish formal organisations supporting the position of women vis-à-vis higher education across Britain, there is no apparent evidence that it had any immediate and direct repercussions within the university. The decade which followed witnessed a dearth of overt local interest in the subject. Nevertheless, indications of a relatively sympathetic response from certain of the academics had been demonstrated and the years between 1862 and 1877 were crucial to the University of St Andrews in a number of respects which impacted ultimately upon the course of female higher education.

Firstly, there were numerous changes in personnel within the Senatus, which altered the balance of opinion. John Campbell Shairp succeeded Forbes from 1868 as Principal of United College until 1885, Lewis Campbell arrived as Professor of Greek in 1863, Frederick Crombie came to the Chair of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in 1868, John Birrell to that of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in 1871, and Alexander Roberts was appointed as Professor of Humanity in 1872. All were to feature prominently in the series of developments which ultimately produced the LLA, with Roberts becoming the first Convenor of the sub-committee which oversaw its initiation.[16] Secondly, St Andrews continued to face severe problems both of financial and academic credibility as a result of sharply declining student numbers. During the 1860s and 1870s matriculations had dropped sharply and by 1876 there were only 130 undergraduates.[17] Both Tulloch and Shairp proved themselves firm proponents of a reforming and modernising rescue programme and apparently received strong support from a majority of the other academic staff. In this critical period of the University's history, a number of schemes emerged, which both diverted the attention of the Senatus away from the Garrett case and its implications, and at the same time in some cases delivered crucial preconditions for the conception and development of the LLA: these included plans for an undergraduate medical school with a full-blown Faculty of Medicine; the creation of a Chair of Education; the proposal for a University College in Dundee; the re-introduction of Local Examinations; and a less successful attempt to resurrect residential colleges.

[15] University of St Andrews Library Special Collections ms dep7/174 (f,g,h): *The Scotsman*. Nov 24, 1862.

[16] Alexander Roberts, a graduate of King's College, Aberdeen and New College, Edinburgh, held the chair of Humanity at St Andrews from 1871 to 1899, having previously been a Free Church minister in Stonehaven and London.

[17] Cant, *The University of St Andrews*, p. 141.

In the meantime, St Andrews received an even more determined assault than that of Garrett on its male integrity. The specific case of Sophia Jex-Blake, her interaction with the University and the ultimate success of her role as catalyst sheds considerable light on the shifting attitudes of staff since 1862. The first intimation in official records of Jex-Blake's approach to St Andrews appears on 13 April 1872 when

> Dr Macdonald and Dr Heddle having mentioned that an application had been made to them to deliver two courses of lectures during the summer to certain Lady Medical Students, with a view to a University certificate – and the Senate having before them the opinion given by the Solicitor General in Miss Garrett's case in November 1862, it was felt that serious difficulty existed as to advising these Professors about such an application. In connection with the subject, Professor Campbell gave notice of the following motion viz 'that a Committee be appointed to ascertain the powers of the University in reference to the Matriculation of Female Students'.[18]

The tone of these reactions appears to differ subtly from that of 1862 and there are signs of a less hardened opposition. Before the autumn the Senatus had in front of them a written petition in the form of a letter signed by Jex-Blake and ten other women, who, in the aftermath of rejection by Edinburgh, advanced a highly developed argument in favour of entry to medical studies at St Andrews. In her letter dated 17 July 1873, Jex-Blake wrote persuasively about the wide demand for medical education from women and their desire to become properly qualified through examination and to be officially registered, a condition which since 1858 had required the conferring of a medical degree.[19] In her letter she acknowledged the verdict of the Scottish Court of Session which had finally precluded any possibility of such a degree for herself and her colleagues from Edinburgh, but she argued that the decision was based upon the fact that sanction had not been previously sought from the Crown. Given her assurance that this sanction could be obtained, St Andrews, which had not as yet any undergraduate medical students, would, she argued, be in a position to circumvent the principal argument against the entry of women to practical classes: that they could not take part alongside men. By offering to make her group responsible for 'all contingent expenses', to 'build suitable premises for a medical school' and to arrange complete courses of medicine, for an

[18] University of St Andrews Library Special Collections. Miscellaneous Senate Papers. UYUY459/D/2/1.

[19] Medical Act of 1858: An Act to regulate the Qualifications of Practitioners in Medicine and Surgery, 2nd August 1858.

immediately ready cohort of at least fifteen women, she presented a confident and what must have been in many respects a tempting package.

Deliberations appear to have resumed within the Senatus later in the year and its response was still not one of outright dismissal. One of its members, Professor Baynes, wrote intimating his absence from the forthcoming meeting, saying

> I ought just to say that while on general grounds I am strongly in favour of admitting women to the University and think we as a University have exceptional advantages to give them a partial medical course, I still think there are important points of law and policy to be considered before we act deciding in the matter…[20]

On 1 November the Senatus considered Jex-Blake's letter and Professor Campbell proposed the appointment of a committee to consider the application of women for admission as students of medicine and to report to the next ordinary meeting of Senatus: the Committee was to consist of Principals Tulloch and Shairp, Professors Swan, Macdonald, Heddle, Bell, Campbell, Baynes, Crombie, Roberts and Birrell. On 8 November, the Convenor, Professor Bell reported:

> After considerable discussion it was resolved to remit to a sub-committee certain resolutions proposed at the meeting with a view to ascertain whether a resolution could be framed out of these which might receive the approval of the committee – the sub-committee to consist of Professors Swan, Campbell, Baynes, Roberts and Birrell – Professor Baynes Convenor.

Finally on 24 November Baynes stated on behalf of the sub-committee that, after considerable discussion, it was not found possible to agree to any motion, and he had therefore no report to make. The following resolution was after further debate unanimously agreed by the committee, with the exception of Dr Heddle who declined to express any opinion:

> The Senatus, while recognising the importance of the subject brought under their notice in the letter addressed to them by Miss Jex-Blake and other ladies, do not feel themselves at present to be in a position to come to any definite conclusion regarding it. They think it better to wait till the whole subject of the legality of matriculating women has been discussed and settled in Parliament – and in the light of this discussion the University has

[20] Thomas Spencer Baynes, Chair of Logic and Metaphysics 1864-87; UYUY459/D/2/7 Letter dated October 30 1873 addressed to Principal Tulloch.

had the opportunity of considering the course which it may be then expedient for them to pursue … The resolution was approved of.[21]

Thus once again the issue had been shelved, but on this occasion an opening had been left and there seems to have been greater willingness to give very real consideration to matriculating women as long as the Senatus could be assured of its legal position.

In the years that followed other developments again took the attention of the university authorities. There had been short-lived attempts to re-establish residential colleges. College Hall, or St Leonard's Hall, opened in 1867, and had been superseded by a larger establishment which lasted from 1868 until its closure in 1874.[22] The building itself became redundant and in 1876 the Senatus had before it a proposal from 'a company of gentlemen' to acquire it to rent as an 'institution for the Education of Ladies'. Since the university did not own the premises and would be required to fund the purchase, the scheme was in the first instance rejected.[23] A group of interested individuals continued discussions on the foundation of a school for girls along the lines of Cheltenham Ladies College, amongst them the wife of Professor Campbell. When in January 1877 a Council of the St Andrews School for Girls was formed, it included Principal Tulloch as Chairman, Professor and Mrs Campbell, Professor Meiklejohn, Mrs Fischer, wife of the Professor of Mathematics - clear indication of the reality of support within the University for quality education for young women. The resulting school in time came to occupy St Leonard's Hall.[24]

A scheme for a University College in Dundee had been proposed originally in 1872, and on 7 November 1874 a memorial was read to the Senatus 'on behalf of certain parties in Dundee with reference to a course of lectures in connection with the University'. A committee to take further steps comprised Principals Tulloch and Shairp, Professors Swan, Heddle, Roberts, Flint, Birrell, and although the college itself did not become a reality until 1881, with the aid of the Baxter family, particularly Mary Ann Baxter of Balnavies, from 1875 Professors from St Andrews delivered a series of lectures in scientific and literary subjects in the city and its hinterland. These were well-attended by both sexes. [25]

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[21] University of St Andrews Library Special Collections. Draft Senatus Minute, UYUY459/D/2/7.

[22] Cant, *The University of St Andrews*, pp. 140-1.

[23] UYUY459/D/4/6

[24] J.M. Grant, K.H. McCutcheon, and E.F. Sanders, eds. *St Leonards School 1877-1927* (London, 1927), pp. 7-13.

[25] UYUY459/D/3/4

The possibility of an endowed Chair of Education occurred when trustees of the late Dr Andrew Bell placed at the disposal of the University the sum of £4000 for that purpose and this gift was accepted in March 1874. On February 1875 the appointment of a Professor to the new Chair of Education was authorised and John Miller Dow Meiklejohn became its first incumbent.[26] In the first instance, and until complex discussions amongst the Scottish universities on their position vis-à-vis the subject of pedagogical training could be resolved, there was little work for Meiklejohn who, instead, wrote and published prodigiously. There was now, however, the capacity within the University for the delivery of courses in education, a fact which would soon have considerable significance for the LLA.

Despite protracted negotiations during the preceding decades, a full-blown teaching School of Medicine did not finally emerge until the 1890s and the intention of providing a comprehensive Faculty of Science equal in status to that of Arts, first mooted in 1876 with the ratification of a BSc degree and the appointment of a committee**,** similarly proved slow in execution, and it was 1897 before the Faculty itself was instituted.[27]

It was the resurrection of the Local Examinations, however, which chiefly set the stage for the LLA. In March 1876 the Senatus considered a letter from Mrs M.M. Daniell, then living in the town at 1 St Mary's Place, which urged them to 'form a Local Centre in St Andrews to enable persons to pass the Local Examinations and gain the certificate granted by the Edinburgh University' and suggested that St Andrews make arrangements to grant a certificate of a similar nature, stating her belief that both Madras College and Dundee would send up a number of candidates.[28] The Senatus was so quick to respond that previous notice may be suspected. On 17 April 1876 a Committee was appointed to consider the expediency of reviving the Local Examinations:

> It was agreed that before making any recommendation to the Senatus on the subject, inquiry should be made of the masters of all the principal schools within the St Andrews district as to whether they have any pupils whom they wish to send to up to a University Local Examination, and if so, whether the pupils would be willing to come to St Andrews, were such examinations revived in connexion with this University. Dr Roberts undertook at the request of the committee to apply for the desired information.

[26] UYUY459/D/3/2, 5

[27] UYUY459/D/4/6; Reid, *Ever to Excel*, p. 141.

[28] Madeline Margaret Daniell [née Carter], 1832–1906. Widow of a Indian army officer, was a founder member of the Edinburgh Ladies' Educational Association and of the St Andrews School for Girls Company, and a tireless campaigner for women's causes; UYUY459/D/4/5.

In May Roberts reported that, as requested, he had had communication with the leading schoolmasters in the district, but from the replies received it appeared that there was great diversity of opinion on the subject. The Committee was continued in order to obtain further information, and generally to watch the movement, with instruction to report to the first meeting of Senatus in November, when a Programme of Rules and Subjects was finally circulated and the scheme initiated.[29] Open to both sexes, the Local Examinations provided a direct and powerful incentive for girls to pursue the relevant academic subjects and to attain the standards which might enable entry to higher education.

At this point, too, significant improvements in the financial support available to senior school pupils were becoming available to girls as well as boys. The Directors of Dundee High School agreed to subscribe a bursary of £10 for girls, while other teachers in Dundee promised a bursary of not less than £5 and probably £10 either for boys or girls. In Fife the St Andrews branch of the Educational Institute undertook to raise two bursaries of £10 each, one for boys and one for girls, to be competed for by the pupils attending the Board schools of their own district and the Kirkcaldy branch of the same association promised a similar bursary for their own district. Provost Swan of Kirkcaldy indicated to the Convenor of the Committee that he could be expected to give another bursary to the Kirkcaldy district, probably for girls. Sir Robert Anstruther offered £5 for each of the years 1879, 1880, and 1881 to be allocated as the Convenor found fit, and teachers in the Cupar district resolved to found a bursary, either connected with the Local Examinations scheme or directly with the University. Moreover, Roberts was in correspondence with other private individuals and bodies or teachers and Trustees on the same subject and expected to be able to arrange several other local or district bursaries, all to be advertised in the newspapers when finally secured. Thus opportunities for young women to continue their education beyond elementary levels were suddenly materialising - especially for the less affluent.[30]

The institution of the LLA was closely linked in timing and organisation with the re-instatement of the Local Examinations but the emergence of the specific scheme itself appears to have occurred virtually from a vacuum. While other developments within and outside of the university probably laid the pathways for a scheme of this sort, no earlier discussion seems to have taken place on the promotion or the precise nature of the Higher Certificate for Women which was first mooted on 16 November 1876 in a report of the Committee on Local Examinations. Roberts as Convenor read

[29] UYUY459/D/4/8; UYUY459/D/5/5.

[30] UYUY377/1 Minute of Meeting of Local Examinations and L.A. Certificate Committee, 10 December 1878.

letters he had received on the subject of granting an advanced Certificate to Women beyond the standard of the Local Examinations:[31]

> After consideration it was agreed to recommend the Senatus to grant such a Certificate. The following sub-committee was appointed to prepare a scheme of subjects and rules for the proposed examinations, and to suggest the fee to be charged from the candidates.[32]

At the next meeting of the Committee on Local Examinations on 4 December 1876, a report from the sub-committee on the Higher Certificate was read, approved of generally and directed to be put before the meeting of Senatus on 9 December. It was also agreed that the Report should be put in type and copies sent to all members before the meeting.

In the Minute of 9 December 1876 Roberts put forward the resolutions of the Committee on Local Examinations which recommended that a Higher Certificate be given to women, and reported that a sub-committee had prepared a rough programme of subjects of examination. The report was generally approved, the recommendations adopted, and the subject remitted to the Committee to bring up the programme revised and completed, with powers to issue it thereafter. The question of a title to be given to the holders of Certificates was in the meantime reserved. Significantly, Professor Knight was welcomed for the first time at this meeting.[33] By mid-January 1877 it had been reported to the Senatus that the programme of rules and subjects bearing on the Higher Certificate had been completed, and that it 'had to a considerable extent been advertised and circulated in suitable quarters'.[34]

That an initiative as innovative and remarkable as the LLA should have been conceived and implemented apparently in such a short space of time is difficult to comprehend. The reference to letters suggests that considerable pressure had probably been put on the Senatus by one or more unknown persons. There are certainly suspects: the group of ladies and some men who were responsible for the establishment of the St Andrews Girls School Company arguably had motives, not least Mrs Daniell who maintained a keen interest in the cause of female higher education at St Andrews, while, from beyond St Andrews, individual members of such organisations as the

[31] These letters have not been identified and are not contained within the muniments collection either in the Miscellaneous Senate Papers, UYUY459, or in any other apparently relevant archive.

[32] UYUY459/D/5 Report of the Committee on Local Examinations, 16 November 1876.

[33] William Angus Knight was inducted into the Chair of Moral Philosophy in October 1876; UYUY459/D/5/5

[34] UYUY459/D/5/

Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women were known to canvas all the Scottish universities.[35] Unfortunately, no committee minutes or associated papers which might shed light on the exact processes leading to the creation of the Higher Certificate at that particular moment in time appear to be extant. The LLA, or a course of similar nature, can, however, be seen to be a logical outcome of some of the other recent developments already considered - the availability of examinations at senior school level in St Andrews, the existence of quasi-university level courses open to women in Dundee, and the need to make use of a department of education - but these cannot provide the whole explanation. It is also tempting to attribute a substantial share of the impetus to the newly arrived and enthusiastic William Knight, who succeeded Roberts in April 1878 as Convenor of the Local Examinations Committee and went on to become the principal supporter and organiser of the ladies scheme. That there were intentions beyond the purely reforming has been suggested by a number of writers since the University was clearly under considerable pressure at this time to increase its income. Indications that at least some part of the motivation was genuinely the promotion of female education, however, came from Knight himself, albeit retrospectively in 1896, when he described his own aims as having been the development of the education of women on the only lines available to St Andrews at the time. He also cited as intended outcomes the raising of money which would permit the equipment of a hall of residence and a bursary fund for women students, should they ever be admitted.[36]

What is clear is that the Ladies' Certificate was rapidly implemented and that a high level of promotion and planning was invested in its early days. On 10 February it was agreed that the title of the Higher Certificate for Women should be LA, or the Literate in Arts, and by April it was reported that eight applications had already been received for examination.[37] Besides these, numerous inquiries had been addressed to the Convenor showing interest in the examinations in the following year. In the meantime arrangements had been made for conducting the first examinations at St Andrews and in Dundee on 12 and 13 June 1877.[38]

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[35] S. Hamilton, *Women and the Scottish Universities c. 1869 - 1939: a Social History*, (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh), pp. 91-2.

[36] Notably some Professors at Aberdeen. Alexander Mackie, Professor of Mathematics, accused St Andrews of trying to fill its empty coffers, *Education News*, 13 November 1886; W.A. Knight, *History of the LLA Examination and Diploma for Women, and of the University Hall for Women Students at the University of St Andrews* (Dundee, 1896).

[37] UYUY459/D/5/4

[38] UYUY459/D/5/1

In May and June, Roberts, Knight, Birrell and Meiklejohn embarked on a remarkable promotional tour, which, while its remit also included recruitment to St Mary's College from amongst Non-Conformists, the publicising of the Local Examinations, and general advertisement of the University, was nevertheless heavily weighted towards the advancement of the new Ladies' Certificate. Knight canvassed headmistresses of the newly established Girls' High Schools of Leeds and Bradford who assured him that some of their pupils would take the examinations, especially if a centre could be established in Yorkshire. The Reverend Francis Millson of the Unitarian Northgate End Chapel in Halifax turned out to be prepared to make all the local arrangements for a centre there. Meiklejohn carried out a similar exercise in Birmingham, meeting the headmistress of the Birmingham High School for Girls as well as officials of the Birmingham and Midland Institute who promised to print the programme for the Certificate in their Calendar. The Manchester and Newcastle areas were also targeted where Alexander Ireland, editor of the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, undertook to write an editorial on the scheme, as did the *Echo*, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Bradford Observer*. The Lady Principal of Rowden College for Girls in Manchester was approached as was the Superintendent of the Gateshead School for Girls. Copies of the programme for the Certificate were sent to institutions such as Bedford College for Ladies, the Women's Medical School for London, the London School of Medicine for Women, Queen's College, Bedford College for Women as well as a number of influential individuals. Closer to home Roberts and Birrell promoted university extension in the Perthshire and Kinross schools where they received assurances that pupil teachers would be interested in the title of LA.[39] The visits must have been carefully planned and probably entailed first-hand prior knowledge of those individuals and institutions most likely to prove sympathetic to the scheme. The Girls' High Schools and their headmistresses were amongst the most innovative in female education of the period; the Principals of Colleges and Institutes belonged to an often Non-Conformist, radical tradition; and the newspaper editors contacted were heavily involved in liberal politics and latterly in some cases directly in suffrage issues.

The structure and development of the LLA

The efforts of these members of staff appear to have had considerable success. The popularity of the scheme as a form of distance learning is demonstrated by the virtually geometric expansion in numbers of examinations passed, from the eight women who enrolled in 1877 and passed in 17 examinations, to the 1135 examinations passed in 1899, and by its continued existence until the 1930s, well beyond the time of admission of women to full undergraduate status.

[39] UYUY459/Bundle 1871-1880.

As the numbers of women increased and their geographical origins expanded, it was found necessary to augment the range of examination centres. No teaching was ever provided by the University of St Andrews and students were responsible for their own preparation, so that an important feature of the LLA programme, alongside its wide choice of subjects, was that from the beginning it was designed to be taken externally and to be available to as wide a geographical intake of women as possible. In 1886 Knight again travelled across Britain giving lectures in many centres. He visited Aberdeen and Dundee, and Leeds, Bristol, Halifax, Liverpool, Bath, Leicester, Cheltenham and Birmingham talking to sizeable groups. At the same time a press advertising campaign was mounted, which clearly had a good response rate. From small beginnings, with groups of examinees in Scotland at St Andrews itself until 1881, then at Aberdeen also from 1882, expansion continued until by 1899 over 30 centres had operated in Scotland. In England the first were at Halifax, as had been proposed during the 1877 visitation, and London in 1879, followed by Bristol and Leicester until there were 43 in England, as well as nine in Wales and four in Ireland. From 1883, centres outwith the United Kingdom were established on an ad hoc basis and, by 1899, 74 had been used. Although student numbers examined abroad, unsurprisingly, were small, the centres themselves were widespread, and were located in European countries as far distant as Russia, in North America, in South Africa, South-East Asia, the West Indies, and Australia, to satisfy the demands of women studying or working abroad, a factor which will later be considered in more detail.[40]

The range of subjects made available, and decided upon so swiftly at the onset, was arguably equally innovative. The choice in the first few years included the degree components routinely taken by St Andrews undergraduates at the time: Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Logic and Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, English Literature, Natural History, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry. It excluded, in many ways not surprisingly, Medicine and Anatomy, not only because of the - as yet - unresolved question of medical degrees for women in the Scottish Universities but probably also because their practical elements rendered them impossible to deliver as distance learning. The list, however, did incorporate from the beginning Education, History, French, German, Comparative Philology and Church History, with Physiology, Botany, Zoology, and Geology from the forthcoming BSc programme. Later introductions, from around 1888 included a 'modern' group of Astronomy, Geography and Hygiene, and a cultural group of Fine Art, Music and Aesthetics. Another language, Italian, was added, and the religious dimension was expanded with examinations in Hebrew, Theology, Comparative Religion, Biblical History and Literature. By 1899 the LLA had offered over 30 distinct subjects, although not all had by any means equal uptake - English, French and Education

[40] See Appendix 3: Tables 2.1 – 2.4 Examination Centres.

showing themselves enduringly popular, and a few being discontinued over time.[41] Of the subjects in the LLA programme, lectureships in French, German, Botany, and History were not introduced at St Andrews until 1892 and so were not even available in the mainstream curriculum for male undergraduates.[42]

How the Committee reached its decisions on choice of subjects is obscured by the lack of documentation on their deliberations. It clearly made good sense to replicate existing undergraduate subjects since the relevant staff members were available as setters and markers of examination scripts. Consideration may well also have been given to what was on offer elsewhere. The University of Edinburgh followed a curriculum for men similar to that of St Andrews but also offered in its Arts Faculty, Comparative Philology and the Theory, History and Practice of Education, besides programmes of sciences, theology, medicine, law and engineering in their separate faculties.[43] Owen's College in Manchester, visited by the LLA committee, operated a Department for Women whose range of subjects was relatively restricted, although it did include French and German.[44] A more direct comparison is perhaps the University of London, where the new examination from 1869, for females over the age of 16, required a pass in no fewer than six papers, Latin (with grammar , history and geography); English Language, English History, and Geography (physical and topographical); Mathematics; Natural Philosophy; two of a choice of Greek, French, German and Italian; and either Chemistry or Botany - thus setting a precedent for both modern language studies at university level and sciences to be offered to women.[45] Reasons for subject choices on the part of the candidates will be considered elsewhere in this thesis, but modern languages must have had a broad appeal for those already educated in these subjects in Ladies Colleges. The new Girls' High Schools in England were offering a full range of academic subjects, which included the Classics requirement for entrance to the Oxford and Cambridge Ladies' Colleges, and it is reasonable to expect that at least some girls were emerging from the post-1872 school system in Scotland with an equivalent grounding. The inclusion of an examination paper on

[41] See Appendix 2: Table 2.5: Subjects.

[42] Cant, *The University of St Andrews*, p. 155; the advent of these subjects coincided with the arrival of female undergraduates, however.

[43] *The Edinburgh University Calendar*, 1877-1878.

[44] J. Thompson , *The Owen's College: Its Foundation and Growth; Its Connections with the Victoria University, Manchester* (Manchester, 1886).

[45] N. Harte, *The University of London 1836-1986: An Illustrated History* (London, 1986), p. 115.

Education not only responded to a professional demand but provided employment for the University's recently erected Chair of Education.

The initial requirements for the LA were modest, although the authorities were conscious of the necessity for a consistent level and for ensuring that the standard of the papers be monitored. Hence the committee declared that:

> there should be greater uniformity in the Honours standard for the L.A. certificate, certain subjects in this year's programme being so much easier than others that the uniformity of the standard is destroyed and farther that the subjects both for the Honours and for the Pass certificate should be submitted to the Committee before being finally determined.[46]

There were at the beginning no entrance qualifications and candidates needed only to pass in any three subjects to obtain the certificate, but over the early years the structure did not remain static. To emphasise the intention that it should be regarded as an equivalent to the MA, changes were made to its requirements, the number of subjects demanded being raised gradually from the initial three to five in 1882 and eventually in 1887 to seven, with both Pass and Honours levels available in all subjects. It subsequently became a requirement also to take courses from specific subject groups. Most significantly, the intention of equivalent standard with the MA was confirmed as early as December 1878 by the setting of identical examination papers on the same day for those subjects taught in the University. As recorded in the Committee minutes:

> As to the L.A. Examination. That in view of the number of applicants for this Certificate to facilitate the examination and to economise on both labour and expense, it should be held in the month of April, at the same time as the ordinary University degree examinations. This arrangement to begin in April 1880, and farther, as the standard is the same as that required for the M.A. degree the same papers should be set in those subjects which are common to the two examinations. It is believed that this change in the time of examination would be quite as convenient for the candidates and much more convenient for the examiner. It will also cause a considerable saving of expense; and what is most important, the use of the

[46] UYUY377/1 Minutes of Meetings of Local Examinations and L.A. Certificate Committee of the University of St Andrews.

> same paper will convince the candidates and the public that the standard for the L.A. is really the same as that of the M.A. degree.[47]

In 1880 the advent of a qualification below degree-level also to be known as the LA, awarded to men by the University of Edinburgh, prompted the Senatus to alter the title of the Ladies' Certificate to the LLA, although it was not until 1900 that this abbreviation was formally interpreted as 'Lady Literate in Arts'. In 1884 regulations were introduced to ensure that evidence of a preliminary test of fitness could be produced and as a result candidates now presented themselves with a variety of prior qualifications: Local Examination certificates from the four Scottish universities, from Cambridge and Oxford, the Cambridge Higher Certificate for Women, the London Matriculation Examination, certificates of Trinity College, of the College of Preceptors and of various overseas universities.[48] This list in itself perhaps serves as an apt illustration of the broad geographical catchment of the LLA and particularly of the networks of academic relationships experienced by its students. Knight, who took over from Roberts as Convenor in 1878, was the prime mover in these reforms.

The scheme, the responsibility of a small sub-committee, must have been organisationally a massive undertaking, especially as it grew in terms of numbers and geographical spread.[49] Examination centres had to be arranged, invigilators approved and appointed, and papers distributed for availability on the same days over many parts of the world. In the first instance the university's academic staff acted as presiding examiners, but as the numbers of centres expanded local professional people were recruited to oversee the examinations. It was not from the outset certain either that the enterprise would be successful in economic terms. On 3 November 1877 Dr Roberts read a report to the Senatus from the Committee on the Higher Certificate for Women stating the results of that year's examinations and

> recommending that the sum of £20 in addition to the £30 mentioned in this motion should be voted from the University to be employed in remuneration of the Examiners who took part in the July examination. The report was approved. It was agreed that the sum of £50

[47] UYUY377/1.

[48] Calendar of the LLA and Local Examinations.

[49] The Committee on the Higher Certificate for Women comprised Professors Roberts, Knight, Campbell, Birrell, Meiklejohn and Pettigrew. The last, James Bell Pettigrew, was appointed to the Chandos Chair of Medicine and Anatomy in 1875.

should be allowed from the University funds, the Committee to report to the Senatus all details as to the allocation of the money.[50]

Evidently the project was not as yet paying its own way. Minutes of the Meetings of the Local Examinations and LA Certificate Committee between June 29 1878 and April 30 1881 confirm some of the early difficulties. The committee took into consideration the payment of the examiners at that year's LA Examinations. It was reported by Dr Roberts that £50 from had been received from the LA candidates.

> As this sum was found inadequate to pay the examiners in terms of the minute of Senatus, it was therefore arranged that the Professors who presided at the three centres, and each examiner who drew up a paper should be paid at the rate fixed by the Senatus, the whole amounting to £43-1/- but that the sum to be paid for examining the L.A. papers should be left meanwhile undetermined. As the balance received from the fees was insufficient to carry out the intentions of the Senatus as to the examiners, it was resolved to request the Senatus to make a grant to enable the committee to pay the examiners for presiding, for drawing up the Local examination papers, as well as for examining the papers at the Local and LA Examinations.

Again on 10 December 1878 it was reported:

> That as the sum received from L.A. and local examinations Candidates (amounting to £70-10/-) was insufficient to pay the examiners in terms of the minutes of Senatus of date, it was resolved to request the Senatus to make a grant of £25 for this purpose…[51]

The solution proposed was that fewer examiners might do the work of the LA examinations. Thus six examiners could undertake the twenty subjects from which the LA candidates would have the option of selection. Each examiner was paired with a referee. Unlikely as this was to be popular, giving to a small number of staff the task of both setting and marking papers while being paid a fixed sum regardless of the number of papers to be examined, it was implemented and the LA kept its head above water long enough to prove its ultimate viability in commercial terms.

The registration fees charged to the students which provided income for the university appear modest enough. Two guineas were charged but this fee covered two years or periods of

[50] UYUY4525/5 Senatus Academicus Scroll Minutes.

[51] UYUY377/1 Minutes of Meetings of Local Examinations L.A. Certificate Committee of the University of St Andrews.

examination, whether the years were consecutive or not. At a third examination, a second similar fee had to be paid, but this also covered two years of examination. Any woman who received the title of LLA but who wished to add to the value of her certificate could be examined in any subject or subjects in which she had not previously passed. This qualified her to obtain an additional certificate, at a fee of one guinea for each examination.[52] These levels were kept constant for a very long period. For male undergraduates, the equivalent costs were either one or three guineas per class, dependent on the subject, together with a matriculation fee of one pound. Little as the LLA fees might seem, they created over the first decade and more a significant surplus which by 1889 amounted to £1,458 which together with other funds was devoted to furthering full-time education for women at St Andrews in the form of bursaries to female undergraduates after 1892 and to the building of the University Hall as the first female residence in Scotland.[53]

Even these fee levels might potentially be prohibitive for many prospective students, a factor which will be examined more closely in later sections of this thesis, and further expenses must have been incurred in the purchase of books and, for some, enrolment in extra preparatory classes. Reading lists were substantial, specified in the Calendars where stockists of set texts also advertised, but attempts were made from the early years on to provide financial support to candidates. The university itself undertook to award five free passes to the first year of the LLA examinations to those girls who achieved the highest marks in Senior Locals. Knight was able to make arrangements for 1879 with the National Union for Improving the Education of Women in England which offered a scholarship of £25 to the 'girl who stands highest in the [Local] examinations, the successful candidate being required to pursue study for one year in some place of superior instruction approved by the Union', for the LLA to be accepted as a valid course. Additionally, the Ladies Educational Association of St Andrews offered a scholarship of £20 to the candidate for the senior certificate who was highest in any three subjects and took Honours in one. She too would pursue study for one year at some place of instruction approved of by the Examiner.[54] Thus the LA became a recognised condition for the award of certain bursaries and further financial incentives were introduced on a competitive basis to senior school pupils by both private individuals and organisations such as Kelso Ladies' College on condition that they undertook the Certificate.[55]

[52] Calendar of the LLA and Local Examinations.

[53] UYUY377/4; UYUY452/221.

[54] UYUY377/1 Minutes of Meetings of Local Examinations L.A. Certificate Committee of the University of St Andrews, 10 December 1878.

[55] Calendar of the LLA and Local Examinations.

There are indications here that the value and benefits of the Ladies' Certificate from St Andrews were appreciated in certain quarters at least. How much further that was the case will in part be illustrated by investigations in later chapters of this thesis into the expectations and experiences of the candidates themselves and into the motivations of the organisations which often sponsored them. Some immediate outcomes, however, are evident. The LLA Calendar of 1885 stated that the title was equivalent to a Diploma or Licence to teach in the subjects in which the candidate had passed or taken Honours. How far that became a reality for many women will be considered later in this work. When the Senatus decided upon the introduction of physical symbols for the holders of the LLA in the form of a badge and sash, these were designed in the colours of both St Andrews and Paris in recognition of the fact that the French Ministry of Public Instruction had accepted the LLA as equivalent to the 'brevet superieur' for admission to examinations at the Sorbonne. Similarly the Teachers Training Syndicate of the University of Cambridge had, from as early as 1879, agreed that the St Andrews qualification might be regarded as the equivalent of a degree for entry to their examinations.[56]

By the time of the 1889 Universities (Scotland) Bill, which made it possible to admit women to St Andrews as undergraduates, the LLA was a well-established and widely accepted qualification. It was popular amongst women and had benefited the University in a number of respects. It encouraged new thinking on the range of subjects which could be included in the undergraduate curriculum, and it provided a regular and eventually substantial income to the struggling institution which in due course aided the establishment of facilities for female undergraduates. Arguably, it engendered a strong and palpable association of women's higher education with the University of St Andrews which manifested itself in the attraction to the institution of women matriculands and resulted in females quickly forming a significantly higher proportion of the student population than at any of the other three Scottish institutions.

The LLA scheme, as has been seen, was experimental in its beginnings and successful in its progress - an integral and significant part of a much wider movement. It will be the task of the remainder of this thesis to determine how far the influence of the LLA, within the context of these networks, shaped outcomes and lives at an individual level and what the implications were for the women involved. The extent to which Scottish and British society at large was affected and how far all of these factors were recognised at the time also requires examination. To that end, it is necessary now

[56] R.N. Smart, 'Literate Ladies - a Fifty Year Experiment', *The Alumnus Chronicle, 59* (June 1968), 21-31.

to turn to the available records of the lives and careers of the women themselves to determine who they were and in what ways, if any, their lives were altered through participation in the LLA programme.

Chapter 3

'Lasses o' pairts' or a 'leisured clientele attracted by scholarly ideals': who were the pioneer LLA women?

A thesis fundamental to this study is that participation in the LLA, as for other forms of higher education in other places and at other times, was capable of having a positive effect on the social and economic status of the women who undertook it. The Victorian period was one in which there existed both clear class distinctions and channels through which movement could be achieved. For men mobility was possible, as Kaelble proposed, through the process of professionalisation as changes in Western society produced a greater requirement for trained, educated personnel.[1] University education was one such channel, but arguably it still did not provide for open movement.

> For Scottish universities, whatever romantic feeling might cling to the 'lad of parts' who arrived from a poor home or a remote village to study in a garret, never neglected their chief task of serving the professional and business classes. Nevertheless research shows that the lad of parts did exist. It was possible for the sons of small farmers, shopkeepers or artisans to reach the university…though the opportunities for the children of factory workers, miners or rural labourers were far more restricted. [2]

Thus Robert Anderson, in his study of the social origins of British university students in the modern era, accepts in some part the reality of the 'myth' of the 'lad o' pairts'. Elsewhere he provides figures for the Scottish universities, other than St Andrews, for the year 1866, divided into social groups, in which for both Glasgow and Edinburgh working-class entrants were found to be by percentage second only to the professional classes. Only at Aberdeen, a city with a large rural hinterland, did they drop to third place behind those of professional and agricultural backgrounds.[3] If the reality was that opportunities were scarce for men, then it must be assumed that, given the more limited educational provision and the narrower range of professions available, breaking the class barriers was likely to be a much more formidable obstacle for women. Whether the LLA was in

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[1] H. Kaelble, 'Eras of Social Mobility in 19th and 20th Century Europe', *Journal of Social History,* 17.3 (1984), 489-504.

[2] R.D. Anderson, 'Universities and Elites in Modern Britain', *History of Universities,* X (1991), 32.

[3] R.D. Anderson, 'Scottish Education since the Reformation', *Studies in Scottish Economic and Social History*, 5 (1997), 44.

any way a catalyst in the process of promoting female social mobility will be examined and to make this possible an analysis of the backgrounds of its participants will be conducted.

Mary Jane Aitken was born in Beith in Ayrshire in 1866, daughter of a general or garden labourer, and attended the Academy, a board school. It may well be that she was, while there, a pupil teacher and so had the advantage of some additional full-time education, but she also prepared herself by taking classes from St George's Correspondence College so that she was able in 1886 to begin the examinations which led to the award of the St Andrews LLA in 1891. By this time she was herself a schoolteacher in one of Beith's three board schools. Mary Jane, who lived in a small semi-rural community and had been educated locally, was twenty years of age when she began and twenty-five when she completed her course.[4] Hers is an example of a working-class girl, a 'lass o' pairts', who attained professional status through her own efforts. She was not alone in achieving this transformation. This chapter will consider what sort of women elected to alter their circumstances by accepting the opportunities offered by the St Andrews programme.

Between 1877 and 1892, 1675 individual women registered to sit LLA examinations. They were by no means a homogenous group and who they were in terms of geographical origins, age structure, social and educational backgrounds, religious affiliation and other relevant personal circumstances needs to be considered. Their likely motives for undertaking what must for many have been a substantial and daunting venture will be interpreted and academic success rates and longer-term outcomes will also be explored. At the same time, comparisons will be made with a sample of male undergraduate students at St Andrews over the same period as well as with the first cohort of female matriculands to undertake degree courses when these became available to them in 1892, the aim being to establish whether the pioneer LLA women differed substantially from these other groups connected with the University for whom face-to-face teaching and pastoral support was accessible.

All of the entrants to the LLA scheme within this period form part of the research sample, regardless of whether they actually completed their certificate, since evidence of intent to study per se is probably significant and there may be conclusions of importance to be reached as much from analysis of possible reasons for non-completion as for successful outcomes. The initial list of students was obtained from the LLA Candidate registers and further background information on these women has been assembled from a broad range of supplementary sources, as indicated in

[4] Civil Registration births; CEBs 1871-1891; LLA and Local Examinations Calendars, 1887-1892.

Chapter 1.[5] An adequate indication of some features of social and educational origins has been obtained for 94% of this group. While there are differences in the level of detail available between individuals, more than sufficient information exists to make possible statistically valid conclusions about the whole cohort and for case studies to be derived which not only illustrate common patterns but also reveal significant deviations from them.

Where did they come from?

It is not possible to be entirely sure about nationality, especially within the United Kingdom, since this factor is subject to differing interpretations, of birthplace, parentage, and domicile. Nor can place of residence wholly serve as a surrogate for citizenship. Broadly speaking, however, a majority of the women in this study were born and educated in one specific region of Britain indicating the very wide geographical reach of the St Andrews scheme and an equally diverse response to it.

To some extent, the distribution of examination centres reflects this situation, but since in the earliest years of the LLA these were still relatively limited in number, other methods of gauging the geographical origins of candidates have also been employed. The addresses provided by the women in the Candidates Register have proved the most useful and these indicate that lack of availability of an accessible examination centre did not appear to prove a drawback.[6] For example, although in 1877, the first year of presentation, examinees had to travel to St Andrews, of the eight women who participated, five were relatively local, from Fife, Perthshire, and Dundee, but three travelled from Sheffield, Bath, and Todmorden in Lancashire. Of the twenty-three candidates in 1878, nine came from London and another ten from mostly the north of England, while only four had addresses in the local counties of Fife and Angus. By 1879 the St Andrews centre had been joined by London and Halifax. Eighteen women were examined at each of the two former and seven at Halifax and the catchment of the scheme had noticeably expanded to include candidates from Glasgow and Edinburgh, from across southern England as far west as Bristol, as well as from Lancashire and Yorkshire.[7] Over the following years demand presumably controlled decision-making on provision and in 1890 there were eight centres in Scotland, thirteen in England, one in Wales and three in Ireland, and, overseas, Germany had two, South Africa two, and France had one in St Malo. In the

[5] UYUY376/1-9 LLA Scheme Candidate Registers, 1877-1906.

[6] See Appendix 2: Tables 2.1-2.4, Examination Centres.

[7] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars.

intervening period, there had also been candidates examined in Belgium, Portugal, Switzerland and India.

Some centres were crucial to the increase in popularity of the LLA. For instance, Edinburgh and Aberdeen which operated from 1882 had by 1890 respectively seen some 735 and 470 examinations. Paisley, which served the west of Scotland from 1887, in the absence of a centre in Glasgow until 1892, attracted much smaller numbers of women, although Dumfries served the south-west. London, unsurprisingly, drew the largest numbers of candidates of all, unfailingly at least half of all those examined in England. Of these most lived in London itself, the Home Counties and on the south coast. A substantial minority gave a home address from far-flung parts of the British Isles. Reasons for such variances are expected to emerge as educational and career patterns are examined later.

The overall pattern, drawn from the number of examinations taken at Scottish and English centres, a not wholly perfect but sufficiently indicative measure, demonstrates that around 65% of women took their examinations at centres north of the border. This figure establishes that although the LLA had its main catchment in Scotland, it had a considerable following in England - one which was growing constantly throughout the period of study and beyond.[8] In Wales, within the period of study, Cardiff was the solitary examination centre, catering for six students, of whom two gave addresses outside of Wales, but several more women who had been born in Wales sat examinations at English centres, notably in Bristol and Cheltenham. Irish women could over the years be examined at centres in Belfast, Cork and Dublin and the ten who appeared there all seem to have been of Irish extraction. Another nineteen, who attended various centres elsewhere, were born in Ireland, and generally there is evidence for a high level of movement between Ireland and mainland United Kingdom. Numbers of Welsh and Irish women as a proportion did, however, appear to be relatively low. Sixteen overseas centres operated within the period but examination of the movements of the women who attended these indicates that at least those in Europe – except for one French woman in Paris - were of British nationality and remained on the Continent only temporarily, apparently to study a language in which they intended to take an examination. Only in Simla in India and Pietermaritzberg in South Africa did students appear to be domiciled in the longer term either because of their own or their parents' occupation, but none were other than British by birth.

Of those taking the LLA within the United Kingdom, a number were of overseas origin, examples being Lena Seyfried, Hulda Friederichs, Kate Jurgensen, Elise Koch, Marie Louise Itzko who were

[8] See Appendix 2: Tables 2.1-2.4, Examination centres.

natives of Baden-Wurttenberg, Westphalia, Bavaria, and Prussia in what is now modern Germany.[9] Alice Werner was born in Austria and Aline Victoria Thirion in South America.[10] There were two Canadian women, Lily Dougall, born in Montreal, who came to live in Edinburgh with an aunt, and Mabel Cartwright of Toronto, sent at the age of sixteen to complete her education at Cheltenham Ladies College.[11] Grace Fowler was born in Australia and lived in London at least long enough to complete her LLA in 1880, while Annabella Irvine was born in New Zealand. It was not uncommon too for daughters of recent immigrant families like the two Nagel and three Durlac sisters, whose fathers had migrated from Prussia and France respectively, to pursue LLA studies.[12] Julia Busse, Amelia Levetus, Maria Lyschinska, Rosalia Lemberger, and Franziska Maria Imandt, with fathers born in Germany, Moldova, Poland, Hungary and Prussia respectively, all undertook the certificate.[13]

To some extent, these examples illustrate the geographical 'openness' of the LLA as a qualification for women, but one of the principal criteria of an 'open university' is that accessibility should be potentially even across urban and rural areas as well as between nations. Measurement of this factor is highly problematic, even if only because definitions of remoteness vary substantially across the regions of the United Kingdom. In England by 1890 only Truro, Liskeard and Shanklin, and in Scotland, perhaps Oban, Inverness, and Dumfries, and Lerwick in Shetland, and Kirkwall on Orkney might be considered LLA examination centres with rural hinterlands. Of these the majority came on stream only late in the period under study and Dumfries alone attracted more than a handful of students. Although a precise total is not possible, at least one quarter, if not many more, of the candidates lived outwith cities and the larger towns, and women from more remote areas had in

[9] CEBs 1881-1911; Linda Walker, Friederichs, Hulda (1856/7–1927)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/46354 accessed 26 April 2014.

[10] CEBs 1861, 1891-1911; *Newnham College Register Vol. 1 1871-1923* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 61; P. J. L. Frankl, Werner, Alice (1859–1935)', rev. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38117, accessed 26 April 2014; http://www.aim25.ac.uk/cats/19/113.htm accessed 7 April 2014.

[11] CEBs 1881, 1891; Elisabeth Jay, Dougall, Lily (1858-1923), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/55574 accessed 26 April 2014; *Lady Margaret Hall Register*, p. 37; Trinity College Archives, Toronto, Cartwright Family Papers, ms 120, Box 5. 1.

[12] CEBs 1881, 1891, 1901; Post Office Directory, Dundee, 1880-81.

[13] CEBs 1861-1911; Post Office Directories, 1877, 1880-1881.

general to travel to populous urban centres to take their examinations, even if they were able to study at home. Home addresses, drawn from the Decennial Census, indicate this more clearly than those in the LLA Registers. Rural Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, Dumfries and Galloway, and the English West Country all were substantial sources of students in urban centres, and other candidates came from even more remote places. Examples of such cases are Jessie Hunter from Rothesay on the island of Bute who in 1885 and 1886 sat her examinations in Edinburgh and, more extreme still, Elsie Jane Fyffe, daughter of the schoolmaster on Benbecula, who took all her subjects in Aberdeen in 1885, not surprisingly at one sitting.[14]

The circumstances of these women, who were external students, clearly differed in great measure from those of both male undergraduates who had to be present for lectures at least and of female undergraduates who were resident in St Andrews for the period of their studies. Thus a comparison of their geographical origins is less pertinent in relation to the women themselves although it still can illuminate the nature of the university's sphere of influence both before and after specific links were established by the existence of the LLA. For the men and women full-time students whose place of origin is known 84% and 77.5% respectively came from Scotland and largely from a very local area, comprising the counties of Fife, Angus and Perthshire. A greater proportion of the women (19.1%), than of men (10.7%), were from England and Wales, perhaps an indication that because of the LLA St Andrews had by 1892 attained a wider reputation as an institution particularly favourable to women's education. [15]

While later sections of this chapter, which deal with schools attended and parental occupations, will shed further light on the question of how far the LLA did offer a significant form of distance learning, it is nevertheless arguable that for all except those entered specifically through institutions which coached them, St Andrews had offered an unprecedented opportunity to prepare at home for examinations. This represented a feat which could not otherwise be attempted by the majority of the women who benefited. A whole range of factors besides physical distance, however, may also have restricted access to educational opportunities and these too need to be born in mind.

[14] CEBs 1871-1891; LLA and Local Examinations Calendar, 1886.

[15] CEBs 1871-1891; St Andrews University Calendars; R.N. Smart, *Biographical Register of the University of St Andrews, 1747-1897* (St Andrews, 2004).

How old were they?

In present society where higher education has become commonplace, there has emerged for both sexes an acceptance of its availability and relatively established patterns have developed whereby university or college fairly closely follows school. The circumstances of the nineteenth century were very different at least as far as women were concerned and for that reason there should be no expectation that similar trends would have prevailed in the context of the LLA. Patterns of ages on entry to and completion of studies were complex and varied, and since it was possible to take as many years as desired to complete the St Andrews scheme, some candidates, especially in the earliest years, when three subjects only were required, were able to achieve the Certificate in one year, while others could and did spread their studies over twenty years or more. From information on dates of birth and year of entry, acquired for some 70% of entrants, wide variations in age were found to exist, from fourteen to 53 years at entry and from fifteen years to 53 years on receipt of the certificate. Fifteen year old Letitia Emily Whiteman, a pupil of Montrose Academy, entered in 1887 and completed examinations in Education, English, History, and Honours French to receive her LLA in one sitting. In contrast, Mary Hayle was about 45 years old when she began her studies in 1886 with German, upgrading to Honours in the same subject in the following year, before taking a break until 1893 and 1894 when she completed the LLA with passes in Education, French and English. She appears to have been a private teacher or governess for her entire career.[16] A high proportion of the youngest entrants were successful with fourteen of the eighteen girls who entered as fifteen-year-olds and 47 of the 60 sixteen year olds completing the Certificate. Of those who began at seventeen years almost 80% achieved their LLA, in most cases perhaps indicative of the fact that these younger women were supported by schools and were free from career and marriage demands. The youngest girls do indeed appear in the main to have been entered by their schools. One, Jane Elizabeth Thomson, a pupil at Milne's Institution in Fochabers, completed her LLA by the age of sixteen. More normally, however, schools entered girls at between sixteen and eighteen years.[17]

Already at 21 years old the ratio of completers had dropped by more than 10%, although there was no further drop-off amongst 25 to 29 year-olds and the level remained relatively stable at between 60 to 70% for all older groups. A majority of all women took between one and four years from start to finish of their course, but of those who took longer and had several apparent breaks from study, the 20 to 29 year olds are most prominent, which suggests a time of greater external pressures from work or family. While factors other than age and life cycle must have contributed to patterns and

[16] *CEBs 1891-1911.*

[17] *LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1841-1901; Civil Registration Births.*

success rates and will be examined in some detail below, a comparison with students who studied full-time and normally in situ at St Andrews nevertheless indicates that LLA students differed significantly from their peers in this respect.

Table 3.1 Comparative ages at entry of LLAs, female and male undergraduates

	10-14	**15-19 years**	**20-24 years**	**25-29 years**	**30-34 years**	**35-39 years**	**40 + years**	**Total**
LLA women 1877 - 1892	3 0.26	413 35.15	361 30.72	193 16.43	125 10.69	57 4.85	23 1.96	1175
Female Undergraduates 1892 - 1899	0 0.00	87 63.50	25 18.25	14 10.22	7 5.11	2 1.46	2 1.46	137
Male Undergraduates 1877 - 1892	29 9.39	212 68.61	50 16.20	11 3.56	5 1.62	0 0.00	2 0.65	309

It is evident from these data that age at entry to studies is one of the single most obvious differences between LLA students and both male and female undergraduates of St Andrews. Of the 144 female undergraduates from the years 1892 to 1897, the ages of all but seven are known, and although these ranged from fifteen to 49 years, more than half were between fifteen and nineteen years on first matriculation and over 80% were aged less than 25 years. Not all completed their degrees at St Andrews, but of those who did a majority took between three and six years. Of those over 25 on entry only two went on to graduate. The male undergraduates, drawn from a sample taken over the fifty years before 1897, are even more heavily weighted to the fifteen to nineteen years age group, with a small but significant number under fifteen, but tailing off very markedly after 24 years of age. The LLA entrants, however, experience much less of a fall-off in numbers over 20 years of age with almost 65% in those age bands. The three girls who were under fifteen were all fourteen years old,

in contrast to the male undergraduates of whom one was as young as eleven and four were thirteen.[18]

For those whose LLA studies exhibited apparently extended breaks, causes may lie in the exigencies of everyday life: demands of jobs, marriage, children, or other family dependents. Frances O'Leary began in 1883 but in the meantime married and did not return to her studies until 1893, two years after the death of her husband, at a time when she may have unexpectedly found the need to support herself. For others, reasons may never be identified. Margaret Grant of Gartly in Aberdeenshire, a teacher, sat four subjects in 1884 and 1885 when in her early twenties but did not take the fifth, which completed her Certificate, until 1899. In the meantime her father, a farmer, had died earlier that same year, and although it would be no more than conjecture to link the two events, it is feasible that in the meantime she was occupied in nursing him.

Not only did LLA students therefore enter their studies at a generally older age than their male counterparts but they also continued to enrol until much further into middle age than either male or female undergraduates. It has generally been considered that women who attended the women's colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were more likely to begin their studies straight from school but analysis of date of birth information provided by the college registers of Somerville and Girton up to 1890 suggests a more complex pattern.[19] In both cases the youngest entrants were seventeen years old, and the majority were eighteen or nineteen, but at Somerville twenty-six of the sixty-seven for whom birth dates were available were over twenty, several being over thirty and the oldest thirty-six. The picture at Girton was similar with no very young students, a majority of eighteen or nineteen year olds, but seventy-three entrants out of 292 above twenty, the oldest there being forty-one years of age. Therefore, while the age spread was not as marked as that of the LLA, it does nevertheless indicate a corresponding uptake by older women. In the first few years of the LLA, as with the women's colleges, it may well be that there existed a backlog, as it were, of women for whom the opportunity to undertake a long-awaited level of studies had eventually arrived. There is no indication, however, that in subsequent years of the St Andrews scheme there was any significant weakening of this pattern and so an explanation for its occurrence will have to be sought amongst other factors relating to the life cycles and lifestyles of these students.

[18] In addition to the LLA and Local Examinations Calendars and Civil Registers, Smart, *Biographical Register*, has been a source of data on the ages of undergraduates.

[19] *Somerville College Register 1879-1959* (Oxford, 1961); *Girton College Register*.

What social class ?

The most commonly employed factor for defining social structure and mobility in academic studies has tended to be family and household status, a factor which may be determined from the occupation of the head of household, the size and prestige of the dwelling and, in the nineteenth century, the number and type of servants employed. For this study parental occupation of the women who studied for the LLA is the principal criterion, but where students had clearly been married for some time and therefore more likely to be dependent on a spouse for financial and practical support for their studies, or were older and well established in a profession, less relevance has been given to the circumstances of the family of origin.[20] Of the 1675 entrants considered, it has proved possible to identify parental or spousal occupations for 1191 and these have been grouped as far as possible using a system comparable to that used for similar studies in order to facilitate comparisons.[21]

Thus Class 1, professionals, combines both the traditional professions of law, clergy, medicine and teaching at all levels with both higher civil servants and military personnel and more recently expanding occupations such as engineering and architecture. Writers, journalists and artists are also included. The commercial grouping which makes up the second class largely represents the enlarged upper middle class which had emerged in the United Kingdom as a result of the industrialisation processes of the previous hundred years – the manufacturers, managers and merchants who were responsible for economic development and trade. Amongst these, as indeed with the professionals, there will have been variations in the scale of their enterprises and therefore of their wealth, but in general, they are considered to have been affluent. Class 3 has been contrived to encompass a cohort distinguished by their reliance, in contrast, on the rural economy and includes all who gained a living from the land – farmers, whether owners or tenants, and those who managed rural resources. Only the lowest-earning, the farm labourers, have been excluded so that they may be examined in Class 5 alongside others who are described as working-class. This grouping also encompasses labourers in other trades, industrial workers, domestic servants as well as skilled

[20] Information was largely obtained from Census data, although supplementary sources such as Trades and Post Office Directories were also drawn upon.

[21] See Appendix 4 for a full description of the breakdown; The classification system and tables are based upon R.D. Anderson, *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland: Schools and Universities* (Oxford, 1983), pp.150-1, Table 4.11, Parental Occupations of Arts Students in Universities, which is drawn from Harvey and Sellar, Argyll Commission 3rd Report. See also Anderson, *Education and Opportunity*, Table 4.12, p. 152.

journeymen craftsmen. The fourth class, described as 'Intermediate' is necessarily a broad one containing what might usefully be seen as lower middle-classes or white-collar workers. Thus there are within it - shopkeepers, master craftsmen, office workers, bank clerks and minor officials. No classification scheme can be wholly satisfactory but this one is designed as far as possible to reflect the main echelons of Victorian society.

The task of clarifying parental occupations, nevertheless, posed some difficulties and in certain cases assumptions or arbitrary decisions have necessarily been made - where, for instance, an ambiguous description was given in the census enumeration or where the nature or skill level of the occupation was indeterminate.[22] Where interpretation was problematic from the title of a trade or craft, household composition, such as presence or otherwise of servants, has instead been used as a surrogate. Overwhelmingly, because of the nature of Victorian employment structures, the interpretation of 'parent' is as the father of the student, but in a number of instances the mother appeared explicitly, usually after the death of her husband, as the breadwinner. More rarely she too had an occupation in her own right within marriage, but although this will be considered where relevant, it was clear in a majority of cases that she was not the principal economic support of the household.

Table 3.2 – Parental occupations of LLAs, all groups

	Number LLA entrants	**Percentage of total**
Class 1 Professional	369	30.90
Class 2 Commercial	203	17.00
Class 3 Agricultural	110	9.21
Class 4 Intermediate	425	35.60
Class 5 Working-class	84	7.04
Total	1191	

[22] An example of such is 'warehouseman' which might mean anything from a caretaker or porter to the owner of a warehouse business. Similarly, it was not always possible to determine whether a master or journeyman craftsman was being described and in these cases other social factors were used when possible as surrogates in making classification.

This preliminary breakdown of parental occupations immediately reveals a number of significant features. Group 4, at 35.60% of the total, comprising small businessmen, master craftsmen, shopkeepers, clerks and minor officials, accounted for the largest proportion of LLA entrants. This was closely followed at over 30% by Group 1, professionals, including teachers, ministers, lawyers, doctors, proprietors and gentlemen, military officers and high-ranking police and prison officers, along with other professions such as engineers and architects. Less represented were Groups 2, those engaged in commercial and industrial activities, and 3, the agricultural community, while Group 5, the working-class group which also includes the industrial working classes, was the smallest of all at just above 7%. Of these results, the most surprising was the dominance of Group 3 over Group 1 which might be expected to provide the largest number of entrants by virtue of intrinsic belief in the value of scholarship**.** However, other factors, such as the need to procure a means of support independent from the family, must come into play, and to establish other reasons a more detailed examination of the types of families and circumstances needs to be undertaken. That Group 3 is sparsely populated reflects the nature of agricultural society where family labour was required and distance provided an additional barrier. That Group 5 should be the smallest is not unexpected, the latter situation superficially at least lending support to the assumptions that even if working-class males might on occasion find a route to higher education this road was not equally open for their sisters.

Table 3.3 – Parental occupations of LLAs, Group 1, Professional

	Number LLA entrants	**Percentage of all group 1 entrants**
Class 1.1 Proprietors	8	2.17
Class 1.2 Clergy	124	33.60
Class 1.3 Medical	43	11.65
Class 1.4 Legal	30	8.13
Class 1.5 Education	109	29.54
Class 1.6 Officials	21	5.69
Class 1.7 Others	34	9.21
Total	369	

Within the professional class, Groups 1.2, ministers and other religious workers, and 1.5, all those engaged in the teaching profession, were clearly the two dominant groups as parents of LLA students. To a certain extent, this is predictable. These are the professions most commonly producing the male undergraduates of the nineteenth century also, and are arguably those which are traditionally most likely to provide both parental support and personal educational input, even actual coaching. Margaret Wynne Jones, later Nevinson, the only daughter in a family of five sons, was taught Latin, one of her LLA subjects, and Greek by her father, a clergyman and classical scholar, along with her brothers.[23] That their daughters were on the receiving end as well as their sons may well be a consequence of the fact that ministers were in general also likely to be among the least wealthy of the professional classes, and so were particularly well aware of the potential need for their unmarried female offspring to earn a living. This may be even truer of the teaching profession, especially in Scotland where parish schoolmasters were often, and burgh schoolteachers almost always, university-educated with a background in the classics.[24] Given the aspirations of a small but determined and vocal group of women to find their way into the medical profession, it might be anticipated that daughters of practitioners would themselves wish to follow family tradition and the relatively low numbers in 1.2 may be either no more than a reflection of the greater numbers of teachers and ministers in Victorian society, or, more likely, confirmation that the LLA was not widely seen as preliminary to the acquisition of medical qualifications. Members of the other professions were also less numerous, though some of these too were more prosperous and perhaps more able to provide an income for their unmarried daughters. Frances Gair, whose father John was a solicitor and procurator fiscal, completed her LLA in 1882, and added an extra subject the following year as well as studying Philosophy classes at Edinburgh University, but never apparently had any formal occupation.[25] How far she was typical will be examined in later chapters.

Within each professional group, however, there was a broad range which indicated differing economic circumstances and probably varied attitudes to education for women. The ecclesiastics

[23]LLA and Local Examinations Calendar; Spartacus Educational. http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/Wnevinson.htm accessed 9 February 2014.

[24] J. Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education,* (London, 1969), Vol. 1, pp. 192, 199; Anderson, *Education and Opportunity*, p. 131; the ability to teach classics was more firmly located in the north-eastern counties as a result of the influence of the Dick Bequest.

[25] CEBs 1861-1891; LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; http://www.archives.lib.ed.ac.uk/students/search.php?view=individual7&id=47 accessed 7 April 2014.

extended from bishops to rural parish ministers, one student being a daughter of the missionary bishop of Honolulu. The father of Mary and Margaret Elizabeth Lippe was chaplain to the Royal Infirmary of Aberdeen, while Emily de Renzi's father was George Binks de Renzi, Chaplain at Millbank Prison, Westminster.[26] Amongst the others Church of Scotland ministers dominated, closely followed by Church of England clergymen and Free Churchmen, but over a quarter were from a variety of Non-Conformist sects - as might be expected, given their long-standing support for female education. United Presbyterians appeared most frequently, but Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, Catholic Apostolics and Independents were also represented.

Teaching practitioners as parents were equally diverse. Amongst daughters of academic staff was Frances Tulloch, whose father John Tulloch, Principal of St Mary's College at St Andrews, was a Senatus member at the initiation of the LLA. She, however, studied one subject only in 1877.[27] A possible indication of a direct outcome to the Senatus's canvassing of Non-Conformist institutions in the North of England was the appearance of Florence Ellen Falding, a daughter of Frederick John Falding, Principal of the Yorkshire United Independent College and Professor of Theology there, who took her LLA between 1878 and 1879.[28] The families of at least three professors were amongst the students of the 1880s. Anne Strahan Black was the daughter of John Black, Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen, who had died in 1881, Mary Esther Thomson, daughter of David Thomson, Professor of Natural Philosophy and Secretary to the University and Kings' College, Aberdeen, who died in 1880, and Charlotte Burns, daughter of Islay Burns, who had been Professor at the Free Church College in Glasgow but was also deceased when she began her certificate.[29] These examples might well be clues to personal situations in which reduced economic circumstances combined with a family tradition of scholarship to suggest the St Andrews scheme as a means to securing an appropriate livelihood. A family context in education apparently provided motivation for Annie May Morrison, whose father, Thomas, was Rector of the Free Church Normal Seminary in

[26] CEBs 1861-1881; Aberdeen Sheriff Court Wills SC1/37/134; SC1/36/167.

[27] CEB 1881; http://www.gashe.ac.uk:443/isaar/P0217.html accessed 7 April 2014.

[28] CEB 1891.

[29] CEBs 1851, 1871, 1881; http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/nra/searches/subjectView.asp?ID=P50781 accessed 7 April 2014; Aberdeen Sheriff Court Wills SC1/37/89; Aberdeen Sheriff Court Wills SC1/37/85; Glasgow Sheriff Court Wills SC36/51/61.

Glasgow and for sisters Elizabeth and Marjory Ramage, daughters of Alexander Ramage, Rector of the Free Church Training College in Aberdeen.[30]

Many fathers were headmasters, both of state and private institutions. The former included Rectors of several of the post-1872 Scottish higher class schools: Dumfries Academy, Montrose Academy, and the Ewart Institute in Newton Stewart. Margaret and Mary Lindsay were daughters of John Cowan Lindsay, Headmaster of the Grammar School at Kilmarnock, and Cordelia Frances Stroud's father Charles was Head Master of Farnham Grammar School.[31]

Amongst the daughters of private school headmasters were Elizabeth Darnell whose father Daniel Charles Darnell ran Cargilfield Preparatory School in Edinburgh and Jane Harper Spence, daughter of James, proprietor and head of Boyndie House School in Banff.[32] Into this category of heads of private proprietary schools also fall several mothers of students, like Sarah Burnett, who was Principal of a Ladies' School in Bedford, while her husband was a Congregational minister without charge.[33] In a more typical situation, however, was Louisa Jane Birch, whose widowed mother, Jane, was joint Head and Proprietor of a Ladies' Boarding College at Tattenhall in Cheshire.[34] The greatest number of LLAs came, however, from the families of parish and board school masters from all across the United Kingdom. While the Proudfoot family of Leuchars in Fife, where three daughters of the parish schoolmaster completed their certificate, was the most striking, there are numerous examples from both rural areas of Scotland, especially Aberdeenshire and the North-east, and inner cities, like Annie Clara Moxey whose widowed mother, Frances, was Head Mistress of a Board School in Islington.[35]

In the legal profession a majority of fathers were solicitors, usually from small town practices, although a few were of higher status within the profession, such as Stephen Lushington, father of Alice, a Judge of High Court of Admiralty and prominent abolitionist, and Sir Adam Bittleston, Knight, Barrister-at-Law, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of Madras, whose daughter, Louisa Ann,

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[30] CEB 1881; Aberdeen Sheriff Court Wills SC1/37/105; W. Ewing, *Annals of the Free Church of Scotland 1843-1900* (Edinburgh, 1914).

[31] CEBs 1881, 1891; Ayr Sheriff Court Inventories SC6/44/58.

[32] CEBs 1881, 1891; Post Office Directory, Edinburgh1879-80; Post Office Directory, Banffshire1877; Aberdeen Sheriff Court Wills SC1/37/121.

[33] CEBs 1881, 1901.

[34] CEB 1881.

[35] CEBs 1871, 1881.

studied in 1882.[36] There was one London barrister, three students had fathers who were Procurators Fiscal in Scotland and another was Sheriff Clerk of Perthshire. Similarly, the doctors were largely general practitioners, although they included a few naval and military surgeons and two university staff: Robert Bentley Todd, father of Elizabeth Marion Todd, who was from 1836 Professor of Physiology and General Morbid Anatomy at King's College, London, and Henry Mortimer Rowden, father of Harriet Miller Mortimer-Rowden, Lecturer in Anatomy at Middlesex Hospital, a civil surgeon in the Crimean War, who had himself received an MD by examination from St Andrews in 1859.[37] There were six dentists but no veterinary surgeons.

The remaining professional groups, all relatively small, by definition encompassed some very disparate occupations and group 1.6 in particular included higher ranking individuals in both the military and civil services, a number of whom were engaged in the Indian or Bengal divisions. Four Police Superintendents, two Chief Constables and one Prison Governor had daughters who entered the LLA programme. The other professionals constituted an interesting group also, including the fathers of Geraldine Rose Flower, Sir William Henry Flower, zoologist, museum curator and Director of the Natural History Museum and of Maud Melladew McDermott, Martin McDermott, an architect and poet, who had participated in the Young Ireland movement and became chief architect to the Egyptian government.[38] There were engineers, civil, mining, and mechanical, and photographers, of whom George Washington Wilson, with his profitable Aberdeen enterprise, was certainly the wealthiest, as well as daughters of journalists, editors or publishers of newspapers as disparate as *Lloyd's News*, *The Times of India*, and a group of Montreal publications.[39] Landowners were few and there is no evidence that any were either of the aristocracy or had very extensive estates. While

[36] CEBs 1871, 1881; S. M. Waddams, 'Lushington, Stephen (1782–1873)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17213, accessed 7 May 2014; http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=64169 accessed 28 July 2008.

[37] CEBs 1851-1871; http://munksroll.rcplondon.ac.uk/Biography/Details/4455 accessed 7 April 2014; Smart, *Biographical Register,* p. 764 .

[38]CEB 1881; http://www.nhm.ac.uk/resources-rx/files/william-henry-flower_waterhouse-times-summer-2010-117042.pdf accessed 18 March 2014; D. J. O'Donoghue, 'MacDermott, Martin **(**1823–1905)', rev. Katherine Mullin, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34698 accessed 26 April 2014; http://www.dia.ie/architects/view/3813/MCDERMOTT-MARTIN%5B1%5D accessed 18 March 2014.

[39] CEBs 1881; Post Office Directory Aberdeen 1880-81; Aberdeen Sheriff Court Wills SC1/37/111.

there is evidence that the women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge were slightly more likely than the LLA to attract daughters of nobility, in general few of these appear to have sought higher education anywhere, a situation which continued well into the twentieth century - as observed by Sheavyn who in the 1920s noted that 'English girls of aristocratic or wealthy parentage do not as yet go to the University in large numbers.'[40] Presumably such women felt no need of educational qualifications or a profession.

While there were thus among the LLA women of professional backgrounds a not insubstantial minority who might be deemed to rank in comparatively more privileged and wealthier echelons of society, the norm was to have emerged from the 'middling professional' classes - the ministers, teachers, and general practitioners of society.

Table 3.4 - Parental occupations of LLAs, Group 2, Commercial

	Number LLA entrants	**Percentage of all group 2 entrants**
Class 2.1 Financial	25	12.31
Class 2.2 Manufacturing	59	29.06
Class 2.3 Trading	2	0.98
Class 2.4 Merchants	41	20.20
Class 2.5 Managers	76	37.44
Total	203	

Those LLA parents from Group 2, however, represented the more affluent commercial strands of society. This set although smaller than 1 and 4, was still well represented and with the exception of 2.3 (a group which anyway posed problems in being distinguished from others) had a relatively even spread across the bands. Manufacturers, the second largest presence, notably included families involved in the textile industries of both Dundee and the North of England. Proximity to St Andrews, together with the rise of more general interest in female higher education within the city, almost certainly played a part in the popularity of the LLA amongst the daughters of linen and jute

[40] P. Sheavyn, *Higher Education for Women in Great Britain* (London, c 1924), p. 19.

importers and processors like Robert Hood Fleming, Alexander Spalding Smart and James Menzies Campbell, in Dundee and its neighbouring textile burghs.[41] A different set of criteria must have applied to the likes of the daughters of Abraham Ormerod, cotton manufacturer, magistrate, and landowner of Todmorden, Lancashire, and Martin Swindells, also a cotton manufacturer, of Bollington Mills in Cheshire, and it is tempting again to link their participation to the strong Non-Conformist and liberal traditions which tended to prevail in such circles.[42] This might also be true of Catherine Ann Denton, daughter of Joseph Denton, manufacturer of steel and cutlery, of Sheffield.[43] Merchants, too, of flax, corn, seed, wine, cloth, silk, and tea, and agents are unlikely to have required their daughters to earn a living, and a motivation distinct from the purely economic must often be assumed. Inexplicably, daughters of those involved in shipping, both owners and masters of vessels, appear as LLA students out of all proportion to their numbers in society. Explanations perhaps lie in the frequent absence of a male household head and, hence, a greater experience of female autonomy or, more prosaically, may reflect the high numbers of families with these occupations living in the shipping ports of Dundee and Aberdeen, locations which certainly accounted for a substantial number of LLA candidates.

This, then, is a class where, although there were exceptions, the need to work may not have been generally high amongst single women and where other reasons for involvement in the quest for higher education probably dominated. Some of these have already been explored, but examination of career patterns later in this study will shed additional light on this question.

[41] CEB 1881; Post Office Directory, Dundee 1880-81; Dundee Sheriff Court SC45/31/68; SC45/34/21; Dundee Sheriff Court SC45/31/48; Dundee Sheriff Court SC45/31/40.

[42] CEB 1871; http://www.adelphimill.co.uk/about-us/ accessed 7 April 2014.

[43] CEBs 1861, 1881.

Table 3.5 - Parental occupations of LLAs, Group 3, Agricultural

	Number LLA entrants	Percentage of all group 3 entrants
Class 3.1 Farmers	79	71.82
Class 3.2 Crofters	23	20.91
Class 3.3 Employees	8	7.27
Total	110	

Group 3 is defined by rather different criteria from the others, in that its rationale stems from the rural nature of the occupations involved coupled with the fact that none of the women included can be considered to have parents who were unskilled. It covers owners and employers, tenants and employees. It is a small section overall, but the one which most clearly represents those candidates from more remote locations, and thus those for whom the difficulties of study may have been greatest in geographical terms at least**.** Within 3.1 it has not been possible even to distinguish adequately between owner and tenant farmers and there may well be no strong correlation between ownership and wealth in this context. That daughters of the larger, and therefore probably the more prosperous, farmers are better represented than those with smaller businesses and the skilled rural employees, is not unexpected. Some of these were certainly sent to larger towns and cities to schools like the High School of Aberdeen. Mary Addison Scott, whose father James farmed about 400 acres at Arbirlot in Angus, attended St Leonard's School in St Andrews.[44] Jessie Scott Ferguson was sent to Tayside House in Dundee. Her father farmed a 400 acre holding in Kettins, Angus.[45] Ada Goosey, daughter of a prosperous Northamptonshire farmer, attended Rawdon House School in Finchley.[46] Others, however, such as Christian Vass Park, whose father farmed 205 acres at Mains of Kindrought at Strichen in Aberdeenshire, attended Kininmouth Public School; Mary Spiers Hunter, her father a farmer at Craigie in Ayrshire, was educated in the Public School at Tarbolton; and Elizabeth Hulme, whose father was a farmer of 273 acres at Endon in Staffordshire, used the St George's Correspondence Classes to overcome lack of physical access and achieve a suitable level of

[44] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1871.

[45] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1881.

[46] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1861.

preparation.[47] For the smaller farmers there are few examples with enough useful data, but Agnes Forbes, whose father was farmer and seedsman at New Barns, Meldrum, attended Old Meldrum Public School, thus suggesting that fine distinctions in wealth may have been of less relevance than more personal and domestic circumstances which are difficult to isolate.[48] The instances of offspring of factors and gamekeepers are too few to be of much use but the fact that Agnes Park Cameron, whose father was a gamekeeper at Westerhall Kennels, Dumfriesshire, attended the local Dryfesdale School reinforces the fact that although these women were limited in access to what might be deemed secondary level education they found the means to prepare for and avail themselves of a scheme which offered them the opportunity to overcome the constraints of a life far from centres of education.[49] The difficulties inherent in the pursuit of higher education by women from rural communities are appraised eloquently by the novelist Nan Shepherd, whose semi-autobiographical novel, *The Quarry Wood*, portrays the physical hardships and moral dilemmas faced by the heroine. Martha Ironside, a daughter of the farm, attempts to pursue a degree at the University of Aberdeen around 1900, whilst bearing the burden of her family's need of her help.[50] The St Andrews scheme in this context truly offered a practical alternative.

Table 3.6 - Parental occupations of LLAs, Group 4, Intermediate

	Number LLA entrants	**Percentage all group 4 entrants**
Class 4.1 Business	230	54.18
Class 4.2 Retail	112	26.35
Class 4.3 Clerical	83	19.53
Total	425	

The families in Group 4 clearly demonstrated aspirations to education beyond basic levels within a social class which was not in itself professional and where parents almost certainly had not

[47] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1871, 1881; Aberdeen Sheriff Court Wills SC1/37/118; http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=22916 accessed 10 November 2010.

[48] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1871; Aberdeen Sheriff Court Wills SC1/37/119.

[49] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1871.

[50] N. Shepherd, *The Grampian Quartet: The Quarry Wood* (Edinburgh, 1996).

themselves received any schooling beyond the elementary. It is a significant one because it perhaps exemplifies a greater need for unmarried daughters to earn a living and yet the presence of just enough wealth to support their studies. Lower middle-class incomes might well have been insufficient to allow for the longer-term maintenance of unmarried daughters, or indeed widows. This group is also interesting because brothers of LLA women often remained in the family business and hence continued in this occupational group whereas the women themselves became professionals and married in some cases into the professional classes, thus reinforcing their new status. This, then, is potentially the most upwardly mobile class of all and it is particularly important to ascertain who these people were and why they might have participated in the St Andrews scheme.

The sub-groups include inn, lodging house and hotel keepers, master craftsmen such as builders, joiners, stonemasons, plumbers, house painters, blacksmiths, saddlers, upholsterers, with a sprinkling of more specialist occupations, such as coachbuilders, hatters, clockmakers, and sail manufacturers. It is not always possible to be certain of the distinction between master and journeyman craftsmen but in general the census data specifies whether a master or employer. A broad range of commercial activities falls into group 4.2 but it is predominantly made up of the ubiquitous service providers: grocers, drapers, bakers, confectioners, with a few pawnbrokers, booksellers, florists, and music sellers. Of the clerical section, the majority were bank, post office, railway cashiers and clerks, law and commercial clerks, and lower grade Inland Revenue officers. It was normal for this class to employ one servant but rarely more than one, although there is evidence that if the household had adult unmarried daughters who could perform the same role, paid domestic help was less likely to be used.[51] Although the same level of prosperity cannot be assumed even across the same occupations, in general this group was, if not wealthy, at least comfortable.

Typical of these students from business families was Janet Swan Henshilwood, who received her LLA in 1888 and whose father was a grocer in Carluke. In 1891 Janet had become a schoolteacher, while most of her family remained in the business - her mother a shopwoman and one brother and sister grocers, with her younger siblings a milliner and an apprentice draper.[52] A similar pattern occurred in the household of Elizabeth Clay of Nuneaton, who became principal of a small school, while at least

[51] S. Nenadic, 'The Victorian Middle Classes', in W. Hamish Fraser (ed.), *The History of Glasgow*, vol. 2 (Manchester, 1996) provides a fuller analysis of the employment of servants in nineteenth-century Scotland. See especially Table 8.1, p. 272 for the relationship between income and servant numbers.

[52] CEBs 1881, 1891.

three of her brothers were apprenticed into their father's drapery trade.[53] Where the head of household was in a 'white collar' occupation, such as bank clerk or similar, attitudes (and possibly means) appear slightly different and it was more likely for siblings of LLAs also to receive higher education and to enter professions. Catherine Clark's father was an insurance clerk and, while she took her LLA in 1881 and went into the teaching profession, her two sisters also were schoolmistresses, as were those of Mary Kirkwood, daughter of a Glasgow bank clerk.[54] The brother of Mary Jane Broomhead became a general medical practitioner, while Blanche Low's two younger brothers were an arts and science student respectively.[55]

The evidence of these data therefore confirms the strong trend to upward mobility in this group and the particular significance of the LLA in the process. Attention to the later lives and career details of women from these backgrounds will serve to reinforce this argument. The last social group, that of the working classes, however, is that which has most relevance of all in the debate as to whether there was indeed a place in nineteenth century Scotland for the 'lass o' pairts', since it represents the women taking the LLA for whom the greatest obstacles had to be overcome.

Table 3.7 - Parental occupations of LLAs, Group 5, Working-class

	Number LLA entrants	**Percentage of all entrants**
Class 5.1 Artisan	56	66.67
Class 5.2 Public service	9	10.71
Class 5.3 Labouring	12	14.28
Class 5.4 Industrial	0	0.00
Class 5.5 Domestic	7	8.33
Total	84	

The smallest of all the parental occupational groups, the working class, Group 5, was dominated numerically by the skilled artisans. It also had the lowest overall completion rate, with only just over

[53] CEB 1871.

[54] CEBs 1871-1891; Glasgow Sheriff Court Inventories SC36/48/214.

[55] CEBS 1861-1901.

half of entrants receiving the certificate. Socio-economic causes almost certainly contributed to this situation but more detailed study can illuminate the range of influences at play. That these last were more complex than merely the ability to afford study was demonstrated by the case of shoemaker's daughters Anne and Jane Moir, of whom the former gained her certificate while the latter withdrew after taking an examination in just one subject.[56]

The skilled workers, 5.1, included a large proportion of cabinetmakers and joiners, plumbers, stonemasons, shoemakers, and a variety of other trades such as millwrights and leatherworkers, who can be identified as journeymen or employees. Agnes McEwan, for instance, was the daughter of a journeyman ship's carpenter in Glasgow and the family income was supplemented by the earnings of her mother as a shopkeeper. Agnes completed her certificate over two years, which would have allowed her to pay only the minimum fee of two guineas.[57] The income of Emily Tansley's family in Brighton, where her father was a carpenter but her mother an embroidery worker, was also dual.[58] Amongst those candidates who fell into this occupational section, there was a mixed picture of success and a number of those who completed their certificate appear to have been somewhat older and may well have been more independent of their families.

The remaining sub-groups are even smaller and are comprised of merchant seamen, lower-ranking policemen and servicemen, a prison warder, railway porters, a stevedore, general and agricultural labourers, domestic servants and gardeners. No specifically industrial workers have been identified, a circumstance which mirrors Anderson's assertion that, for male undergraduates, opportunities for the children of the urban industrial classes to enter higher education were particularly restricted.[59] Nevertheless, the fact that any daughters of workers such as those above were able to aspire to enhance their education and acquire a valuable qualification was by no means of negligible significance. Amongst those who did succeed in gaining the LLA were Sophia Burness and Hannah Gold whose fathers were both agricultural labourers and Helen Graham Brittain, the daughter of a butler.[60] Non-completion rates, however, are highest of all here, but, at the same time, entrants from this end of the social scale often did gain several passes and follow teaching or equivalent careers. It may well be that partial success in the certificate could trigger the desired outcome as

[56] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1881, 1891.

[57] CEBs 1861, 1871.

[58] CEB 1861.

[59] Anderson , *Education and Opportunity*, pp. 149-52, 308-17.

[60]LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1851, 1881.

much as did completion, a hypothesis which will be pursued when subsequent careers are examined in later chapters.

For women already married when involved in LLA studies, spouse rather than parental occupation is normally deemed the more significant factor. Sixty-three students in all were described as 'Mrs' but not all had been married before embarking on the LLA, some marrying during or soon after their studies. Of those who were in established marriages, some already displayed changes in social status. For instance, Sarah Jane Bannister (née Stourton), had been the daughter of a journeyman stonemason but was already married to a schoolmaster when she began her LLA in 1884 and Caroline Anne Hammond (nee Webb), daughter of a master currier, must have been married to a Church of England curate by 1870 and had at least six children when she studied for her LLA between 1886 and 1888.[61] Being the wife of a professional in a scholarly pursuit most probably was an advantage, for others such as Helen McCulloch Gunn, a Banffshire farmer's daughter, who completed the certificate between 1887 and 1890, had married a schoolmaster in 1876, and Mary Murrie (nee Martin), who received her LLA in 1884, had been married to a parish schoolmaster since 1876.[62] Laura Haynes married and became Mrs Sparshott between enrolling in 1887 and returning to her studies in 1893. Her father was a law clerk, her husband a Church of England clergyman.[63] Ottilia Hancock and Emma Clarke were wives respectively of a barrister and an attorney, while others were married to an architect and a medical superintendent.[64] Flora Myers, wife for some years of a wholesale jeweller, took her examinations between 1888 and 1894 but is a rare example of a married student within the commercial classes.[65] Significantly, there is no evidence that any woman with a spouse from classes 4 or 5 was able to undertake the LLA.

Family circumstances other than the purely occupational, such as the early deaths of parents, had the potential to create a need for qualifications leading to an occupation or, conversely, to prevent such an education being completed. Since it may have radically altered the economic dynamics of households, this factor is undoubtedly significant at a personal level. The Scottish system of centralised registration of deaths, wills and testaments allows for relatively easy access to data on paternal deaths, but the same level of information elsewhere in the United Kingdom is more difficult

[61] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1851, 1881, 1891; M. Hilton and P. Hirsch, *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress 1790-1930* (Harlow, 2000), p. 133.

[62] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1881, 1891; Civil Registration Births.

[63] CEBs 1881-1901.

[64] CEBs 1871-1891

[65] CEB 1881.

to obtain. Therefore, the sizeable figure of 155 women whose fathers were already deceased when they enrolled on the LLA is likely to be well below the real total. In addition, the fathers of considerably more women died during the course of their studies.

One situation which may have had a positive influence on the desire to acquire higher education qualifications was a family tradition of higher education other than of paternal example. Brothers attending university or indeed more than one girl in a family undertaking the LLA might well provide moral support and encouragement, or even practical assistance**.** It has been possible to discover male siblings who matriculated at the University at St Andrews only, and there were some fifty women who had one or more brothers there. Assuming that further brothers were associated with other universities, this factor would appear to have the capacity to have been of some importance. Even more influential on decision-making may have been the confidence arising out of studying alongside or in the wake of sisters, and it is very clear that this occurred frequently. Pairs of sisters are common, and three or even more occur, like the four Smith sisters of Dundee.

Analysis of social class in a sample, however, is most meaningful when set alongside consideration of comparable groups. Therefore, statistics on male undergraduates at St Andrews from around the same period as the LLA study, and also on the first female undergraduates between 1892 and 1897, need to be examined in order to establish whether the backgrounds of LLA candidates differed in any important way from those of full-time students.

Table 3.8 - Parental occupations of LLAs, male and female undergraduates, all groups

	LLAs	%	Male undergraduates	%	Female undergraduates	%
Class 1 Professional	369	30.90	101	36.60	57	48.30
Class 2 Commercial	203	17.00	35	12.68	28	23.73
Class 3 Agricultural	110	9.21	45	16.30	4	3.39
Class 4 Intermediate	425	35.6	37	13.41	23	19.49
Class 5 Working-class	84	7.04	58	21.00	6	5.08
Total	1191		276		118	

Of the three cohorts, LLA entrants show the lowest proportion of Class 1 students and by far the highest of Class 4 - the latter factor reinforcing the conclusion (already delivered in the arguments above) that this class was particularly strongly represented. In contrast, while there is a reasonable correlation between the figures for Class 5 between the LLA and the female undergraduates for working class, many more male undergraduates than either came from this section of society.[66]

[66] A comparable, but later, analysis for women entrants to University of Aberdeen between 1898 and 1900 has been produced by L. Moore, *Bajanellas and Semilinas: Aberdeen University and the Education of Women, 1860-1920* (Aberdeen, 1991), p. 123, Table 8. Professionals there accounted for 28.6%; Commerce, 14.3%; Farming, 19.0%; Clerks and tradesmen, 9.50%, of these; and there were apparently no unskilled fathers. Since the number in Moore's sample is only 21, discrepancies between these figures and those for St Andrews are perhaps largely irrelevant. Her high ratio of farming parentage is probably no more than an indication of the character of the Aberdeen geographical catchment.

Anderson too, in his presentation of occupational origins for undergraduates of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen in 1866, has higher percentages for working-class male students, with 25%, 24% and 17% respectively, and he argues that women entrants were more likely to be middle-class than their male counterparts, thus suggesting that the 'lass o' pairts' in this context was indeed a rare creature.[67] More detailed analysis of the sub-groups reveals further differences between LLAs and the others.

Table 3.9 - Parental occupations of LLAs, male and female undergraduates, Group 1, Professional

	LLAs	%	Male undergraduates	%	Female undergraduates	%
Class 1.1 Proprietors	8	2.17	5	4.95	3	5.26
Class 1.2 Clergy	124	33.60	43	42.58	14	22.81
Class 1.3 Medical	43	11.65	6	5.94	13	22.81
Class 1.4 Legal	30	8.13	9	8.91	6	10.53
Class 1.5 Education	109	29.54	29	28.71	16	28.10
Class 1.6 Officials	21	5.69	5	4.95	2	3.51
Class 1.7 Others	34	9.21	4	3.96	3	5.26
Total	369		101		57	

While the proportion of fathers in the teaching profession for all undergraduates was very similar to the LLA, those in the ministry were relatively more numerous for the men than for either group of

[67] Anderson, *Scottish Education*, p. 308.

women for whom there was no prospect of following their fathers into the church. Doctors were more likely to occur as fathers of female undergraduates than for LLAs, but the least of all for the males, with the gradual opening of the medical profession to women now allowing them to emulate their male relatives. Amongst the teacher parents of the women matriculands, a striking number, seven of the sixteen, were university professors, three from St Andrews itself.

Table 3.10 - Parental occupations of LLAs, male and female undergraduates, Group 2, Commercial

	LLAs	%	Male undergraduates	%	Female undergraduates	%
Class 2.1 Financial	25	12.31	5	14.28	4	14.29
Class 2.2 Manufacturing	59	29.06	16	45.71	11	39.29
Class 2.3 Trading	2	0.98	0	0.00	1	3.57
Class 2.4 Merchants	41	20.20	4	11.43	7	25.00
Class 2.5 Managers	76	37.44	10	28.57	5	17.86
Total	203		35		28	

For all three cohorts, the commercial group shows similar distributions, but while both sets of conventional undergraduates may be numerically too small to be useful, the overall dominance of manufacturers within these is at least interesting. Similarly, whilst the data, especially for the women undergraduates, are scarcely valid for the agricultural classes, it appears once again that all students in this social group were most likely to be children of more prosperous farmers. A similar case can be made for the high presence of small businessmen and master craftsmen in occupational group 4, although fathers of women undergraduates were more commonly shopkeepers than those of men.

Table 3.11 - Parental occupations of LLAs, male and female undergraduates, Group 3, Agricultural

	LLAs	%	Male undergraduates	%	Female undergraduates	%
Class 3.1 Farmers	79	71.82	28	62.22	3	75.00
Class 3.2 Crofters	23	20.91	11	24.44	0	0.00
Class 3.3 Employees	8	7.27	6	13.33	1	25.00
Total	110		45		4	

Table 3.12 - Parental occupations of LLAs, male and female undergraduates, Group 4, Intermediate

	LLAs	%	Male undergraduates	%	Female undergraduates	%
Class 4.1 Business	230	54.18	28	75.67	12	52.20
Class 4.2 Retail	112	26.35	5	13.51	8	34.78
Class 4.3 Clerical	83	19.53	4	10.81	3	13.04
Total	425		37		23	

Female undergraduates from Group 5 were too few for any real statistical validity, with no industrial or domestic workers, but as with the two other samples there is a preponderance of skilled working-class fathers. In this social class, parents of LLA women were again more like their male counterparts.

Table 3.13 - Parental occupations of LLAs, male and female undergraduates, Group 5, Working-class

	LLAs	%	Male undergraduates	%	Female undergraduates	%
Class 5.1 Artisan	56	66.67	37	63.80	5	83.33
Class 5.2 Public service	9	10.71	3	5.17	0	0.00
Class 5.3 Labouring	12	14.28	8	13.80	1	16.67
Class 5.4 Industrial	0	0.00	2	3.45	0	0.00
Class 5.5 Domestic	7	8.33	8	13.80	0	0.00
Total	84		58		6	

Examination of the social origins of the LLA women in its earliest years has therefore produced a picture of a very mixed cohort, and, while the ability to fund studies and the leisure to pursue them undoubtedly played a part for many in both the initial decision to enrol and in subsequent success rate, there are too many exceptions for this to constitute a general rule. Anderson explores in the context of the origins of women in higher education the idea of

> women … forced by circumstances to equip themselves to make an independent living… Alongside them in the women's colleges could be found a more leisured clientele attracted by scholarly ideals… [68]

The women's colleges to which he refers are those founded in Oxford and Cambridge in the 1860s and 1870s whose entrants might be considered to have some features in common with the women for whom the LLA was a route to higher education. Girton College Register provides useful

[68] R.D. Anderson, *Universities and Elites in Britain since 1800* (Basingstoke and London, 1991), p. 56.

information on paternal occupations for the fathers of 267 entrants between 1869 and 1890, enabling direct comparison with those of LLA students.[69] Of these the most common was the ministry of which a majority appeared to be Church of England but some were Church of Scotland as well as a few Non-Conformist - Presbyterian, Congregational, Wesleyan and Baptist. Teachers were much less numerous than for LLAs, and amongst them were university principals, professors and headmasters of large schools. Medical practitioners had a higher representation than for the LLA, but most striking was the presence of the legal profession, including several barristers and judges as well as solicitors. Landowners and gentry too were rather more prominent than for LLAs but were still not at all common. Of the whole Girton cohort, less than 10% lay outwith classes 1 and 2 and even of these most were either substantial farmers or small businessmen or clerks. A similar but smaller analysis of entrants to Somerville College between 1879 and 1890 reveals a slightly more varied group with again a high proportion of clergy, both Church of England and Non-Conformist, but relatively few instances of legal and medical practitioners, while manufacturers and other commercial professions featured strongly. Again Groups 3, 4, and 5 were almost entirely absent. Overall the socio-economic background of women attending Girton and Somerville, and probably all of the Oxbridge women's colleges, tended towards higher socio-economic groups. This circumstance must be partially explained by the greater costs and disruption to family life which actual college attendance entailed, but it does nevertheless highlight the unusual openness of entry to the LLA and perhaps also the greater emphasis it placed on those who required to make a living as opposed to Anderson's 'more leisured clientele attracted by scholarly ideals'.[70]

How were they educated?

For girls born in the mid-nineteenth century, as we saw in Chapter 1, there were greater, if still limited, opportunities for education at secondary level or equivalent than earlier in the century. The models of the Cheltenham Ladies College and the North London Collegiate School had been followed by others, including St Leonard's in St Andrews, and from 1873 the Girls' Public Day School Company had begun to establish schools not only in London but also in a number of the larger towns across England. In Scotland twenty-nine Higher Class public schools fitted to teach at secondary level had been recognised under the 1872 Act, mainly in the smaller cities and larger burghs.[71] For many girls, however, provision of education would still stop short at the level of parish or board schools or

[69] *Girton College Register*, pp. 1-66; *Somerville College Register*, pp. 1-11; http://www.ancestry.co.uk.

[70] Anderson, *Universities and Elites*, p. 56.

[71] *Education (Scotland) Act, 1872*, Sections 62 and 63.

equivalent charitable establishments, such as the British and National schools, or else be delivered by governesses at home or in small private establishments.

The LLA Calendars provide for some years details of the schools and other educational establishments which participants had attended, and these together with information from other biographical sources have made data available on this aspect for almost 50% of the candidates. Where candidates' educational backgrounds have been identified, these were almost as broad as was then possible. Many LLAs were products of rural parish or board schools, notably in north-east and south-west Scotland, with ten candidates connected with one public board school alone. Certain larger schools had a clearly established link with the LLA and were responsible for significant numbers of entrants. Cheltenham Ladies College and the Mary Datchelor School, for instance, both submitted candidates in numbers. In Scotland, the High Schools of Dundee and Aberdeen, some of the Edinburgh ladies colleges, and the Dollar Institution had a particularly strong association with the LLA. Students had been educated at seventeen out of the twenty-nine Scottish higher grade schools in burghs such as Ayr, Arbroath, Dumfries, Dunfermline, Elgin, Hamilton, Kirkcaldy, and Peebles. Many were described as educated privately and so, for these, further information was not readily available. A large number of others must have had recourse to private tuition from individual tutors, correspondence colleges, such as St George's in Edinburgh, or to locally-run evening classes.

One of the largest single groups of pupils was a product of the Mary Datchelor Girls' School and Training College in Camberwell Grove, which was the outcome of a charity founded in 1726, in pursuance of the will of Mary Datchelor, although it did not take the form of a school until 1871. The school was first established at two houses bought for the purpose in Grove Lane in 1878, but, when the endowment had been increased by the appropriation of other charities, a new school was built at a cost of nearly £12,000.[72] Seventeen Mary Datchelor pupils were LLA candidates between 1884 and 1890, of whom all but one completed the certificate. The majority were aged between 17 and 19 when they received it, although two were 20 and 21 respectively. Mary Isabella Wilson continued on to Girton, Edith Kent Stephenson matriculated at the University of London in 1889 and two others went on to attend Teacher Training Colleges.[73] By contrast, the North London Collegiate College, a similar establishment, accounted for only four candidates.

[72] 'Parishes: Camberwell, A History of the County of Surrey, Volume 4 (1912), pp. 24-36 http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=43027 accessed 28 November 2011.

[73] *Girton College Register*, p. 47; http://archives.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/resources/general_register_part_2.pdf accessed 28 November 2011.

An even larger group emerged from the Cheltenham Ladies College. It had been founded in 1853 as the first proprietary school for girls in England and was headed from 1858 by Dorothea Beale who taught Euclid to her top class and considered the teaching of history to be central to her curriculum. She began to enter pupils for the Oxford Senior examinations and from 1869 to the London University examinations for women and as time went on a far larger number came to be entered for one or other of the University Examinations. The school's Division 2 apparently took the LLA as 'greater liberty of choice is allowed', as Miss Beale stated in her report to Council (Board of Governors) in 1888.[74] Beale wanted no fuss about examinations: pupils worked throughout their school career to take them without intensive preparation or strain. It was her policy to enter whole classes for examination and so to link the examination to the Cheltenham ordinary course.[75] One of those pupils, Mabel Cartwright, who completed her LLA in 1887 when she was eighteen, kept a journal before and during her time at Cheltenham. She had been born in Canada, and was raised and privately educated in Toronto, where her father was Deputy Attorney General. The journal reveals a self-assured and highly literate young woman who was more concerned to comment on political affairs, her religious experiences and the activities of her family than on her education. She did, however, allude in passing to her examinations and her relaxed attitude to them appears to lend weight to Miss Beale's policy. She met Professor Knight during her time at Cheltenham and mentioned hearing a 'beautiful lecture' from him on Practical Ethics.[76]

As many as six Cheltenham staff sat LLA examinations at some stage in their lives and thirty-six pupils were entered, although twenty-two of these did not complete their LLA, the majority only studying for one year. It is difficult to know what the exact purpose of the LLA was for either the pupils or the school, but for some it may well have been seen as a preparation for entry to the Oxford and Cambridge colleges, although only five did so. Also, in spite of Miss Beale's emphasis on History only five students passed their certificate in that subject, the examinations most commonly prepared for being Comparative Philology, Political Economy, Logic and Metaphysics, French, English, and German. No students took Greek and only one Latin.

It may be that some of the teaching staff at Cheltenham who had themselves taken the certificate had a direct influence on the uptake of the LLA amongst the pupils, but for certain other smaller schools, there is evidence of more direct links. At Loughborough Girls' Grammar School eight pupils

[74] G. Avery, *Cheltenham Ladies: An Illustrated History of the Cheltenham Ladies College* (Cheltenham, 2003).

[75] A.K. Clarke, *A History of the Cheltenham Ladies' College 1853-1953* (London, 1953), pp. 53-74.

[76] Trinity College Archives, Toronto, Cartwright Family Papers, ms 120, Box 5. 1

were candidates for the LLA between the ages of seventeen and nineteen on entry and may arguably be seen as having at least been influenced by the school they attended. Of these Jane Turner was involved for only one year in 1882, but the others cluster between 1885 and 1887 and may therefore be seen as a group.[77] Two members of staff in the 1880s had taken part in the programme. Alice Maud Lister enrolled in 1882 but did not complete, and Eliza Caroline Dugdale (who was probably by the 1880s headmistress) had taken her LLA in 1879 at the age of 29.[78] It would appear likely that she was the catalyst. Heene House in Worthing may have had a similar situation. The Lady Principal, Marion Rosewell Lacon, entered in 1881 and received her LLA in 1882 at the age of 47. Two other teachers also enrolled in 1881, one of whom, Ellen Constance Palmer, completed in 1884.[79] Their pupil, Emma Greenfield also started in 1881 at the age of 16.[80] Two others enrolled but dropped out in 1884. The last, Anne Elizabeth Agnew, completed her LLA in one year, 1887, and went on to Newnham College, Cambridge.[81]

In Scotland a number of private or endowed educational establishments were strongly associated with the LLA. The Dollar Institution (later Academy) had been established in 1818 as a charitable foundation to educate the boys and girls of Dollar parish and beyond, but since the 1872 Act had been unable to provide free secondary education.[82] Nine girls there completed the LLA, five of whom also prepared through the St George's Correspondence Classes. The earliest were Minnie Kynoch who received her certificate in 1883 and Christabel Hall in 1884; the others being mainly clustered in the years 1887 to 1889.[83] All appear to have been aged twenty or under so it may be that the school was a significant factor in their involvement. Only three pupils from St Leonard's College in St Andrews, by contrast, were candidates, the school's preoccupation and strong association through its staff with the women's colleges of Oxford and Cambridge being presumably a factor which mitigated against involvement with the local LLA.

The city of Dundee had anyway both a strong tradition of promoting female education and, by the time of the LLA, close associations with the University of St Andrews. It is therefore unsurprising that

[77] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars, 1883.

[78] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1881.

[79] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1881.

[80] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1881.

[81] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1881; *Newnham College Register*, p. 90.

[82] http://dollaracademy.org/history-of-Dollar.asp accessed 31 March 2014.

[83] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars.

the uptake of LLA places was high in the city's schools. Dundee High School in particular had had arrangements with the university whereby St Andrews staff gave classes to senior pupils as preparation for the university's Local Examinations and this link no doubt provides some explanation for the forty-one LLA candidates who had been educated there. From Tayside House four staff and six pupils completed the LLA. Sarah Cannon Buchan, who was headmistress in 1881, took hers in 1882 at the age of forty-six in the same year as two of her pupils, Jessie Margaret Meldrum and Jessie Scott Ferguson.[84] That Buchan and her clientele considered the St Andrews award of some significant merit was indicated by the fact that adverts for her school bore the epithet attached to names of her staff.[85] Another seven candidates had been educated at the Harris Academy in the city.

No such apparent links between St Andrews and the city of Aberdeen existed, and indeed the University of Aberdeen attempted with little success to run its own certificate for women. Yet at the Aberdeen High School for Girls between 1881 and 1896 sixty-one pupils were involved in the LLA scheme, the peak years being from 1887 to 1889. From 1874 until 1912 John McBain, MA, was Headmaster of the School, its secondary work started in 1878 and in March 1881 it was declared a higher class school. Of these entrants only four failed to complete the certificate; over thirty girls were twenty or under and at least two-thirds of these were eighteen or under. The High School, or perhaps McBain himself, was certainly the driving force, since the school advertised itself as prolonging the course in its secondary department 'for the benefit of pupils preparing for the St Andrews LLA'[86]

Although Edinburgh had a long-standing tradition of quality education for girls largely as a result of the foundations of The Company of Merchants of Edinburgh and their emulation by numerous private academies, of these only the Edinburgh Ladies College, founded as the Merchant Maiden Hospital, was the source of education of any significant number of LLA students. There were thirteen, of whom nine completed the certificate, one being Nettie Pryde, a daughter of the headmaster.[87] In contrast, however, to some other schools, the majority of the Edinburgh Ladies College pupils were much older; all must already have left school when they embarked on their studies and were at least in their twenties when they finished. Thus there is little or no indication that the school itself either promoted or supported LLA study, although it may be that informal

[84] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1881.

[85] http://www.scran.ac.uk/ ID: 000-000-519-034-C

[86] Aberdeen University Calendar, 1892-93.

[87] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1881.

networks of former pupils had some influence here. Five used the St George's Correspondence Classes for extra preparation and four also attended Edinburgh University classes. Women had been educated at some fourteen other Edinburgh schools but in no case did these provide more than one or two entrants. The provision for ladies' extra-mural classes at the University of Edinburgh probably had some impact on the popularity of the LLA in that city.

Some twenty-six LLA entrants were associated with the newly established and highly academic Girls' Public Day School Trust in England, but of these by far the majority were existing members of teaching staff, including a number of headmistresses, a fact that would appear to suggest that the Trust put a high value on the qualification as an employment criterion. Individual British and National schools in England and Wales, like Rawdon House School in Finchley, were responsible for the education of a number of candidates but of these only from the Cowley Girls' School at St Helen's in Lancashire did as many as six emerge.

Otherwise those who embarked on the St Andrews certificate had been educated at a very broad spectrum of small private ladies' schools or in parish, church or board schools across the United Kingdom. For this last group of institutions there is a stronger trend for women from the north, rather than the south, of England to have attended what were in essence elementary schools. Amongst these were North Shields Middle Class Elementary school, the Central Higher School, Sheffield, Kendrew Street School, Darlington and Baillie Street School in Rochdale, which, typically of this grade of school, produced one individual LLA entrant each, although the Victoria Road School in Birmingham, originally a Wesleyan church school, had four pupils and one member of staff. Perhaps there was something of a north-south divide, associated also with social class, because the emphasis on an elementary and state-based education was heavier still in Scotland. Well over one hundred LLA women attended a parish or board elementary school, and many more were teachers in these, having perhaps in some cases been pupil teachers in the same institution. These candidates lived in all parts of Scotland, Glasgow and the Central Belt, the Highlands and Islands, and the south-west, but a disproportionate number originated in the north-east and particularly in Aberdeenshire and

Banffshire.[88] Of these rural and semi-rural board schools, Macduff Public School, which had had eleven women and girls associated with the LLA between 1884 and 1899, eight of whom completed the diploma, is remarkable and deserving of further examination.

Christina Terris and Jane Bleasdale Moffat Renton, two daughters of the headmaster, were among the pupils at Macduff who completed diplomas.[89] Besides these two were Margaret Hodge, daughter of a farmer and shipmaster, and Sophia Burness, whose father was a labourer with a five acre croft; Jemima Gibson's father was a draper and Mary Cruickshank's a druggist and bookseller.[90] The three who did not complete their LLAs were Lizzie May Davidson whose father was also a shipmaster, Helen McGillivray, the daughter of a commission agent and stone dresser, and Jemima Farquharson whose father was an architect and harbourmaster.[91] The case of Sarah Milne, daughter of a millwright, was different in that she was already a teacher, aged thirty and working in Stranraer when she completed her award. Her move to Macduff overlapped with the studies of several of the other women there.[92] All were drawn from the social classes typical of LLA candidates in general. The subjects taken by these women, who ostensibly had no more than an elementary education, were Education, Geology, English, Geography, French, History, Comparative Philology, and Political Economy, a fact which invites the question as to why Macduff was so successful. Examination of the School Log Books indicates that the school received consistently positive School Inspectors' reports and David Renton, its long-term headmaster, also won glowing commendations.

From 1870 onwards, however, the teaching of Greek, Latin, Mathematics, and Physical Geography was specifically mentioned in the reports, and although it is difficult to determine how far girls participated in these subjects, there is direct mention that some studied French and German and

[88] This factor may be linked to the existence of the Dick Bequest established to attract a high standard of teachers in the schools of Aberdeenshire, Moray and Banffshire. The provision of endowments was based on a points system whereby the educational achievements and qualities of the head teacher were measured, the result being that in 1872 well over 80% were graduates able to teach advanced subjects; M. Cruickshank, 'The Dick Bequest: The Effect of a Famous Nineteenth-Century Endowment on Parish Schools of North East Scotland', *History of Education Quarterly*, 5 (1956), 153-65.

[89] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1881.

[90] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1881, 1891.

[91] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1881, 1891; Post Office Directory, Banffshire, 1877.

[92] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1891; J. Ogilvie, ed, *The Church of Scotland Training College in Aberdeen: Records of the Classes from 1874-75 to 1894-95* (Aberdeen, 1896), p. 10.

they may have also taken Latin (although none were examined in the two latter for the LLA). Several of the girls were pupil teachers: Margaret Hodge is reported in the Log Books as having passed well in her pupil teacher tests and in 1888 was qualified under both articles and Helen McGillivray also passed well as a pupil teacher, as did Sophia Burness, who was placed first class for Queen's Scholarships and therefore qualified to bring grants to the school.[93] While both of the Renton sisters went on to take classes at Edinburgh University and both Jemima Gibson and Mary Cruickshank enrolled in St George's Correspondence Classes to prepare for their LLAs, it seems most likely that the foundations for their success were laid in Macduff. It is difficult to discern patterns of influence, but the potential force of one particular teacher must be considered. If not Milne, then was the guiding force David Renton, the headmaster, himself? Certainly, he encouraged his own daughters and, from his comments in the log books, was immensely proud of Christina's academic achievements. There is no clear reference in the log books to any special coaching taking place. The LLA subjects taken by the girls are similar and are almost all to be considered as part of the normal, but exceptional, curriculum of this well-regarded school. The inference to be taken is that Renton, together with a powerful group dynamic among the pupils, was primarily responsible.

As has already been seen, some LLA candidates required to bridge the gap between elementary and higher education and St George's Correspondence College in Edinburgh and several other smaller correspondence institutions offered dedicated preparation for that purpose, with many women across the United Kingdom and beyond making use of it. The St George's classes had been begun by a group of women who had themselves been denied access to the universities, to provide teaching up to university level, either by attendance in Edinburgh or by correspondence courses.[94] They were regularly advertised in the LLA Calendars and in all at least 147 women made use of them.[95] When the social and educational backgrounds of these are examined in more detail, however, it becomes evident that, although women who had only an elementary education availed themselves of the St George's tuition, many others in very different circumstances also did so. These last included

[93] Aberdeenshire School Board Minutes. Records of Macduff Parish School, ED/GR6S/B42/1.

[94] N. Shepley, *Women of Independent Mind: St George's School, Edinburgh and the Campaign for Women's Education 1888-1988* (Edinburgh, 1988); St George's Classes, Edinburgh. *Prospectus of Introductory and Special Correspondence Classes.* This states that 'All the tutors work in direct communication with their Students. Only thus can that personal interest in the individual pupil, so requisite for successful teaching, be assured'; I am grateful to Nigel Shepley, Archivist at St George's School for Girls, Edinburgh for his help in providing this source.

[95] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars.

candidates with private and secondary education, from St Leonard's College in St Andrews to high schools and private institutions across the whole of the United Kingdom. That the courses were successful is evident from the fact that only just over 10% of their users did not subsequently complete the LLA. It seems therefore that there existed no obvious pattern of prior education in the need or desire to bridge the gap in this way between school and degree level studies, but that, perhaps because of the extra commitment as much as the additional tuition, St George's produced good results.[96]

In an apparently similar situation was the much smaller cohort of seventeen students who used the YMCA Classes in Dundee, which provided evening classes from teachers of Science, Art, English Grammar and Composition, Latin, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Writing, Shorthand, and French.[97] The group divides into two distinct types: eight who began the LLA between the ages of sixteen and eighteen and received their certificates early; and another eight who were twenty-one or over at the outset, one of whom was thirty-four when she completed. Seven had been pupils of Dundee High School, three of Harris Academy, one of Tayside House, and one of the King Street Institution, and thus had received the equivalent of a secondary education, inviting the question as to which aspects of their studies required supplementation.[98]

Classes run by private individuals were utilised by some. Emile Theodore True had been born in Brunswick in Germany, and was living in Dundee, employed as a teacher of modern languages.[99] Ten LLA students, eight of whom had been pupils of Dundee High School or Harris Academy, the others teachers in the city, attended his classes. Clearly it was specialist language tuition these women required since all passed examinations in French or German or both. Similarly Herr Hein's classes in Aberdeen attracted eight candidates, all of whom gained their LLA. Gustave Hein, also from Germany and described as a teacher of modern languages, was employed at the High School of

[96] The cost of these classes to students must have been significant, but attempts to discover the fee rates at this time have been unsuccessful. Much later, in 1914 fees were twelve shillings £1.10s per session but this gives no more than an indication of what was involved for LLAs some 30 years earlier; St George's Classes, Edinburgh, *Prospectus of Introductory and Special Correspondence Classes.*

[97] Post Office Directory, Dundee, 1880-81.

[98] The subjects which most shared, apart from the ubiquitous English, were Physiology and Comparative Philology.

[99] CEBs 1891, 1901.

Aberdeen but additionally gave private lessons in French and German to pupils there.[100] The relationship was evidently an amicable and long-lasting one, since the following was written of one of his ex-pupils, Bessie Craigmyle, LLA:

> World War 1 was difficult for her. Her friend, Herr Hein, the German teacher at the High School for Girls, was interned. Bessie and others campaigned for his release, but he died shortly after being freed.[101]

Since teaching was either a current or a prospective career for a large proportion of women who took the LLA, as we shall later see, attendance at Training College was common, although it is problematic in the case of many individuals to ascertain the order in which the different elements of their education were taken. Aberdeen Church of Scotland Training College has a published register in which personal and educational information is recorded for the twenty-two LLA students who also attended there.[102] Thus both their previous education and future careers are known. At least ten were educated at north-eastern public schools in small country towns and villages - Old Meldrum, St Fergus, Badenscoth, Turriff, Macduff, Alford, Insch, Aberlour, Forglen -and the majority had been pupil teachers. The remainder were schooled in the city schools of Aberdeen itself: Belmont Street School (or its successor the High School for Girls), the Church of Scotland Practising School, the St Andrews Episcopal School, Union Row Academy, and the Trades School. Other burgh schools were Milne's Institution, Fochabers and Banff Burgh School, and, in effect, these women were representative of the range of types of schools available locally. Only one is known to have used the St George's Correspondence Classes. Fifteen completed the LLA and all achieved certificated teacher status. What is of interest, however, because it sheds light on the intentions of these women, is the order in which certification and the LLA were acquired. Since ten women had taken their teaching certificate *before* entering upon the LLA and so were already embarked on a teaching career, it must be assumed that some professional advantage was expected for the St Andrews qualification.

While the Aberdeen College provides a useful case study, LLA students attended numerous other institutions at various stages in their educational careers. In Scotland, the three principal cities all had both Church of Scotland and Free Church colleges, and Edinburgh also an Episcopal College, and some fifty LLA women are known to have attended these establishments. There was no Roman Catholic training college in Scotland at this time and Catholic women were obliged to attend Mount

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[100] CEBs 1871-1901; Post Office Directory, Aberdeen, 1880-81.

[101] http://www.leopardmag.co.uk/feats/184/the-love-that-never-dared accessed 30 March 2013.

[102] Ogilvie, *The Church of Scotland Training College in Aberdeen.*

Pleasant College in Liverpool (although no LLAs actually did so).[103] The situation in England and Wales was much more diverse, with a greater variety of teacher training establishments available, run by both the Church of England and several non-conformist groups. Over sixty LLA entrants are known to have studied at one of these at some stage in their career, and many more may well have done so. In London the Established Church's Whitelands College had nineteen and the Methodist Southlands College seven. The Diocesan Colleges at Truro, Derby, Bishops Stortford, Lincoln, Norwich and Ripon were all used, as were the private colleges at Cambridge and Cheltenham, the London establishments of City of London Day Training, Maria Grey, Stockwell and St Katherine's Colleges, and in other cities, the Liverpool Edgehill Training College and Swansea Teacher Training College.

While the ultimate careers of some of these women may well indicate the particular role of the LLA within their broader educational development, it may be that for some the connection will not be made. This may be the case too for those candidates who also studied at the Oxford and Cambridge Women's Colleges, and the University of London. In the early years of the St Andrews scheme, these were relatively numerous; Newnham had twenty-two, Girton six, Lady Margaret Hall four, Somerville two, and London three, while several attended the University Colleges of Bristol, Nottingham, Liverpool and South Wales. These additional experiences of higher education inevitably may for some women mask the direct effects of the LLA.

Perhaps more even than their social origins, the educational backgrounds of the LLA students clearly illustrate their very diverse backgrounds and circumstances. That the form their education took and the institutions which provided it were of critical importance is evident, but that significance appears often to run deeper than the standard or the quality of the institutionalised educational experience itself. The influence of individuals, whether they were teachers or members of peer groups, seems to have had a profound and in some cases immeasurable effect on the motivation and success of individual LLA participants.

What religion?

The effect of religious denomination on the uptake of higher education for women, and of the LLA in particular, was especially complex. The history of nineteenth-century radicalism and of female

[103] The Notre Dame Training College in Glasgow opened in 1895; J. McDermid, *The Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Victorian Scotland: Gender, Education and Identity* (London, 2005), pp. 33-6.

emancipation was tightly interwoven with Non-Conformism, but how far this was realised in practical terms in the educational prospects of individual women is a much more intricate question. Any form of higher education for Roman Catholics of either gender was particularly difficult and until the later part of the century was largely procured outside the United Kingdom and by males only. Although the religious backgrounds of LLA women have the potential to be illuminating in these contexts, discovering them in practice is problematic. As has already been noted, a substantial proportion of entrants were daughters of clergymen and this status can be used with some confidence as proof of religious persuasion, but for others evidence is much harder to come by. Baptismal and marriage records also provide relevant information, and the religious standing of some women can also be deduced from the schools or colleges they attended - this being most likely to be a useful indicator in Scotland itself where, after the Disruption of 1843, the Free Church established a full range of matching institutions to those already existing for the Church of Scotland. Nevertheless, reasonably reliable assumptions about the women's religious backgrounds are possible for only a relatively small proportion (less than 12.5 %) of the LLA cohort.

Table 3.14 – Religious denominations of LLA candidates.

Denomination	Number	Number completed LLA
Church of Scotland	48	32
Church of England	33	17
Free Church	49	34
United Presbyterian	16	11
Congregational	15	7
Methodist	10	8
Baptist	6	4
Moravian Brethren	5	2
Other Presbyterian including Irish Presbyterian	5	3
Independent	4	3
Scottish Episcopalian	4	1
Roman Catholic	3	3
Quaker	2	1
Jewish	2	1
Unitarian	2	2
Catholic Apostolic	1	1
Bible Christian	1	1
Total	**206**	**130**

Since only the Churches of England and of Scotland can strictly be defined as established churches, the various Non-Conformist categories appear to be in an overall majority, with a disproportionate

number coming from the Free Church.[104] United Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Methodists were also reasonably well represented, but other groups were relatively small. Most striking is the low figure for Roman Catholics, which appears to confirm to the lack of an existing tradition of higher education within this group but at the same time raises the question as to why an opportunity such as the LLA, relatively more accessible than the alternatives, did not attract more entrants.[105] Given the prominent role of both Quakers and Unitarians in promoting female education, the apparently low uptake there is also perhaps surprising. The actuality is even less expected: Lilian Mary Wilson, descendent of a family of wealthy Quaker industrialists, and Georgina Mary Gibbins, from a long-standing Quaker family in Glamorganshire, both entered from Cheltenham College. While the former received her LLA at the age of eighteen, the latter did not achieve passes in any subjects, a rare occurrence.[106] Sisters Janet and Margaret Pollok, the only women who can certainly be placed in a Unitarian background, were the daughters of a Glasgow-based silk manufacturer and, of the Jewish entrants, Amelia Sarah Levetus, whose father was 'shochet', the ritual butcher to a Jewish community in Birmingham, did not complete her LLA, although Kitty Isaacs, who lived in London but was educated at the Hebrew Institute in Liverpool, took hers in 1894.[107]

As has already been noted, the identification of some women's religious affiliations relies essentially on paternal occupation. Since this is far easier for those whose fathers were clergymen, but much less so for denominations such as Roman Catholics or Quakers, the results may well be skewed. Analysis of the proportion who completed the LLA also gives a very mixed picture, and although apparently students belonging to some sects, like the two Scottish Presbyterian churches and the Methodists, did better than others, it seems very likely that other factors, especially the candidates'

[104] Devine describes the adherents of the Free Church in its earlier years as consisting of 'an upwardly mobile middle-class and skilled artisans. T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000* (London, 1999), p. 376.

[105] Anderson, *Education and Opportunity*, p. 305, comments, in the context of Edinburgh University in the late nineteenth century, on the lack of students from Roman Catholic schools. While he concedes that the position may have differed in Glasgow which possessed a different pattern of schooling, he also ascribes the situation to the lower social class and educational marginalisation of Catholic children.

[106] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1871–1891.

[107] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1861, 1881; Post Office Directory, Glasgow, 1879-80.

social and educational environments, may well have had a stronger influence than religion on their results.

Examination of several key factors - the geographical origins, ages, and social, educational and religious backgrounds of LLA candidates - has underlined that they were a multifaceted group of women. They were from a broad age range, a very few being as young as many male undergraduates were on entry to university in Scotland, but a substantial proportion were of what would be considered mature students in any period. They came from all across the United Kingdom, and sometimes beyond, emerging more often from the professional and commercial middle-classes than from either the wealthiest or the poorest ranks of society. Their previous education was diverse in nature and level, indicating for many the existence of both a need and a desire to bridge a learning gap in order to continue into higher education. Their religious faith exemplified to some degree every strand present in Western society at that time, although non-conformism was prominent and Roman Catholicism little present. All of these elements were to a greater or lesser extent interconnected, and given their diversity it may be that only a common wish to learn, to obtain a means of respectable living, or a combination of both, can truly define these women as a group. What they later did with their qualifications, what they achieved in their lives and careers and how they appeared to their fellows - to which we will turn next – all reveal even further just who these women were.

Chapter 4

Careers and achievements: the educators

> The tale is plain enough – from whatever mouth it comes. So far from our countrywomen being all maintained as a matter of course by us, 'the breadwinners', three millions out of six adult Englishwomen work for subsistence; and two out of the three in independence. With this new condition of affairs, new duties and new views must be accepted.[1]

So wrote journalist Harriet Martineau in 1859 just prior to the foundation of the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women - an outcome of growing awareness of the plight of distressed female workers and an attempt to open up more and especially, skilled occupations to women. Until the mid-nineteenth century, there had been marked differences too between classes in attitudes to the role of women in the workplace. For working-class women it was deemed acceptable, and was usually necessary, to work wherever they were able and for most this meant in unskilled occupations, whether agricultural, domestic or industrial. Middle-class women were, by convention, either expected to refrain altogether from formal work or were required to remain 'respectable'. Because occupations were therefore chosen from those considered appropriate they were as a result very limited in range, so that a majority of middle-class women in employment were forced to take on insecure and poorly paid posts as governesses or seamstresses.

The mass of nineteenth-century middle-class women in paid employment thus worked of necessity**.** As has already been seen, the decennial censuses of the later nineteenth century showed a 'surplus' of unmarried women and certainly, as has been noted, a significant number of LLA entrants had lost a father in childhood or before embarking on higher education and therefore could not rely on indefinite support from a parental income. Many LLAs did marry, however, and others, where there was sufficient wealth to provide for widowed and orphaned relatives or where their presence was required to care for dependent family members, remained in the family home. For the significant number who took up an occupation, examination of their careers highlights some interesting features which reveal the likely impact of the LLA on their lives.

[1] H. Martineau, 'Female Industry', *Edinburgh Review,* 222 (1859), 336.

Table 4.1 – LLA occupations, all groups[2]

	Number of LLA entrants	Percentage of all entrants	Number LLA completed	Percentage of Occ. Class LLA completed	Number LLA not completed	Percentage of Group LLA not completed
Class 1 Professional	824	96.15	564	68.45	260	31.55
Class 2 Commercial	2	Not valid	1		1	Not valid
Class 3 Agricultural	1	Not valid	1		0	Not valid
Class 4 Intermediate	13	1.52	8	61.54	5	38.46
Class 5 Working-class	16	1.87	10	62.5	6	37.5
Total	856		584	67.91	272	32.09

Of the 1675 LLA entrants between 1877 and 1892 on which this study rests, evidence of occupation exists for just over 50%, and of these, as Table 4.1 indicates, an overwhelming proportion had found work in the professional Group 1.[3] This distribution in itself represents a significant inter-generational variation from that of parental occupations, a factor which will need to be considered in detail later.

[2] See Appendix 4 for Classification Table.

[3] This data set is most probably incomplete as the nature of the sources (for many individuals, decennial census enumeration returns only) means that short-lived careers may well be missed. It is therefore in some senses a snapshot. Additionally, it is by no means certain that all women would have recorded an occupation especially if, for instance, it were a casual or home-based one.

Table 4.2 – LLA occupations, Group 1, Professional

	Number of LLA entrants	Percentage of all group 1 entrants	Number LLA completed	Percentage of group LLA completed	Number LLA not completed	Percentage of group not completed
Class 1.1 Proprietors	0					
Class 1.2 Clergy	4	0.49	1	25.00	3	75.00
Class 1.3 Medical	3	0.36	2	66.67	1	33.33
Class 1.4 Legal	0					
Class 1.5 Education	803	97.45	551	68.62	252	31.38
Class 1.6 Officials	3	0.36	3	100.00	0	
Class 1.7 Others	11	1.33	7	63.64	4	36.36
Total	824		564	68.45	260	31.55

Within the professional group there is also a marked weighting towards occupational group 1.5 - those employed in some form within education - a statistic which to a degree reflects the general phenomenon of teaching as a vocation among Victorian women of the middle classes. Myers, in her discussion of life after graduation for early women entrants into universities on both sides of the

Atlantic, found that close to 70% of them opted for work in an education-related field.[4] Although this result would therefore appear in some measure to reinforce a stereotype, the finding from the LLA cohort covers a broad range of levels and categories of teaching and as such requires scrutiny in considerable detail.

Career paths for the LLA women must in particular be understood in the context of Victorian norms. Law, the ministry and most forms of commerce and industry were still closed to women and remained so for several decades; medicine was still in the 1880s and 1890s not an easy career to pursue. Nursing and teaching, however, were considered compatible with the natural 'nurturing' role of females, although the former still tended, even after the Nightingale reforms, to be associated in middle-class minds with a less refined body of women. It is not surprising therefore that a significant majority of LLA entrants were already, or would become, teachers at different levels, from the traditional role of governesses or assistant teachers in elementary board schools to proprietary headmistresses and principals of girls high schools, and as university and training college staff.

The Governesses

> It is a platform on which middle and upper classes meet, the one struggling up, the other drifting down. If a father dies, or a bank breaks, or a husband is killed…here is the one means of breadwinning to which access alone seems open – to which alone untrained capacity is equal or pride admits appeal.[5]

In spite of increasing opportunities for girls in Victorian society to access more academic education in schools, many more households simultaneously entered the ranks of the middle classes and aspired to their mores. Thus the demand for governesses filling the role described by Bessie Parkes did not decline over all. While many of these women remained relatively amateurish and lacking even in basic credentials, others might well be highly educated and dedicated, although after the emergence of the Governesses' Benevolent Institution in 1843, there was greater emphasis on the need for better training.[6] For the daughters of the commercial middle classes, the role of governess could mean a rise in social standing; for those from professional families who

[4] C.D. Myers, *University Coeducation in the Victorian era: Inclusion in the United States and the United Kingdom* (New York, 2010), pp. 74-5.

[5] B.R. Parkes, 'The Profession of the Teacher', *English Woman's Journal* , 1 (1858), 1.

[6] S. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760-1914: A Social History* (London, 2004), pp. 164-5.

encountered the necessity to assume this role, it signified a drop in the social scale. In addition, the existence of a surplus of unmarried women brought about an employer's market whereby positions were not always easy to come by, wages were low and conditions of work could sometimes be poor.

In this context the rather large number of LLA entrants who are described in the Census returns as governesses appears at first sight remarkable. On closer examination, however, it is clear that many of them were not in fact employed in households but were infant teachers in small private schools or training college mistresses. Others were described as 'visiting' or 'daily' governesses and these, based in their own homes and travelling to teach the children of possibly more than one family, were almost all more independent than the resident governess. They were, too, if required, in a position to take responsibility for the care of relatives and were also more likely to be specialist teachers. While it is not normally possible to discover what subjects these women taught, one, Isabella Begg Cruickshank, variously instructed in English and painting and drawing, and another, Millicent Grant, tutored English, French and German to a private family in Glasgow.[7] Nevertheless, in general, it seems unlikely that many were able to make use of the more academic subjects studied in their LLAs, although the ability to tutor in languages, principally French and German, might well be seen by employers as a positive advantage.

Those who were resident domestic governesses sprang from diverse backgrounds. Isabella Lyall, daughter of a master grocer in Stranraer, had passes in German and French at Honours, and Education, and found herself a governess to the young children of a neighbouring Free Church minister until her marriage.[8] Likewise, Anna Inglis Hutton, herself the daughter of a Free Church minister, and who completed her LLA in 1887, was governess in the family of a Free Church minister also.[9] Taking up this form of employment after the death of a father was especially common. Alice Mary Toy, LLA 1888, whose father, a missionary, had died in 1889, was governess in the family of an ironwork contractor in Greenwich by 1891, while Charlotte Hay was living in St Andrews as governess in the family of the Deputy Lieutenant of the County when she took four examinations

[7] CEBs 1881-1901.

[8] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1881.

[9] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1861, 1881, 1891.

from the LLA programme. Her father was a deceased Anglican clergyman, as was that of Mary Ellen Murrell, who completed her LLA in 1888.[10]

There is, however, considerable evidence that work as a governess might be seen solely as a temporary stepping-stone to further career progression. One of the earliest of the LLAs, Florence Ellen Falding, daughter of the Principal of the Yorkshire United Independent College, was for some time after she took her certificate a private governess in the home of a Yorkshire carpet manufacturer, but later became headmistress of her own private school which employed five other teachers.[11] Similarly, Eliza Malcolm, daughter of a druggist, also came to be proprietor of her own school, firstly in Stirling, then in Glasgow. She had begun her career teaching the children of an iron foundry owner at the same time as studying for her LLA.[12] Susan Martin was a private governess at The Hayes Hall in Derbyshire in 1881, shortly before she embarked on her LLA, but by 1891 had enrolled in a medical degree course in Edinburgh, and later practised in London as a physician and surgeon.[13] These women were all relatively young when employed as governesses and the majority of LLAs moved on to become teachers in schools at various levels, while some married and ceased formal work. Only a few, like Emma Peberdy, appeared to act as private governesses until at least into their mid-forties, or, as Jane Dick Macarthur did, transferred from school teaching to a private household and remained there until retirement.[14]

There is no single overriding order in which employment as a governess, study for the LLA and career progress occurred, but a sufficient number of governesses followed the receipt of the LLA with an advantageous change of career to suggest that gaining the certificate in itself provided a route to improvement. Therefore, while a minority may have found their employment as private governesses a matter of necessity only relieved perhaps by marriage, for others it proved merely a temporary expedient as a stage towards a career in teaching or some other profession. What is almost certain,

[10] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1871, 1881`, 1891; Council for World Mission: London Missionary Society, Madagascar: Incoming Correspondence http://archives.soas.ac.uk/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=CWM&pos=1 accessed 22 March 2014.

[11] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBS 1881, 1891, 1901.

[12] CEBs 1881, 1891, 1901.

[13] CEBs 1881-1911.

[14] CEBs 1881-1911.

however, is that for the majority the experience in itself of being a governess provided little opportunity to apply the academic expertise which the LLA had supplied.

The headmistresses

An equally persistent means of support for middle-class women in the nineteenth century was that of running small private schools for young ladies. These institutions too appear to have continued to be favoured by many parents who believed that 'at High Schools girls learned to be rough', and hence they survived to a considerable degree alongside the new larger establishments of the latter half of the century.[15] This option was taken up by a small but significant number of LLA holders, often after spending time in some other form of teaching. Such schools had a place in provincial towns, but in spite of the concentration of large private high schools for girls in the large cities, smaller, more personal, establishments run by a few staff continued there also.

Besides the Allen-Olney sisters, who both resigned from prestigious Girls' Public Day Schools Trust headships to set up their own school in St John's Wood, there were others like Eleanor Snowdon, who launched herself as proprietor of a ladies' college in Lambeth in 1891. She had earlier apparently been principal of a similar establishment in Forfar while she was taking some of her LLA examinations at St Andrews.[16] Elsewhere in the area of the capital, Anna Maria Bensted, whose father was a Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, but whose mother had also been a schoolmistress, was in 1901 the principal of a private school in Richmond, Surrey.[17] A more varied career was followed by Grace Lissant Palethorpe, who attended University College in Liverpool and Newnham College after receiving her LLA in 1883, and worked as an assistant mistress at Jersey Ladies College, before running her own private schools in the Waterloo district of Liverpool and in south-west London. Daughter of a Liverpool cotton broker, she went on to become Principal of the Maharani's College in Mysore from 1901 to 1909.[18] Amy Glydon, who was the daughter of a large

[15] J. Purvis, *A History of Women's Education in England* (Milton Keynes, 1991), p. 71.

[16] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1881-1911; J. Kamm*, Indicative Past: A Hundred Years of the Girls' Public Day School Trust* (London, 1971), p. 211; http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=22657 accessed 23 August 2011; Triona Adams, Olney, Sarah Allen (1842–1915)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52261 accessed 22 March 2014.

[17] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1881, 1891, 1911.

[18] CEBs 1861, 1881; *Newnham College Register Vol. 1 1871-1923* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 93.

industrialist, a Birmingham brass founder, worked as a daily governess, then taught history and physiology, before establishing her own school in Erdington in Warwickshire.[19]

A relatively common occurrence was to combine with other family members to manage a small private school. Sisters Elizabeth Buchanan Noble and Jessie Hay Noble, their father a clothier, both LLA entrants who had been born in Glasgow but had then moved to Lancashire, ran a private school in Toxteth in 1891 together with another two of their sisters and two teachers.[20] Christina and Margaret Wayman were the daughters of an engraver, George Wayman, who died when they were very young. Their mother, Mary Valentine, was a daughter of James Valentine, the successful Dundee photographer and founder of Valentine & Sons. The sisters moved from Dundee to Newport in north-east Fife where they ran the Miss Waymans' School, where a number of girls sat the St Andrews Local examinations and whose former pupils Davina Matthew and Ann and Margaret Wilson took their LLAs.[21] Another example of an LLA moving south to seek work was Agnes Fletcher, daughter of Melville Fletcher, bookseller and bookbinder in St Andrews. She was by 1901 at Ealing teaching at her own private girls' school, along with her sister.[22]

A significant amount of capital must have been required to create these institutions, and while those already described might be expected to have some access to family resources, not all of the LLA women were probably quite so fortunate. Those who became school proprietors also included the daughters of a draper, a haberdasher, a druggist, and a commercial clerk, and it can only be assumed that the necessary finance was sourced elsewhere, for some of these women were highly successful. Patricia Millan, whose father was a tailor, ran Flowerbank in Newton Stewart as a private boarding school for young ladies along with her sister Agnes.[23] Its prospectus states that

> The course of study prepared the girls for the Local Examinations of Edinburgh University and of the Royal Academy of Music, London, in both of which pupils have been most successful. Preparation can also be had for the LLA degree of St. Andrews of which Miss Patricia B. Millan holds the Certificate in Honours (first class) English and the Pass, also first class in Comparative Philology.

[19] CEBs 1851, 1861-1911.

[20] CEBs 1871-1901.

[21] CEBs 1861, 1881-1901; Post Office Directory, Newport, 1889-90; Cupar Sheriff Court SC20/50/65.

[22] CEBs 1861, 1881, 1891; Cupar Sheriff Court SC20/50/38.

[23] CEBs 1871, 1881, 1901.

The terms for board were £40 per session for young ladies under 12; £45 for 12 and under 15; and £50 for above 15 - modest fees in comparison with those of urban schools.[24] Another LLA, Mary Wilson Robb, was mathematics mistress there in 1891.[25] The daughter of a Free Church minister, Elizabeth Catherine McTavish, from Inverness, completed her LLA in 1889, having studied through the St George's Hall Correspondence Classes and later passed the Cambridge examinations for the Teachers' Training Syndicate. She founded Dundarigh in North Berwick in 1901 with only two governesses and domestic help but the school thrived and produced one of the first female barristers and the first woman stipendiary magistrate. Even when McTavish retired in the late 1930s, she kept an interest in its successor.[26]

Not all private enterprises of this sort, however, flourished indefinitely. Sarah Sophia Ffoulkes of Birmingham, whose father was variously a tailor and a journalist, had set up a girls' school at Victoria Road, Harborne before 1871, which by 1891 had two other teachers, a housekeeper, and thirteen girl boarders.[27] In 1896, the following notice appeared, 'Sarah Sophia Ffoulkes, Hillside, Harborne in the city of Birmingham, boarding school proprietor' on list "Bankrupts from the London Gazette Receiving Orders"'.[28] Apparently this state of affairs marked the demise of Sarah Ffoulkes' business, since in 1901 she was described as a national schoolmistress at North Witham in Lincolnshire, and ten years later as head teacher of an elementary school there.[29] While presumably the event was no cause for satisfaction, Ffoulkes' possession of her LLA, gained in 1885, did at least afford her a post in a different teaching context.

Both working as a governess and managing a private establishment were remnants, although persistent ones, of a past age of female education. The later nineteenth century, however, was experiencing fundamental changes in society at large and especially in the provision of more dependable education for larger numbers of children. As a consequence several other avenues into the teaching profession were coming on stream for the LLAs to pursue.

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[24] http://www.flowerbankgh.com/history.html accessed 1 August 2013

[25] CEB 1891

[26] I am indebted to Kenneth Hunter for allowing access to his unpublished article on 'Dundarigh'.

[27] CEBs 1871-1891.

[28] *The Edinburgh Gazette*, 7 February 1896.

[29] CEBs 1901, 1911.

The elementary teachers

The developing provision of elementary education in the United Kingdom before the 1870s has been outlined in Chapter 1, and the proliferation of different types of school, either of religious foundation or privately run by staff with no need of qualifications, has already been described. There was no guarantee, however, with a few exceptions such as in the north-east of Scotland, where specific schemes like the Dick Bequest promoted better practice, of consistency or quality of teaching and little encouragement for teachers to achieve higher standards of personal education. The Education Act of 1872 in Scotland increased state provision of elementary education, and almost one thousand school boards were created to administer local schools. In the first instance there was an overall reduction in the number of schools, as the boards took over Church of Scotland and Free Church schools as well as numerous small private establishments, although the latter did not all disappear immediately. At the same time the number of pupils expanded as children were given the right to have up to ten years of education, the earlier years without payment of fees. Subjects prescribed for pupils from the ages of five to twelve were Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, with Physical Exercises, Drawing, Poetry, Singing, and Religious Instruction, plus Needlework for girls. Nature Studies, English Grammar, Geography, and History would also be available for seniors.[30] In England and Wales, the comparable Education Act of 1870 ensured that every child would have a school place available under similar terms, although compulsory attendance was not introduced until 1880 and free places for children in elementary classes were not universally available before 1891. Many more small private schools and church schools therefore remained south of the border.[31]

Across the United Kingdom, in spite of some continuing inequity, many children were as a result drawn into education for the first time and the number of teachers required escalated, bringing with it the necessity for a very much larger proportion of women to enter the profession. There was an instant rise after 1872 in Scotland, taking the numbers of women into the lead: indeed between 1851 and 1911 the proportion of female to male teachers was reversed, with women reaching 70% of the Scottish total by the latter date.[32] McDermid stresses that women were considered particularly suitable for the teaching of infants and the fact that different attitudes to male and

[30] J. Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education* (London, 1969), Vol. 1, pp. 13-15.

[31] P. Horn, *The Victorian and Edwardian Schoolchild* (Stroud, 2010), pp. 21-7.

[32] H. Corr, 'The Sexual Division of Labour in the Scottish Teaching Profession 1872-1914' in *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education*, edited by W.M. Humes and H.M. Paterson (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 137-9, Table 1.

female trainee teachers were prevalent was demonstrated by the situation of the Aberdeen Church of Scotland and Free Church Training Colleges.[33] These were established in 1873 and in 1874 but designated for women only, as also was the Scottish Episcopalian College in Edinburgh, because females were expected to be largely self-supporting while men might receive bursary allowances.[34] McDermid describes the situation thus:

> … the process of feminisation of the teaching profession in Scotland reveals an interaction between nationality and gender which was mediated by social class in a way which differed distinctly from the English experience.[35]

In English and Welsh schools, standards of training for teachers in these elementary board schools continued to be disparate, with a preponderance of staff emerging from the pupil teacher scheme, still formally uncertificated and remaining as assistant teachers. In Scotland by contrast the 1872 Act required that all teachers subsequently entering the profession should be certificated.

This, then, was the improving employment situation into which women with passes in LLA examinations entered after 1877, and the evidence shows that very many did take up posts in elementary schools even if their academic qualifications were not likely to be put to direct or immediate use. In some respects this uptake is not surprising as there is evidence that a large proportion of elementary teachers were anyway drawn from the upper working and lower middle classes, those groups which provided a majority of LLA entrants; in London, at least 80% of public school teachers were in these categories.[36] The immediate and apparent implication to be drawn is that for many of these women the achievement of LLA qualifications had not made any significant difference to their career prospects.

Almost three hundred LLA women can be interpreted from the Census returns as having been board, public or elementary school mistresses, of whom a small number were designated as

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[33] J. McDermid , 'Intellectual Instruction is best left to a man: the feminisation of the Scottish teaching profession in the second half of the nineteenth century', *Women's History Review,* 6.1 (1997), 95-114.

[34] Corr, *The Sexual Division of Labour*, pp. 145-8.

[35] McDermid, *Intellectual Instruction*, pp. 99-100.

[36] D.M. Copelman, *London's Women Teachers: Gender, Class and Feminism 1870-1930* (London and New York, 1996), p. 32.

headteachers.[37] The north-east of Scotland, again, provides numerous examples. Typical is Ann Duguid, a farmers' daughter and formerly a pupil teacher at Forglen Female and Turriff Public Schools, who completed her LLA in 1886 at the age of twenty. She taught at Archiestown Public School in 1888 before becoming assistant teacher at Turriff Public School from 1888 to 1895, in the meantime gaining her teacher certification at Aberdeen Church of Scotland Training College in 1890. She subsequently married a post office clerk.[38] The career of Margaret Simpson Craib followed a slightly different path. Her father was an Aberdeen mariner and she had been educated at the Episcopal School in the city. After receiving her teaching certificate in 1885, she moved to Shetland as headmistress of Bigton School in Dunrossness , before filling the same post at Stanmore School, Westmorland briefly from 1886 to 1887. She then returned to Scotland again as headmistress, this time of Wester Hatton Public School in Aberdeenshire, where she in 1889 completed the LLA she had been studying since 1884. Margaret Craib's professional progress might be seen as varied but there is no strong sense that it, or that of Ann Duguid, was markedly upwardly mobile, or that the attainment of the LLA gained either woman any conspicuous advantages.[39]

In general there is little evidence that, once established in the elementary school sector, very many LLA women did make significant career advances, but some of the few exceptions are striking. Catherine Isabella Dodd, daughter of a commercial clerk and educated at Dr Rutherford's School, a non-conformist foundation in Newcastle, and at Swansea Training College, took her LLA in Geology, Education and English Honours, with Physiology, between 1887 and 1889 while she was a board school mistress. From being head of a board school in Reading, in 1892 she became the mistress of method in the women's training department at Owen's College in Manchester.[40] Dodd, however, perhaps benefited from other circumstances, in that she was from an urban, albeit lower middle-class, background and many more educational and professional choices were readily accessible for her and others like her. More frequently seen is the pattern followed by Jemima Garrish, a native of

[37] The title 'head teacher' is not in itself necessarily significant as in many cases a woman head may, especially in a rural school, have been the sole teacher.

[38] CEB 1871; J. Ogilvie, ed., *The Church of Scotland Training College in Aberdeen: Records of the Classes from 1874-75 to 1894-95* (Aberdeen, 1896), pp. 73-4; Post Office Directory, Aberdeenshire, 1877.

[39] CEBs 1881-1901; Ogilvie, *The Church of Scotland Training College in Aberdeen*, pp. 49-50.

[40] CEBs 1881, 1891; A. B. Robertson, Dodd, Catherine Isabella (1860-1932)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48579 accessed 4 August 2013.

Dorset and daughter of a tailor who died when she was young, who also began her career as a board school teacher, but after acquiring her LLA in 1882 established herself as head of a small private school.[41]

There are arguments for viewing the position of board school mistress as a convenient option. For many, for reasons of geography, family responsibilities, or being without the means to set up their own establishment, the greater opportunities offered in the wake of the Education Acts must have been a godsend. Numerous LLAs were living with an elderly parent, often in the schoolhouse which was provided with the post. For daughters of small shopkeepers and tradesmen it was a move into the professional classes, albeit without the greater prestige generally allotted to their male counterparts, and for a substantial number, who will be examined more fully in Chapter 5, it presented an opening to marriage into those classes. Teaching at elementary levels, too, was a profession in which it was in this period possible to continue after marriage, and, although the circumstance was not widespread, there are enough examples in the lifecycles of LLA women to suggest that it was a welcome opportunity. Helen McCulloch, a farmers' daughter from Macduff, was a schoolmistress who had trained at Moray House College in Edinburgh. When she married George Gunn in 1876 he was a schoolmaster in Banff, and the couple moved to Wick where they both continued as public school teachers for another twenty years or more, during which time Helen completed her LLA.[42]

While it is impossible to say how these women viewed their own careers, there are few overt signs that to have taught in elementary schools was in any sense seen as a failure. These schoolmistresses were as likely as any other occupational group to have passed the LLA in full, and although the range of subjects taken by them was weighted towards English, Modern Languages, and Education, other subjects such as History and Geography, which they might have expected to teach to more senior pupils in board schools, were also commonly studied. Some included the more academic courses, Moral Philosophy and Logic and Metaphysics, in their programmes. Perhaps such choices are an indication that these women considered that to have the equivalent of the degree available to men was truly the measure of a professional teacher of either gender, and that their own high standard of education fitted them better to pass on these standards to their pupils, and to act especially as role models for girls. Attitudes like these were especially likely to have been held in Scotland with its

[41] CEBs 1851-1911.

[42] CEBs 1881-1901.

deeply entrenched beliefs in its university system and some evidence for the validity of this assertion has already been demonstrated in the case of Macduff Public School.

The secondary teachers

It was only in secondary schools that female staff could have any confidence that subjects passed in the LLA examinations would be utilised to any substantial extent, but there they met other problems. Within the state sector the Education Acts had allowed for the existence of higher class schools and these were not only strictly limited in number in the early years but also were not financially supported so that they were in essence exclusive and largely restricted to the children of more affluent families. In addition they were normally co-educational in Scotland, although in England and Wales they superseded existing charitable and endowed foundations and therefore tended to be predominantly open to boys. In either case, women teachers found their roles strictly limited and often restricted to positions as pastoral staff, for example, as Lady Superintendents in Scotland.[43] The senior departments of larger private schools specifically for girls, on the other hand, tended to have a positive policy towards employing female teachers whenever possible, and progressive foundations such as the North London Collegiate School or the Girls' Public Day School Trust High Schools in England presented openings for emerging LLA certificate holders. These offered to their senior pupils preparation for the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations and the examinations of the College of Preceptors and, hence, more academic subjects, not only Modern languages but also the Classics, Mathematics, Moral Philosophy and Logic, Physiology and Economics, thereby providing opportunities for staff to exercise their own skills.[44]

Nonetheless a number of women were successful in gaining prestigious posts across a variety of schools in Scotland. Most notable possibly was Charlotte Edith Ainslie, who had attended the Merchant Company's endowed George Watson's Ladies' College. The daughter of a pharmaceutical chemist in Edinburgh, she spent time in Europe, teaching privately and beginning work on her St Andrews LLA, which she gained in 1885. After an appointment as head of the modern languages department at Dunheved College in Launceston, she attended Bedford College and in 1895 obtained her BA degree. The post of assistant mistress at the Skinners' Company's School for Girls, Stamford Hill, London, was followed by a period as senior lecturer in psychology and education in the Cambridge Training College, and in 1902 she became headmistress of her own former school,

[43]R. Anderson , *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland: Schools and Universities* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 254-5; Corr, *The Sexual Division of Labour*, p. 149.

[44] Kamm , *Indicative Past*, p. 50.

George Watson's Ladies' College, a post she held until 1926. Ainslie's beliefs were as influential as her career and encompassed a desire to see a female deputy head teacher with responsibility for the girls appointed in every secondary school, as well as a wish to reform existing career prospects, salary scales, and retirement rights for all female teachers.[45]

Ainslie's further training and career development clearly combined with her attainment of the LLA to allow her to reach such a position, but others were successful apparently as a result of the St Andrews qualification alone. Jane Bleasdale Moffat Renton, daughter of the head teacher at Macduff Public School, became a headmistress of a girls' secondary school, St Bride's, in Helensburgh.[46] A number, despite the male hegemony, did become teachers in Scottish higher class schools, like Jessie Findlay at Montrose, Helen Annand Watt at Waid Academy, Jessie Fairlie at Carnoustie and Agnes Brown Carrick in the High School in Peebles. For these, it is not possible to tell what subjects they taught in particular, but Mona Melven was specifically appointed teacher of French and German in the High School of Inverness in 1890, two years after she took her LLA, and Margaret Miller Morrison taught the same subjects at the Anderson Institute in Shetland.[47] While a few are described as teaching mathematics, it is not certain in what type of school they were engaged. Several like Jane Baird, who was in 1891 Lady Superintendent at Hamilton Academy, did take up pastoral posts, although this might only have been a temporary state of affairs. Margaret Alice Stark acted as Lady Superintendent in the High School of Stirling, a notoriously traditional establishment, from 1891 until 1893 before assuming a post as teacher of modern languages in Glasgow.[48]

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[45] CEBs 1871, 1891, 1901; Lindy Moore, 'Ainslie, Charlotte Edith (1863–1960)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52732, accessed 4 Aug 2013.

[46] CEBs 1881, 1901; *The Directory of Women Teachers and other Women engaged in Higher and Secondary Education: A Reference Book of Secondary Education for Girls*: Year Book Press, 1913.

[47] CEBs 1891, 1901;
http://www.ambaile.org.uk/gd/newspapers/search_results.jsp?newspaper=0&PrimarySubject=0&startyear=*&endyear=1937&keywords=&StartRow=34675&MaxRows=
Scottish Highlander Thursday, 13 March 1890; I am indebted to Marsali Taylor for sharing her own research for her book: *Women's Suffrage in Shetland*, 2010.

[48] A.F. Hutchison, *The High School of Stirling* (Stirling, 1904), pp. 219,223.

It is evident, nevertheless, that opportunities at higher levels were limited for female teachers in Scotland at least in the earlier years of the LLA, and there are instances of Scottish-educated women moving south to take up work. Of the three Proudfoot sisters, daughters of the schoolmaster at Leuchars, two found work in Scotland while the third had to go south. The eldest, Elizabeth Hay, became teacher of languages in a Girls' High School in Kelso and Jane Mercer held the post of Lady Superintendent at Dumfries Academy, but the youngest, Amelia Henrikson, taught at the Simon Langton Endowed Schools in Canterbury, later becoming headmistress of the Girls' School there.[49] Nettie Pryde, from Edinburgh, also went to England, as headmistress of a High School in Chiswick, and so too did Mabel Durlac of Dundee, who taught at the Girls Public Day School Trust High School for Girls in Shrewsbury, newly opened in 1885.[50]

It seems probable not only that opportunities were actually more prolific south of the border but also that the possession of the LLA attracted attention and respect. Certainly prestigious and potentially innovative posts were often secured. As many as nine LLAs were early headmistresses of Girls Public Day School Trust High Schools, a noteworthy statistic by any standard. Of these, Maria Skeel was principal of Nottingham High School from 1883 until 1898, before moving to Paddington and Maida Vale High School, where she succeeded another LLA, Jean Dingwall.[51] Two sisters, Sarah and Rebecca Allen-Olney, were respectively heads of the Trust's Blackheath and St John's Wood High Schools, but in 1886 resigned to set up their own private boarding school for girls, a popular institution which they ran until 1906.[52] Jemima Duirs at Sutton High School, according to one of her pupils, 'taught us to take a pride in our work, to try to produce the best we could, to be ashamed of giving in something inferior'.[53] LLA entrants were headmistresses of other types of secondary foundation: examples include Florence Margarette Dyas, at St Mary's School in Calne, founded by the vicar there in 1873, and Elizabeth Ann Cocks who was in 1891 at Redland Court Girls High School in Bristol, a private institution established recently in 1886, while many others were assistant

[49] CEBs 1871-1911; *The Directory of Women Teachers, 1913.*

[50] CEBs 1891, 1901; Will Dundee Sheriff Court SC45/31/47.

[51] Kamm , *Indicative Past*, pp. 207, 214; *The Directory of Women Teachers,1913*.

[52] 'Hampstead: Education', A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 9: Hampstead, Paddington (1989), 159-169. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=22657 accessed 23 August 2011.

[53] Sutton High School GPDST 1884-1934: Jubilee Record and Register of Old Girls. 1934. Cited in S. Spencer, 'Advice and ambition in a girls' public day school: the case of Sutton High School, 1884-1924', *Women's History Review*, 9 (2000), 75-94.

mistresses at establishments like the Salt Schools in Shipley, Carlisle High School and the County Secondary School in Sydenham.[54]

Several journeyed much further afield, although whether directly in search of work or following a chain of family migration can only be speculation. Economic emigration throughout the nineteenth century was commonplace and the British Empire was a draw for professionals in many capacities.[55] To find that a number of LLAs should seek advancement overseas is not unexpected. Rosanna McHarg, from Leeds, was the joint principal of Mount Eden Collegiate School in Auckland, New Zealand, and probably emigrated with her friend, Rosa Minnie Matthews, also an LLA entrant, who after also working at Mount Eden went on to become principal at Napier Girls High School, one of the oldest girls' schools in New Zealand.[56] Rebecca Darling's career was less typical in that she spent a year at Newnham College before taking up a post as assistant mistress at Exeter High School from 1880 to 1886 during which time she completed her LLA. She then emigrated to Australia as headmistress of the state-supported Maryborough Grammar School in Queensland where she remained until 1892 when she moved to New South Wales as headmistress of the Clergy Daughters School and then of Kendara School, both in Sydney.[57] Another who apparently found a successful career in the Empire was Marjory Ketchen, who at some time after finishing her LLA in 1890 settled in the Eastern Cape, South Africa and was principal of the East London Girls' High School there.[58]

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[54] *The Directory of Women Teachers, 1913*; http://www.stmaryscalne.org/index.php?/history-of-the-school.html accessed 1 April 2014; http://www.redlandhigh.com/support accessed 1 April 2014.

[55] There is a large body of literature on emigration from the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century. C. Erickson, *Leaving England: Essays on British Migration in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, 1994) and E. Richards, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600* (London, 2004) deal with the broader British context. M. Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus* (London, 2003) and T.M. Devine, *To the Ends of the Earth, Scotland's Global Diaspora, 1750-2010* (London, 2011) are among the most recent works on the Scottish dimension. While Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles,* pp. 354-6, stresses the contribution of Scots schoolmasters in the establishment of schools in the New World, the role of their female counterparts is not examined.

[56] email correspondence with Christine Black of St Cuthbert's School, New Zealand, 2-6 October 2011.

[57] *Newnham College Register,* p. 56.

[58] http://high.clarendonschools.co.za/History.aspx accessed 20 October 2011.

A large majority of secondary school staff had completed their certificates, and like the elementary teachers had concentrated on English, foreign languages and Education, suggesting a conscious motivation towards teaching, although a significant minority had incorporated a science, Political economy, Moral Philosophy or Logic and Metaphysics into their programme. Their social backgrounds were generally representative of LLAs as a whole and included fathers who were chemists, teachers and headmasters, merchants, farmers, a shoemaker, booksellers, a naval surgeon, a builder, a police superintendent, a general medical practitioner, and a brickmaker employer, but they belonged to neither the most nor the least affluent sectors of society. They are arguably the group within the teaching profession who went furthest towards experiencing social mobility, even if only by dint of their numbers, by breaking the mould of female employment hitherto available and acceptable and achieving the standing of recognised professionals.

The teacher trainers

The rapidly changing ratio of female to male teachers in state schools in the last decades of the nineteenth century has already been discussed, and much of the foundation for this altered balance must be considered as a consequence of expansion and development in the teacher training college sector. Equally it might be seen as a reason for the additional places created. An increased demand for the lower-paid female teacher resulted in positive recruitment but, in addition to already existing training colleges under the auspices of the Church of Scotland and the Free Church, and the English Diocesan colleges, many more were founded, some with the particular intent of training more highly qualified women as secondary teachers. The Cambridge Training College at Hughes Hall, St George's in Edinburgh, the St Hilda's Training College at Cheltenham associated with the school and the Maria Grey Training College, for instance, were all established by groups of committed individuals specifically for this purpose. A consciousness that church training or 'normal' schools had tended traditionally to attract less well educated girls to fill fairly menial teaching positions led to a deliberate attempt to engineer a differentiation in social class when the Bishop Otter College in Chichester, previously a school for training 'Masters', became instead in 1873 a training institute for women teachers.[59] Most major cities in England and Wales quickly came to have their own training institutions and London had a particular proliferation, amongst them St Katharines, Stockwell, Southlands, Whitelands, and the Home and Colonial College - the last devoted to the methods of Pestalozzi. The Normal School of Science was established in 1881 after a merger between the Royal College of Chemistry and some of the courses of the Royal School of Mines to deliver systematic

[59] http://archiveshub.ac.uk/features/09021601.html accessed 24 March 2014; Steinbach, *Women in England*, p. 67.

training to school teachers. The school offered Physics, Chemistry, Mechanics, Biology and Agriculture, and was one of very few scientific establishments to admit women students at this time.[60]

The rise of teacher training colleges offered two distinct types of employment for those LLAs who sought to work in them. The presence of an attached 'practising' school meant that there were posts available within a junior school for what were usually called 'governesses', and at the same time openings for lecturers within the college itself. Subjects taught might include at the least the three 'R's, grammar, Geography, Algebra, Human Physiology, and certainly in the Scottish colleges student teachers also studied History, French, Education, Religious Education, Drawing and Music.[61]

The diocesan colleges provided employment for a number of women who later embarked upon their LLA. After being a pupil teacher in a national school, Emily Palin entered the Ripon Training College as a governess and remained in that post while she completed the St Andrews certificate and until eventually becoming a lecturer there.[62] Emma Murrell, Mary Pemberton and Harriet Adwick, who were all governesses at the Norwich St George's Plain College while they studied, moved on to secondary school teaching.[63] Bertha Holman, who herself had trained at Whitelands College, was governess at the Bishop Stortford College, completed her LLA in 1889 and was by 1891 a lecturer there.[64] A similar pattern existed at non-denominational colleges like St Katherine's where governess Alice Virgo took her LLA in 1884, attended Newnham College in 1887 without passing any examinations and progressed to become headmistress of the Welsh Girls School in Ashford, Kent.[65]

These examples illustrate in general a situation where a post in a training college allowed the incumbent to study for the LLA and to utilise it to further her career. For those who achieved higher positions in this sector, however, the St Andrews certificate tended to have been obtained first. For some, it was one stage of a prominent career. Ellen Stones was already head teacher of a higher grade school in Carmarthen when she concluded her LLA in 1881, before attending Newnham until

[60] https://www.imperial.ac.uk/spectrum/secretariat/ohrm/biogs/E000183b.htm accessed 24 March 2014

[61] Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education*, pp. 100-3.

[62] CEBs 1871, 1891, 1901, 1911.

[63] CEBs 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911.

[64] CEBs 1891, 1901.

[65] *Newnham College Register Vol. 1 1871-1923* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 94.

1885 where she passed the Natural Sciences Tripos. After a spell at Dulwich High School she entered the teacher training domain as a lecturer in Geology and Botany at Bishop Otter College.[66] A member of staff also at Bishop Otter was Elizabeth (Bessie) Craigmile whose career had been even more complex. Daughter of a teacher and pupil of Aberdeen High School, she obtained her LLA in 1882 over one year, but continued in the scheme to pass the additional subjects of Zoology, French Honours, German, Geology Honours, and Education Honours during the following few years. Simultaneously she acquired her teacher certification at Aberdeen Church of Scotland Training College and followed that with various appointments as assistant mistress in schools across the United Kingdom, before taking up her lecturing post at Bishop Otter.[67]

One woman for whom a post as training college lecturer was an integral part of a celebrated career was Charlotte Ainslie who had been senior lecturer at the Cambridge Training College for Women for a time before she took up her headship at George Watson's.[68] There around 1891, her time overlapped with that of Elizabeth Phillips Hughes as first Principal of the Cambridge Training College, whose term ran from 1885 to 1899. Hughes, a surgeon's daughter from a Carmarthen family with both Methodist and Jewish connections, had been one of the earliest of the LLAs, receiving her certificate in 1880 and continuing to Newnham where she took the History Tripos in 1885. She was appointed as principal of the newly opened teachers' college with its initial complement of fourteen students, formed by a committee including Frances Buss, Sophie Bryant, and Anne Jemima Clough to train university women to teach in secondary schools. The establishment was later named Hughes Hall in her honour.[69] Hughes acted as presiding examiner at the Cambridge centre for the LLA examinations in 1896.[70] Another such pioneer was Catherine Isabella Dodd, already mentioned, a pupil teacher and Queen's Scholar from a relatively poor background, who, after teaching training and experience in Wales, the Midlands, and Hull, was appointed headmistress of a board school in Reading. Her LLA completed in 1889, she became in 1892 the first Mistress of Method in the

[66] CEB 1881; *Newnham College Register*, p. 74.

[67] Ogilvie, *The Church of Scotland Training College in Aberdeen*, p. 50.

[68] E. Ewan, S. Innes, S. Reynolds, et al, *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* (Edinburgh, 2006), pp. 7-8.

[69] Le May, G.H.L. 'Hughes, Elizabeth Phillips (1851–1925)', rev. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37579 accessed 1 August 2013; *Newnham College Register*, p. 69.

[70] LLA and Local Examinations Calendar, 1896, p. 32.

women's day training department at Owens College in the Victoria University of Manchester, a position which made her in effect the first woman to join the academic staff in that university. Her colleague and friend, Edith Wilson, the Tutor to Women Students, wrote her biography in which she commented that 'a member of the Council expressed to me his view that she should not be too good-looking, as in that case she might marry soon'. When Wilson was asked whether she thought Dodd a lady, she responded that 'at any rate, she was a gentleman'. Clearly such an appointment was not without controversy and indeed some uncertainty amongst colleagues as to what it entailed. Subsequently Dodd became Lecturer in Education, and moved in 1905 to the post of Principal of Cherwell Hall, the Training College at Oxford, founded in 1902.[71]

These were women who reached what might reasonably be considered the pinnacle of their chosen profession, and all appear to have had their success in England and Wales, a situation which highlights differences of tradition in Scotland. There, under the control of the churches, training colleges remained for much longer bastions of male dominance. Even the Aberdeen colleges which in their beginnings admitted women only, employed female staff as teachers predominantly of domestic economy and of infant school management. Hence, openings for more academic women were few and LLAs like Bessie Craigmile found a need to go elsewhere. A rare example of an LLA holding any such post is Agnes Walker, who was a teacher and Lady Superintendent in the Free Church College in Aberdeen in 1881.[72]

Alongside the training colleges, a number of other institutions provided employment opportunities. The advent of the pupil-teacher system had produced another avenue, when after the Elementary Education Act of 1870 the instruction of Queen's Scholars was undertaken at separate establishments called pupil-teacher centres, run by local school boards, with teaching practice provided at their elementary schools. Alice Lushington, daughter of a judge of the High Court of Admiralty, was about fifty when she took her LLA in 1880, and as principal of an early residential Pupil Teacher College at Ockham ran the establishment together with her sister.[73] From a very

[71] CEBs 1881, 1891; Robertson, A.B. 'Dodd, Catherine Isabella (1860–1932)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48579, accessed 1 August 2013; E.C. Wilson, *Catherine Isabella Dodd, 1860-1936: a memorial sketch* (London, 1936), pp. 7, 10.

[72] CEBs 1871, 1881; Post Office Directory 1880-81, 1890-91.

[73] 'Parishes: Ockham', A History of the County of Surrey: Volume 3 (1911), pp. 359-63. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=42985 accessed: 24 February 2008.

different background was Sarah Jane Stourton, whose father was a Wiltshire journeyman stonemason and who prepared herself for her LLA through the St George's Hall Correspondence classes. By 1881 she was working as a lecturer at St Katharine's Training College and during that time married Henry Bannister, a teacher who was participating in a London School Board scheme for pupil teachers and uncertificated assistant teachers. In 1884 the board launched an initiative designed to offer pupil teachers half-time instruction and Sarah and Henry were chosen to pilot this. Sarah went on to be appointed as headmistress at a centre for girls based in the Lycett Memorial Chapel, followed by principalships at the model Stepney Centre for Girls, the only woman to head one of these pupil-teacher centres, and at the Moorfields Day Training College for Women. At one point she also served as an Inspector for Bradford School Board. Stourton had begun her LLA in 1884 and initially studied for two years before finishing it in 1896 after an extended break very probably required while she developed her career. She brought up her own daughter, as well as serving on education committees and campaigning for improvement in conditions for young pupil teachers.[74]

Amongst this group of educators were some remarkable women who applied the LLA to good use in the furthering of their careers. For a number, it appears to have been a preliminary to yet more higher education, and as such fulfilled a considerable function; for those others who based their career on the St Andrews certificate alone, the outcomes represented important advances in their professional prospects.

The university women

In her study of co-education in the Victorian period, Myers considers what life after graduation held for women in both the United States and the United Kingdom. Yet the possibility of a teaching role in their own or any other university does not feature at all in her discussion.[75] Staff places for women in higher education within the United Kingdom were indeed very rare even in the last decades of the nineteenth century and those who found a niche for themselves in a male-dominated profession at this time tended to be exceptional individuals. Prospects, where they existed, were limited to the small Oxford and Cambridge women's colleges, and to the Colleges of the University of London. Of these, the London School of Economics from its foundation in 1895 was, as described by Berg, a

[74]W. Robinson, '"Willing and Able to Teach to Teach": Sarah Jane Bannister and Teacher Training in Transition, 1870-1918.' in P. Hirsch and M. Hilton, *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress 1790-1930* (London, 2000), pp. 131-48.

[75] Myers, *University Coeducation*.

draw for women historians especially.[76] On occasion the northern civic universities provided openings, but even in those establishments these were generally linked to what would have been deemed appropriate roles, such as the teaching of educational subjects and pastoral care. The connection of Catherine Dodd with Owen's College in Manchester has already been noted and her post, although within the college's education department, was ranked as an academic one. One of the very few holders of an LLA, however, who broke into the ranks of Oxbridge female staff, was Anne Maude Sellar. Sellar had prominent connections, which might have favoured her, but no doubts can be cast on her academic credentials. Daughter of Patrick Plenderleath Sellar, a large farmer and landholder who owned property in Moray and Ross-shire, she was also granddaughter of the infamous Patrick, known for his part in the Highland Clearances, and niece of William Young Sellar, Professor of Greek at St Andrews. After a private education at home and in Germany, she studied both Latin and English at Honours level, French, and Moral Philosophy over two years to gain her LLA in 1886, and continued her studies at Lady Margaret Hall in Oxford. She immediately acquired the post of classical tutor and later of Vice-Principal there, during her time gaining a reputation as a translator and Latin scholar and filling the post of presiding examiner for the LLA examinations at Oxford.[77]

While the University of London provided in time an opportunity for female academics, no LLAs have been found in its women's colleges. Alice Werner, however, had a long and distinguished academic career as a scholar of African languages at King's College, London and the School of African and Oriental Studies. Born in Trieste, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and daughter of a teacher of languages, her childhood was spent in many countries and her early education varied and colourful. A spell at Newnham College was completed without taking her Tripos, and for several years she taught in schools in Truro, Tonbridge and at St Leonard's in St Andrews, the last between 1884 and 1885. Whether it was her stay there and the contacts she made then that prompted her decision is unknown, but her LLA, consisting entirely of language studies, Greek, Italian, Latin, French, and Comparative Philology Honours, was completed a few years later in 1888. Werner's next years were spent travelling in Africa: from 1893 to 1895 she visited the Church of Scotland mission in Blantyre, Nyasaland and later acquired the Zulu, Afrikaans and Swahili languages. These she first

[76] M. Berg, 'The First Women Economic Historians', *The Economic History Review*, New Series 45.2 (1992), 317-9.

[77] CEB 1861; C. Avent and H. Pipe, *Lady Margaret Hall Register, 1879-1990* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 4; LLA and Local Examinations Calendar, 1898, p. 34; R.N. Smart, *Biographical Register of the University of St Andrews, 1747-1897* (St Andrews, 2004), p. 786.

taught privately in London before eventually being transferred to King's College and later to the London School of Oriental and African Studies as lecturer in African languages. In 1918 she was appointed Reader, and in 1921 Professor in Swahili and Bantu languages. Werner's career was an eminent one by any standards, the diploma in Swahili studies which she launched in 1924 being the first of its kind in a British university.[78]

Mary Pointon also exploited expanding opportunities in other parts of the country. Her LLA subjects in 1886-1887 were German and Honours in Political Economy, but she did not complete the certificate, instead studying modern history at Somerville College. Teaching posts in Jersey, Liverpool and the Rhondda valley followed until in 1902 she was appointed as Vice-Principal of Aberdare Hall in Cardiff.[79] This establishment had been founded in 1883 to extend opportunities in higher education for female students in Wales, through the efforts of Lady Kildare, a benefactress and enthusiastic proponent of higher education for women and the Principal of the University College in Cardiff, and had been erected by public subscription. It had close links with the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire.[80] Another LLA entrant also appointed Lady Principal of a women's hall of residence in Wales, in Bangor, independent of but recognised by the University College of North Wales, was Frances Emily Hughes, sister of Elizabeth Phillips Hughes. She was the first incumbent of the post when the hall opened in 1886 but became embroiled in a very public case of alleged impropriety between a female student and one of the male college professors. Hughes herself was accused of breach of confidence and slandered by a newspaper, on which she brought a successful libel action. After allegations of bias on her own part, and as a result of the embarrassment brought upon the college, she was obliged to resign in 1893. She later married an Anglican clergyman and took no further public role in education.[81]

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[78] *Newnham College Register*, p. 61; P. J. L. Frankl, Werner, Alice (1859–1935)', rev. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38117 accessed 2 August 2013.

[79] CEB 1911; *Somerville College Register, 1879-1959* (Oxford, 1961), p. 6.

[80] http://www.archiveswales.org.uk/anw/get_collection.php?inst_id=33&coll_id=2392&expand= Administrative and biographical history accessed 2 August 2013

[81] C. Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex ?: Women in British Universities, 1870-1939,* (London, 1995), pp. 103-5; Pamela F. Michael, 'Hughes , Frances Emily (1855–1927)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48527 accessed 2 August 2013.

The career in teacher training of one of the most influential of female educators, Elizabeth Phillips Hughes herself, has been discussed above, but, after resigning her post at Cambridge, she achieved yet more when in 1899 the British government selected her as representative for Higher Education at the Higher Education Congress in the United States. From there Hughes travelled to India and to Japan, where she accepted posts as Professor of English at three separate Japanese Universities and was honoured by the Emperor. While opportunities overseas may have been obtainable, few LLAs appear to have sought them and the only other example of a successful career in higher education both outside and inside of the United Kingdom appears to be that of Mabel Cartwright who was anyway Canadian-born. The author of a diary already quoted, she went to England to finish her education at Cheltenham Ladies College, where she received her LLA, and afterwards at Lady Margaret Hall until 1891 studying History. After becoming involved in social work in East London, she taught for a time at Oxford High School. Her important role, however, was in Canadian education and back in Toronto she took up an appointment as Principal of St. Hilda's, the Anglican Women's residence of Trinity College in the University of Toronto, a position she held for over thirty years. From 1894 Trinity had opened all of its lectures to women and Cartwright became a lecturer, then in 1928 Associate Professor in English there, and campaigned for women to have a share in teaching as well as learning.[82] A similar case was Amelia Levetus who studied Political Economy, Physiology, and Education in the LLA programme and was from an eastern European Jewish family which had settled in Birmingham. In 1891 she moved to Vienna to become a student at the University of Vienna and in 1897, at the invitation of economist Eugene Peter Schwiedland, she became the first woman to lecture at the University of Vienna. As a prolific and influential critic, Levetus introduced aspects of British art, culture, and politics to Austrians.[83]

While there were few women who entered the LLA programme in its early years who succeeded in penetrating the higher education field professionally, those who did were powerful examples, and as barriers gradually relaxed there may well have been more who lie outside the chronological scope of

[82] *Lady Margaret Hall Register*, p. 37; M.L. Friedland, *The University of Toronto: A History* (Toronto, 2013), pp. 232-3.

[83] M.M. Brandow-Faller, *An Art of Their Own: Reinventing Frauenkunst in the Female Academies and Artist Leagues of Late-Imperial and First Republic Austria, 1900-1930*. A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at Georgetown University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, pp. 19-22. https://repository.library.georgetown.edu/bitstream/handle/10822/553120/brandowMegan.pdf?sequence=1 accessed 9 February 2014.

this study. Others played their part in smaller ways and it seems likely that a number may well have made their experience available in less formal ways to their successors. Christina Liddell and Eliza Steele Hutton both taught on the St George's Correspondence programme and Hutton was also an Extension Lecturer at London University.[84] At least a further two are known to have offered private tuition to candidates. Jane Menzies advertised herself as a holder of the Edinburgh University Certificate for Women, St Andrews University LLA Honours in English, student of Newnham College and formerly tutor in St George's Correspondence Classes. Based in Edinburgh, she offered to prepare candidates orally or by correspondence for the LLA examination either in English literature, German literature or History.[85] Hannah Arnold of Tunbridge Wells also gave lessons 'by correspondence in English Literature, History, Comparative Philology and Education to students preparing for the LLA examinations'.[86]

This chapter has touched on the lives of a large number of the women who sat LLA examinations and has identified most of the many variations on teaching careers they subsequently followed. Not all remained on one level of education for their entire working lives and many rose considerably up the occupational and social ladder. Some were from wealthy, privileged backgrounds, others of very much less affluent origins, and although there was a degree of correlation between social class and career status, it was by no means absolute.

Differences in the patterns of employment of LLA women and their contemporaries can clearly be discerned. Comparisons with the men who matriculated at St Andrews around the same period are dominated by the statistic of males who entered the church, law and engineering, options not available to females. Clergymen alone accounted for as many as four times those who taught at any level, and of the latter a majority worked in secondary schools, a few in universities and relatively many fewer still in elementary schools, even as head teachers, than was the case for the LLAs. Of the women matriculands from after 1892, some had no known career and others married, but they, like their LLA predecessors, experienced a much narrower range of careers than the men. Although one, a German-born woman, became a Unitarian minister, and doctors were relatively more common, teachers still accounted for the largest proportion. About the same number were employed in

[84] *Prospectus of Introductory and Special Correspondence Classes* in Classes St George's, Edinburgh.

[85] LLA and Local Examinations Calendar, 1895, p. 94, also 1896 and 1897.

[86] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars, 1899, p. 30, also 1900, 1901, 1902.

secondary as in elementary schools, therefore representing proportionately more of the former than amongst LLAs, with only two entering university faculties.[87]

Information from the Oxbridge women's colleges is harder to come by as their Calendars often do not provide sufficient details of later lives, but on the whole, while many women married and/or were engaged in voluntary, social or charitable work a majority of the others, like the LLAs, became teachers.[88] Of these, most were assistant or head mistresses in high schools, or were employed in private schools, a statistic which correlates well with the fact that it was more often those LLAs who extended their personal education beyond the St Andrews certificate who attained the highest levels in the teaching profession of the day. Thus while the possession of an LLA might not in itself be an automatic gateway to high-level career success in education, for many women from lower middle-class and upper working class backgrounds it provided an entry into a respected profession and consequently a secure livelihood. The availability of family finances and the leisure to enable yet further incursions into higher education could allow individual women to reach even higher levels, but not all of those who did so were affluent. It seems that the St Andrews initiative had an intrinsic ability to empower and motivate those who subscribed to it. In spite, too, of the greater numbers who joined the education sector, the remainder of the LLAs displayed an extensive range of achievements with which the following chapter will be concerned.

[87] Smart, *Biographical Register*; Calendars of the University of St Andrews.

[88] *Girton College Register*; *Somerville College Register*; *Lady Margaret Hall Register*.

Chapter 5

Careers and achievements: moving outside education

> The claim of women to be educated as solidly, and in the same branches of knowledge, as men, is urged with growing intensity, and with a great prospect of success; while the demand for their admission into professions and occupations hitherto closed against them, becomes every year more urgent.[1]

So the philosopher and politician, John Stuart Mill, wrote in 1869 at a time when, of all the professions, virtually only teaching lay open to women and most topical interest was concentrated upon the promotion of female entry into medical circles. The spheres of law, the church, banking and accountancy remained to all intents impregnable throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, although that is not to say that no attempts were made to breach their ramparts. In 1879 an application submitted by a lady to the Incorporated Law Society was 'to be examined at the preliminary examination for solicitors in February next, says the Women's Suffrage Journal, the first made by a woman'.[2] Not until after the Reform Act of 1918 which enfranchised women over thirty who met minimum property qualifications was legislation enacted in the 1919 Sex Discrimination (Removal) Act by which women could become lawyers, veterinary surgeons, and accountants, sit on juries and become magistrates.[3] The Act dealt with public service thus:

> A person shall not be disqualified by sex or marriage from the exercise of any public function, or from being appointed to or holding any civil or judicial office or post, or from entering or assuming or carrying on any civil profession or vocation…
>
> A woman shall be entitled to be admitted and enrolled as a solicitor after serving under articles for three years only if either she has taken such a university degree as would have so

[1] J.S. Mill, *The Subjection of Women* (London, 1869), Chapter 1.

[2] *The Dundee Courier & Argus and Northern Warder* (Dundee, Scotland), Friday, December 05, 1879, p.6.

[3] Representation of the People Act 1918 G6 c.64.

entitled her had she been a man, or if she has been admitted to and passed the final examination…[4]

Entry to the Civil Service was also made possible under the Act but the higher grades and the consular service remained reserved to men. In practice it was several decades later before more than a few women entered any of these professions or indeed ventured into newer ones such as engineering. At the same time, while some non-conformist religious groups had from their beginnings given equal status to both genders, the established churches excluded females from full ordination and only gradual progress was made so that even in the present time integration is no more than partial.[5]

In this context, opportunities for women with higher education to establish themselves in the professions remained strictly limited and, for the first recipients of the LLA who were seeking posts in the 1880s and 1890s, prospects were especially restricted if they did not elect to teach. Amongst those who were successful, however, were some qualified medical women, some who entered nursing and other care and social work professions, as well as missionaries, writers, and journalists. Others apparently never took up a paid occupation, some marrying early, while there is a small but interesting group who as married women nevertheless found themselves able to pursue careers. This chapter will examine the range of options taken up by LLA women and through a more detailed consideration of the lives of some of them will assess the extent to which their backgrounds, qualifications and external factors interacted to shape their subsequent lives.

Since marriage was seen by nineteenth-century society and indeed by most women as a fundamental expectation, in many cases an advantageous match could in itself be a life-changing consequence. The frequency of upward social mobility amongst LLAs upon marriage was noticeably high, with many moving by proxy from Groups 3 and 4 to professional Group 1, regardless of whether they themselves had apparently worked as professionals. While there are obvious explanations for women who attended and graduated from universities in later years to have formed attachments which led to matrimony, with Coutts remarking in 1909 in the context of

[4] Sex Discrimination (Removal) Act 1919 c.71 Removal of disqualifications on grounds of sex. Sections 1a, 2.

[5] The first woman in Scotland to graduate as a Bachelor of Divinity did in fact do so from St Andrews in 1910. She was Frances Melville, a Warden of University Hall, but she never practised and the first ordained female graduate was the Rev. Olive Winchester of the Pentecostal Church in 1914.

Glasgow University that 'the number of women graduates who have entered into marriage has been remarkable', opportunities for home-based students to meet and mix with potential partners are more difficult to identify. [6] Nevertheless, marriage of LLAs to ministers and teachers especially was common, with the likelihood that such liaisons entailed some degree of involvement in the husband's vocation after the marriage. A number, some of whom will be considered below, accompanied their spouses on foreign missionary postings and undertook a personal role. Others participated in less formal ways. Rosa Elverson, daughter of a small shopkeeper, in spite of completing her LLA in 1889, appears to have been a companion and housekeeper until her marriage to Leopold Hartley Grindon, a botanist and pioneer in adult education. Rosa herself then became recognised as a lecturer at local institutions such as the Manchester Geographical Society and the Manchester Working Men's Clubs Association and as a suffragette. On his death, Elverson presented Grindon's plant collections and his botanical drawings and writings to the Manchester University Museum herbarium and donated a stained-glass window in his memory to Manchester Central Library. She continued his work in running the Flower-Lovers' Guild.[7] Marion Willis, who took her LLA in 1885, moved on from being housekeeper in her father's hotel in Forfar to marriage in 1891 to the artist Stewart Carmichael, a Celtic revivalist and symbolist painter, nationalist and friend of Wendy Wood, and thus became involved with a vibrant and radical set of artists and writers.[8]

Other familial ties shaped the lives of women like Annie Jackson - perhaps in spite of her aspirations to higher education. From Tibbermore in Perthshire, where her father was the village innkeeper, she found herself after the death of her mother acting as gardener and housekeeper for her retired father.[9] Mary Frances Augusta Paton studied only German, but went on to Newnham, where she left without taking the tripos, to become housekeeper to her brother, High Master at Manchester Grammar School , and in that role accompanied him to Newfoundland when he became first Principal of Memorial College, St John's.[10] Taking over and running a family business was an option,

[6] J. Coutts, *A History of the University of Glasgow: from its Foundations in 1451 to 1909* (Glasgow, 1909), p. 459.

[7] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1911; F.E. Weiss, 'Leopold Hartley Grindon, 1818-1904', *North Western Naturalist*, V (March 31 1930), 16-22; http://www.manchester.gov.uk/info/500138/central_library/4586/history_of_central_library/6 accessed 5 September 2013.

[8] CEBs 1891, 1901; http://textualities.net/tag/wendy-wood/ accessed 5 September 2013.

[9] CEBs 1881, 1891.

[10] *Newnham College Register Vol. 1 1871-1923* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 89.

although, from the available evidence, apparently a rare one. Christina Patterson managed her father's trade as a wine agent in St Andrews after his death in 1887 while her brother studied theology, and it seems probable that others worked similarly in family concerns without formal acknowledgement in Census or other records.[11]

Another facet of the lives of married LLAs was the extent of their influence as mothers. Not only might they carve out careers for themselves but their influence on their children, and particularly on daughters, was potentially significant. Timing may have been crucial. If the first women to take the St Andrews certificate were pioneers, their daughters reached maturity at a time when entry to higher education had become, if not yet easy, then at least a feasible proposition. A few examples of filial success have been identified. Of Catherine Diack's daughters one became Assistant Medical Officer in the Glasgow Public Health Department while two others graduated MA.[12] Of Lizzie Mustard's (Mrs Barnett's) daughters, Elizabeth became one of first female solicitors in Scotland and Euphemia a noted botanist.[13] The effects were not only on academic achievement. Emma Greene 's daughter, Alice, emerged as one of the top British female tennis stars of the early 1900s, competing at Wimbledon and Monte Carlo, and winning the Ladies Singles' title at Queens Club in London in 1907. She was one of only 37 women competitors to take part in the 1908 Olympic Games.[14]

Medicine

It was to the established and newly accessible professions, however, that those who studied for the LLA might be expected to aspire, even if the attainment of their wishes required further training or qualifications. Of these professions, medicine was paramount. As has been seen, the focus of Victorian women's attempts to enter higher education and thence the professions had been directed towards medicine, a vocation which in the United Kingdom had been the subject of much reform from the middle years of the century onwards. The Medical Act of 1858 had established a General Medical Council of Medical Registration and Education to distinguish qualified practitioners who had to possess a licence or medical degree from one of nineteen registered bodies in Britain

[11] CEBs 1891, 1901.

[12] http://www-history.mcs.st-and.ac.uk/Biographies/Wattie.html accessed 30 October 2013

[13] A.T. McCall, *Aberdeen School Board Female Teachers 1872-1901: a biographical list* (Aberdeen, 2007), p. 42.

[14] Conversely, the generational timing was such that a disproportionate number of early married LLAs also lost sons in World War 1; The Imperial War Museum War Memorials archive http://www.ukniwm.org.uk/ accessed 30 October 2013.

and Ireland. While it was not a criminal act to practice without either, anyone doing so was prevented from using the title of 'doctor' and unable to have recourse to legal sanctions.[15] Thus when Elizabeth Garrett and Sophia Jex-Blake amongst others attempted to join the ranks in the 1860s and 1870s, they faced formidable obstacles, and even if female aspirants to the profession could acquire medical degrees overseas, registration in the United Kingdom remained a stumbling block. Support from some politicians was forthcoming but the process was slow and stumbling.

The Bill of 1875, intended to allow women to enrol as medical students at Scottish universities, was withdrawn, but in 1876 the so-called 'Enabling Act' was passed which finally allowed, though it did not oblige, the British medical examining bodies to accept women who had taken their medical degrees abroad.[16] The King and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland was the first to respond, and between 1877 and 1886 forty-eight of the first fifty women registered as qualified doctors in Britain took their examinations there. The University of London followed a year later but others, including the Scottish universities, did not join them until the 1890s. At the same time many general hospitals in mainland United Kingdom were not opened to female medical students to train or to work until it became expedient in 1914 and some did not so do until the 1940s. [17]According to the *Englishwoman's Review*, the Act was not passed so much on behalf of the few women who wished to obtain medical degrees as for the many women who wished to place themselves under medical

[15] The Medical Act 1858 c. 90 Regnal.1 21 and 22 Vict. The implications of the Act for the University of St Andrews itself are discussed in J.S.G. Blair, *History of Medicine in St Andrews University* (Edinburgh, 1987), pp. 58-71, while H. Dingwall, *A History of Scottish Medicine: Themes and Influences* (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 191-8 and D. Hamilton, *The Healers: A History of Medicine in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 149-57, pp. 207-9 provide an overview of the impact on the Scottish Medical Schools. M.J. D. Roberts, 'The Politics of Professionalization: MPs, Medical Men, and the 1858 Medical Act' in *Medical History*, 53.1 (Jan 2009), 37–56 engages with the broader debate of the status of the profession and C. Newman, *The Evolution of Medical Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 300-4 considers the medical education of women throughout the United Kingdom in the wake of the 1858 Act.

[16] In 1864 the University of Zurich had admitted female students while the universities of Paris, Berne and Geneva did so in 1867; 1876 Medical (Qualification) Act.

[17] L. Kelly, *Irish Medical Women c 1880s-1920s: The Origins, Education and Careers of Early Women Medical Graduates from Irish Institutions*, (PhD, National University of Ireland, Galway, 2010), p. 79, Fig. 2.1: 2.

advisers of their own sex.[18] From contemporary literature it does appear that the leading campaigners for entry to the profession had done so from a mixture of personal ambition to be qualified and acknowledged as professionals and altruism in their feelings for the plight of women at the hands of male practitioners. In a letter to the Liberal politician, Lord John Russell, Anna Jameson described the pain and suffering of women consulting 'young inexperienced medical men' and the worse effects on those who may have 'suffered cruelly, and some fatally, rather than consult a medical man at all'.[19]

Single-sex medical schools sought to address both sides of this issue. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson's New Hospital for Women had succeeded her St Mary's Dispensary for Sick Women in 1872 and was joined by The London School of Medicine for Women, founded by Jex-Blake in 1874. The Royal Free Hospital shortly afterwards became associated with it, allowing female students to train in its wards.[20] An equivalent school of medicine was established in Edinburgh by 1886 and the Leith Hospital provided access to its wards for clinical training. Elsie Inglis' Medical College for Women in 1889 arose as a splinter organisation and in 1894 her small hospital for women was also opened. [21] These, then, formed the main options for LLAs who wished to receive clinical training in the United Kingdom and according to Myers, providing a picture of careers on both sides of the Atlantic, more British women than American opted for medicine, the latter being even more inclined to enter teaching.[22] Wendy Alexander's examination of medical graduates of Glasgow's Queen Margaret

[18] *The Englishwomen's Review*, July 1876.

[19] *The English Woman's Journal*, July 1859.

[20] http://www.royalfree.nhs.uk/default.aspx?top_nav_id=3&tab_id=128 accessed 7 September 2013.

[21] http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/records.aspx?cat=074-h13e&cid=0#0 accessed 9 September 2013; J.M. Somerville, 'Dr Sophia Jex-Blake and the Edinburgh School of Medicine for Women, 1886-1898', J*ournal of the Royal College of Physicians Edinburgh, 35 (*2005), 261-7; Leah Leneman, 'Inglis, Elsie Maud (1864-1917)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34101 accessed 9 Sept 2013.

[22]C.D. Myers, *University Coeducation in the Victorian Era: Inclusion in the United States and the United Kingdom* (New York, 2010), pp. 174-7.

College reveals that there were sixty women doctors practising in Scotland and 200 in the United Kingdom by 1901 in spite of restricted clinical opportunities.[23]

The scope of British colonial influence, especially in the Indian sub-continent but also in Africa, the West Indies and Australasia, provided a draw for doctors and medical missionaries of both sexes. While a majority of male doctors attended to the requirements of ex-patriot military and civilian populations, such qualified women as practised overseas largely fulfilled rather different roles.[24] Demand specifically for female doctors was fuelled by the requirements of organisations like the Church of England (Zenana) Missionary Society, the Dufferin Fund and The Medical Women for India Fund for Bombay, for hospitals and dispensaries especially for women and children, initially in India, and from the 1880s spreading to China, Japan and Ceylon.[25] Nevertheless, in spite of these calls, Dyhouse stresses that obstacles were still faced by women entrants to the medical profession even well into the twentieth century.[26] In spite of such inherent difficulties, some eight LLAs are known to have qualified successfully in medicine and all but one had a lengthy and significant career, amongst them a general practitioner, a house surgeon and physician and a Medical Officer of Health, all of whom had completed their LLAs. Given the seemingly widespread ambition for entry into the medical profession and the emphasis placed by campaigners on studies leading to it, it is perhaps surprising that so few LLA entrants proceeded to medical studies. It is likely that a combination of the early date of the cohort under study, operating at a time when opportunities remained strictly limited, and the necessity of obtaining expensive and time-consuming further qualifications, made it especially problematic for women of relatively slim means. Those who did go ahead, however, exhibited remarkable determination and ability.

For the most part, these early female doctors were confined to treating women and children but they also opened the door to full practice for the next generation. No branch of medicine could

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[23] W. Alexander, 'Early Glasgow Women Medical Graduates' in *The World Is Ill-Divided: Women's Work in Scotland in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, edited by E. Breitenbach and E. Gordon (Edinburgh, 1990), p.76.

[24] M.A. Crowther and M.W. Dupree, *Medical Lives in the Age of Surgical Revolution* (Cmabridge 2010), pp. 294-316.

[25] http://www.asiamap.ac.uk/collections/collection.php?ID=256 accessed 5 September 2013; G. H. Forbes, *Women in Colonial India: Essays on Politics, Medicine, and Historiography* **(**New Delhi 2005).

[26] C. Dyhouse, 'Driving ambitions: women in pursuit of a medical education, 1890-1939', *Women's History Review*, 7.3 (1998), 321-43.

have been an easy option but, given the severe limitations upon posts in hospitals, working in general practice must have held much attraction. Susan Eliza Helena Martin was born in Lancashire, but took a post as a governess in a private household in Derbyshire while she studied for her LLA which was completed in 1887. Her subjects were mostly general but in 1891, perhaps in preparation for her medical training, she upgraded her pass in Physiology to Honours. In the same year Martin was living in Edinburgh with relatives and described as a student of medicine and by August 1898 had appeared in the *British Medical Register* as a Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries of London. She went on to practise in London before moving to a similar post in Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex until at least 1931.[27] One of most prominent of the early Scottish female doctors began her career in general practice. Marion Gilchrist, the daughter of a substantial farmer at Bothwell in Lanarkshire completed her LLA in Physiology, French, Botany, Logic and Metaphysics, English, Education and Natural Philosophy in 1890 before attending the newly opened medical school for women at Queen Margaret College. There she was one of the first fourteen women to enrol and was in 1894 the first to gain her medical degree from Glasgow University. As Vice-President of the Queen Margaret College Student Union, Vice-President of the Literary and Debating Society and Convener of the Queen Margaret College Committee of the Glasgow University Liberal Club, she played an active part in college life. After general practice in the West End of Glasgow, Gilchrist worked from 1914 as Assistant Surgeon for Diseases of the Eye at the Victoria Infirmary, and in 1927 became Ophthalmic Surgeon at the Redlands Hospital for Women. Additionally she gained eminence as a prominent member and first female chair of the Glasgow division of the British Medical Association and was active in the voluntary sector, serving from 1903 to 1911 as physician to the Queen Margaret College Settlement's Invalid Children's School.[28] Gilchrist in common with a number of female doctors was apparently an ebullient character and an early motoring enthusiast.[29] The Marion Gilchrist Prize was established in 1952 from her personal bequest and is awarded annually by the University of Glasgow to 'the most distinguished woman graduate in Medicine of the year'.[30]

Medical missions within the United Kingdom provided other opportunities for these women. Janet (Nettie) Ainslie Shiells Mouat passed her LLA in 1888 with a combination of Languages and

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[27] CEBs 1881-1911; *British Medical Register* 1899, 1903, 1911, 1915, 1923, 1927, 1931.

[28] CEBs 1881-1901; E. Ewan , S. Innes , S. Reynolds , et al, *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* (Edinburgh, 2006), p. 135; http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH0226&type=P accessed 9 April 2014.

[29] Dyhouse, *Driving Ambitions*.

[30] Ewan et al, *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, p. 135;

Physiology. Daughter of a maltster and seed crusher in Haddington, and educated at the higher class school, the Knox Institute in Haddington and St Leonard's College in London, she studied at the Medical College for Women and received her MB and ChB from the University of Edinburgh in 1900. After a spell as Assistant House Physician and House Physician at the Leith Hospital, Mouat became Resident Medical Officer at the Canning Town Medical Mission, part of the Canning Town Women's Settlement. This establishment, founded in 1892 with Congregationalist links, had grown from a dispensary to a hospital with in-patient beds, staffed by female doctors and in its early days pioneering in the study of mental disorders.[31]

The career of another Scot, Alice Janet McLaren, daughter of an Edinburgh general merchant who had died in 1876, supports the thesis that few women in this period were able to enter hospitals other than those specialising in the care of women or children. Her MB was from the University of London in 1890 and her clinical practice and Bachelor of Surgery were undertaken at the London School of Medicine for Women, although she also studied at the Rotunda Maternity Hospital in Dublin, and in Vienna. Apart from working at the Leith Hospital and as house surgeon of the Belgrave Hospital for Children in London, her medical career centred on Glasgow hospitals: at the Royal Samaritan Hospital for Women, Glasgow's Lock Hospital for the treatment of venereal diseases, as a gynaecologist at Redlands, the Glasgow women's private hospital staffed entirely by women, and as Honorary Physician of the Royal Hospital for Sick Children in Glasgow.[32]

Amy Sheppard is an example of an LLA who achieved a respected position in hospitals, but to some extent succeeded in breaking out of the normal pattern. Daughter of an iron founder and town councillor in Dudley, she studied a range of science subjects, Natural Philosophy, Zoology, Botany, Chemistry, and Physiology as well as German to take her certificate in 1885.[33] After studying at Mason College, she too gained her MB from the University of London in 1892, and had trained at the London School of Medicine for Women and the Royal Free Hospital before becoming clinical assistant at the long-established specialist eye hospital, the Moorlands. She went on to become an

[31] CEBs 1881, 1891; B M.D. 1905; B.M.R. 1903-1951; http://www.archives.lib.ed.ac.uk/alumni/search.php?view=results5&surname=mouat&forename= accessed 9 April 2014; http://www.jstor.org/stable/20286644?seq=1&uid=3738032&uid=2&uid=4&sid=21103977698323 accessed 9 April 2014; 1902 Kelly's Directory, Northern Districts, London.

[32] CEBs 1881-1901; B.M.R. 1891, 1895, 1903, 1907, 1910, 1911, 1915, 1931, 1935; *British Medical Directory* 1900, p. 1280.

[33] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1861-1891.

assistant ophthalmic surgeon at the New Hospital and in 1898 was one of the first females to take the Diploma in Public Health of the University of Cambridge. During the First World War she served at the Military Hospital in Endell Street. Opened in May 1915 by Doctors Flora Murray and Louisa Garrett Anderson's Women's Hospital Corps and surviving to the end of 1919, this was entirely staffed by women and the only women's unit run by militant suffragists. As one of the most remarkable hospitals of the war, explicitly linked to the political aspirations of its founders, it was at the same time committed to achieving the highest standards of military medicine in order to sustain the credibility of women as surgeons. Together with Royaumont, Endell Street produced the first hospital-based research papers published by British women doctors.[34] Exactly how far Sheppard was otherwise implicated in the suffrage movement is not known but in general products of the London School of Medicine were imbued with its spirit, even if not actively participating in the feminist activities of the time. Geddes quotes from her obituary: 'Amy Sheppard, a WSPU member and prominent tax resister, was a typical example, an activist who made her protests circumspectly', because, as her obituarist explained, 'her need to earn professionally forbade extreme militancy'.[35] Sheppard, who received a CBE for her war efforts, however, returned to her association with women's institutions, eventually rising in the post-war period to a consultancy in ophthalmic surgery at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital.[36]

The opportunities for female medical practitioners in the Empire appear to have been attractive to some. Lillias Jane Thomson, who completed her St Andrews course in 1885 and studied French, Education and Comparative Philology, was one of the earliest LLAs to follow this route. She had been born in Montrose, daughter of an English schoolmaster who had died in 1864 when she was two years old, and in 1891 was described as a student of medicine while living with family at Barry near Dundee. By 1901 she was in Edinburgh, working as a general medical practitioner, having trained at

[34] Royaumont was a Scottish Women's Hospital established near Paris between 1915 and 1919 under the auspices of the Scottish Branch of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and headed by Elsie Inglis.

[35] J.F. Geddes, 'The Doctors' Dilemma: Medical Women and the British Suffrage Movement', *Women's History Review* 18.2 (2009), 206; the obituary appears in the *Medical Women's Federation Quarterly Review,* **(**April 1936), 52-4.

[36] B.M.D. 1895, 1900; B.M. R. 1895, 1903, 1911, 1915, 1927, 1931; http://archives.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/resources/general_register_part_3.pdf accessed 21 September 2013; Obituary, *British Journal of Ophthalmology,* 20.3 (1936 March), 189; J. F. Geddes, 'Deeds **and** Words in the Suffrage Military Hospital in Endell Street', *Medical History,* 51.1(2007), 79-98.

the Medical School for Women there.[37] The *British Medical Register* of 1899 records her as having been registered in January 1895, as LRCS, LRCP, Edinburgh, and Licentiate of the Faculty of Physicians of Glasgow. By 1911, however, she had responded to the call for women doctors in the Empire and was employed at the United Free Church Mission Station at Jaipur in India, later returning to spend her final years in her home town.[38]

Dyhouse rightly stresses the difficulties faced by many women entering medicine in gaining adequate scientific qualifications.[39] Kate Knowles' LLA, taken in 1892, besides History, Geography and French, incorporated a strong scientific base of Zoology, Geology and Physiology, to which she added in 1896 Chemistry and Botany, a combination which suggests a clear intention to prepare directly for entry to the medical profession.[40] She qualified MB, CS, in London at the age of thirty-eight, having trained at the London School of Medicine for Women and became yet another to be employed in India. Along with Dr Fanny Butler and two trained British nurses, she ran for several years at the beginning of the twentieth century a hospital at Srinigar exclusively for women, which had been opened by the Church of England Zenana Ladies Missionary Society as a dispensary in 1888.[41] While there, she published a paper on osteomalacia [rickets], in the *British Medical Journal* of 1914.[42] Despite herself suffering from marked scoliosis she moved during World War I to Australia and while in Sydney, as Medical Officer to the New South Wales Board of Health, undertook an 18-month inspection of private, especially maternity, hospitals throughout the State, about 480 in all. Her conclusions were that the standards were generally low and that women in isolated areas were suffering because of poor transport links. There was, she believed, a need for a large private hospital in Sydney which, while providing efficient nursing and modern apparatus, would through its charges to the wealthy subsidise equivalent facilities for the less well-off, a factor particularly directed to the care of those returning from war service. The result of Knowles' persuasion of government and business leaders was the speedy opening of St Luke's Hospital in 1919 of which she remained a director until at least 1927. She also advocated that all general hospitals in New South Wales should have a maternity ward where patients would be received without fees. Her influential presence in

[37] B.M.D. 1900.

[38] CEBs 1891, 1901; B.M.R. 1899, 1911.

[39] Dyhouse, *Driving Ambitions*, p. 327.

[40] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1871-1891.

[41] BMD 1905; N.A. Mir and V. Connell Mir, 'Inspirational People and Care for the Deprived: Medical Missionaries in Kashmir', *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians Edinburgh*, 38 (2008), 85-8.

[42] K. Knowles, 'Osteomalacia', *British Medical Journal*, Suppl. (1914), 62-3, 314.

Sydney ended with her return to the United Kingdom in 1920.[43] Knowles spent her retirement in Crieff and became in December 1952 the subject of the first bequest of a body to University College, Dundee. She had written to Professor Adam Patrick, then Professor of Medicine, stating her desire to leave her body to medical science. She then carried on an occasionally heated correspondence with Professor D. R. Dow on the subject of her bequest, as she wished her skull and skeleton to be retained and no part to be buried. Since this would have meant contravening the Short Articles Anatomy Act of 1871, she was finally forced to accept the situation.[44]

By contrast with these long-term and influential careers, the Irish-born Cathleen Honoria Graham studied at the University of Bern, as had Jex-Blake and her colleague Mary Edith Pechey, and Graham's MD dissertation *The Centre of Ossification in the Lower Femoral 'Epiphysis' in Relation to Forensic Medicine* was published there in 1886. Her licence had been granted by the KQCPI in Dublin after study at the London School of Medicine for Women, but she went on to marry and apparently never practised.[45]

Nursing and Caring

The training and status of women engaged in nursing was another of the key concerns of the Victorian era, one closely tied to the prevailing notion of 'womanly' involvement in caring activities and often linked to religious movements. From either end of the Protestant spectrum, the leaders of the Oxford Movement and the Quaker Elizabeth Fry argued for the establishment of organised nursing sisterhoods and the latter's Society of Nursing Sisters formed in 1840 was the earliest formal attempt at reform of the profession.[46] The revival of Anglican orders of nuns devoted to the physical care of the poor, which attracted middle-class single women, preceded comparable organisations in other branches of the church and even the strict reforming movement, concentrated on hospitals, led by Florence Nightingale. This last development falls into the 'pioneer age' from the 1850s to the 1880s, so named by Vicinus, who describes it as a time when a war was being fought against poor

[43] H. S. Morgan. *History of St Luke's Hospital from February, 1919 to October, 1927*, pp. 1, 2, 14; *Sydney Morning Herald* 8 August 1924, 5 November 1930.

[44] R.R. Sturrock, 'The Anatomy Department at University College, Dundee, 1888-1954', *Medical History*, 21 (1977), 310-15.

[45] BMD 1887, 1890.

[46] Francisca de Haan, 'Fry , Elizabeth (1780–1845)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2007 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10208, accessed 21 Oct 2013.

standards of training and hygiene as well as against disease itself. This period also was one in which female nurses were battling not only for status in the male-dominated medical world but even for the right to practise their craft with any degree of independence.[47] Nightingale's own initial followers comprised an uneasy mix of working-class nurses and high-minded middle-class 'ladies' from nursing sisterhoods, but her School of Nursing opened in 1860 established the principle as well as the actuality of a formal and stringent training programme. As the century progressed, the profession began to establish its own ground rules and a greater proportion of nurses and particularly of senior nurses, at least in England, came from a middle-class background. Hawkins in her study of St George's Hospital in London found that, although it was not impossible for women from the lower classes to rise through the ranks of the profession, by the 1890s over 60% of leaders came from higher social classes. [48]

Although it can be argued that the possession of an LLA might provide a route to positions of rank and influence in this burgeoning profession, in practice only five from the sample under study are known to have entered it. What is also unknown is whether these were women who had aspired to take medical qualifications and had failed to do so for equally undetermined reasons. Alexandra Morrison, the daughter of an Angus parish schoolmaster who had died before she was born, and who was raised by her grandfather, also a parish teacher, was by 1891 described in the Census as a medical nurse living at 30 Elmbank Crescent, Glasgow.[49] It is likely that she was employed at the Glasgow Hospital for Women, founded in 1877, or the Ear, Nose and Throat Hospital, both of which were located in the same street.[50] Also working in Glasgow was New Zealand-born Annabella Irvine who was attached to the Western Infirmary, planned and built in 1874 as a teaching hospital and as an integral part of the removal of Glasgow University from its former site on the High Street to its current location at Gilmorehill.[51] Neither of these women appears to have reached any position of seniority within her calling and similarly Mary Soutar who completed her LLA in 1884 does not seem

[47] M. Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920*, (London, 1985), pp. 87-8.

[48] S. Hawkins, 'From Maid to Matron: nursing as a route to social advancement in nineteenth century England', *Women's History Review*, 19.1(2010), 129-30, Fig. 1.

[49] Jedburgh Sheriff Court SC62/44/45; CEBs 1871-1891.

[50] J Fergus, 'The Medical Institutions of Glasgow', in *The Book of Glasgow, British Medical Association, the 90th Annual Meeting, Glasgow, July 1922,* pp. 119, 123.

[51] CEBs 1881, 1891; http://www.archives.gla.ac.uk/gghb/collects/hb6.html accessed 23 August 2013.

to have achieved pre-eminence.[52] The Midwives Acts of 1902 which laid down the requirements for midwife education and registration is sometimes seen as confirming the achievement of professional status for midwives, but Soutar who was in 1891 a pupil midwife at Queen Charlotte's Lying-In Hospital, St Marylebone, London, belonged to an institution whose Midwives Training School had been recognised since 1885. She would have received her training from a resident midwife and medical officer and would have paid a fee of £26.5.0 for the privilege.[53] District nursing became a recognised and regulated branch in England and Wales with the foundation of the Queen's Institute of District Nursing in 1887 and Alice Marion Keep, who had attended the Midland Institute in Birmingham as well as gaining her LLA, joined their ranks in Houghton-le-Spring in County Durham.[54]

The only individual from this early cohort of LLAs who is known to have achieved prominence in this field was Lavinia Eliza Caroline Steen, a nursing sister, who rose to become Matron with the Queen Alexandra Imperial Military Nursing Service. Born in 1869, daughter of a former stockbroker, she was educated in Kirkcaldy and trained at Bristol General Hospital. After working in several civilian hospitals, including those at Scarborough and Bury, she served at No. 7 General Hospital in South Africa and was appointed to the Army Nursing Service in March 1897 as a Sister. Thereafter Steen variously worked in the Officers' Hospitals at Khartoum and in Cairo, but was, because of cataract problems, invalided back to the United Kingdom, where she nursed in Cork and at Millbank, latterly as Matron. War service in France from 1914 was again cut short as a result of her health, but she then served at No. 1 War Hospital in Reading. Although her defective eyesight prevented any further promotion, Steen did not finally retire on a pension of £170 per annum until 1920 when she was at the Military Hospital in Colchester. By this time she had served for almost 26 years and had been awarded a bar to the Royal Red Cross.[55]

There appear therefore to have been relatively few LLAs entering nursing and amongst these arguably only Steen reached a position of real seniority. But another means by which a nursing background could be utilised was in the missionary field. Janet [Jenny] Rodger Robertson's father

[52] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1891.

[53] T. Ryan, *The History of Queen Charlotte's Lying-in Hospital from its foundation in 1752 to the present time* (London, 1885), p. 50.

[54] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1901.

[55] National Archives, War Office: Directorate of Army Medical Services and Territorial Force: Nursing Service Records, First World War, WO 399/7916; http://rcnarchive.rcn.org.uk/data/VOLUME030-1903/page449-volume30-6thjune-1903.pdf accessed 8 May 2014; The Royal Red Cross was a military decoration awarded for exceptional services in military nursing.

was a physician and surgeon in Greenock and Jenny was a nursing probationer before marrying a medical missionary, Walter Henry Anderson, a former brewer's clerk and friend of her missionary brother.[56] She accompanied him to Palestine where they ran a mission hospital at Safed serving both the Jewish community and patients of other faiths for twenty years until 1915.[57]

Outside the bounds of the nursing profession, five women were involved in caring roles. Mary Cameron Allan from Banff from her post as Matron of Tenterfield Home and Orphanage for Girls in Haddington was, as the *Nursing Record and Hospital World* reported in 1901, 'unanimously appointed as Matron of Donaldson's Hospital…there were about two hundred applicants for the post'.[58] Donaldson's had opened in 1852, bequeathed by James Donaldson, an Edinburgh publisher, as a hospital to clothe, maintain and educate children. Later to become a school exclusively for the deaf, from the first deaf-mute children were admitted as well as hearing children, but they had their own classrooms and staff.[59] The prevailing movement of the Victorian age to establish Mission Shelters and Asylums also afforded posts for those who sought employment in this sphere. The Whitevale Mission had been founded by Mary White, a prominent Quaker in the Temperance Movement, for 'fallen or inebriate women' in Glasgow.[60] Jane Paterson, daughter of a Dumfriesshire farmer, was Matron of the Shelter there before moving to the Magdalene Asylum for Fallen Women in the Gorgie district of Edinburgh. In England, Louisa Flowers served as Superintendent of Brighton Girls Club and was in 1901 'preventive worker' for the Chicester Penitentiary Association, part of an Anglican organisation for the rehabilitation of fallen women.[61] As with female medical practitioners, children as well as women were a focus of attention in social work efforts. After beginning her career as a dressmaker, Margaret Yule, whose father was a Dundee shipmaster, completed her LLA in 1884

[56] CEBs 1881, 1891; Post Office Directory, Greenock 1880-81, 1885-86.

[57] G. S. Stokes, 'Dr Walter Henry Anderson (1870-1937) and the Mission Hospital at Safed, Palestine', *Journal of Medical Biography*, 21.1 (February 2013), 55-61.

[58] CEBs 1881-1901; *The Nursing Record and Hospital World,* July 20 1901, 47.

[59] http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/online/cnmi/inventories/acc11896.pdf accessed 8 May 2014.

[60] J. S. Blocker, D.M. Fahey, I. R. Tyrrell, ed, *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia*, (Santa Barbara, 2003), Vol. 1, pp. 657-8.

[61] CEBs 1861, 1871, 1891-1911; For penitentiaries, see S. Mumm, 'Not Worse Than Other Girls: The Convent-Based Rehabilitation of Fallen Women in Victorian Britain', *Journal of Social History*, 29.3 (Spring 1996), 527; Church Penitentiary Association, 1852-1951 (mss 3681-3706); R. Palmer, *Catalogue of manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library*, mss 3599- (Typescript: Continuation). The organisation was founded by Gladstone in 1848.

and married St Andrews graduate, Thomas McLaren Davidson. Together they ran the Dundee Orphan Institution, he as Master, she as Matron.[62] Caroline Stewart MacLaren , daughter of a Free Church minister, was Matron of the YWCA hostel in Edinburgh in 1901.

Journalism

In spite of the emphasis upon the caring professions, opportunities for educated women to achieve personal fulfilment offered themselves in the literary world, even if the subject matter of their endeavours was also often concerned with social reform. Although the Society of Women Writers and Journalists was not formed until 1894, another form of paid employment available in the last years of the nineteenth century was journalism.[63] This occupation was more likely to be of a casual nature and to have a self-employed status, but writing by women on subjects aimed at their own sex was popular with editors, and a number of LLAs did become well-established in this career. Franziska Maria Isabella [Marie] Imandt was one of the most colourful of these. Born in Dundee in 1860, she was educated at Dundee High School and took her LLA in 1880, having passed German in 1879, and English literature and Honours in French the following year.[64] Imandt was well placed both for proficiency in languages and to follow a radical career, since her father, Joseph Peter Imandt from Trier in Prussia, had been involved in the German uprisings of 1848. Hunted by the authorities, he fled to Switzerland to found the Communist League in Geneva. Again expelled, he collaborated in Camberwell with Marx and Engels and continued a correspondence with them. After settling in Dundee he gave language classes for almost 40 years at Dundee High School, the Tay Square Institution and from home, publishing a guide to German grammar.[65] Marie had a remarkable career as a Dundee journalist, initially contributing short stories and articles to the Ladies Column of *The Courier* on subjects which included the pay and working conditions of women. In March 1894, D.C. Thomson, proprietors of the *Dundee Courier* and *Dundee Weekly News*, sent Imandt and another young journalist, Bessie Maxwell, on a tour round the world. The object of their journey was to obtain full and accurate information specifically on the conditions of women around the world. They

[62] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1881, 1891, 1901; R.N. Smart, *Biographical Register of the University of St Andrews, 1747-1897* (St Andrews, 2004), p. 221.

[63] The Society of Women Writers and Journalists, http://www.swwj.co.uk/history.htm accessed 8 May 2014.

[64] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars.

[65] S. Keracher, ed, *Dundee's Two Intrepid Ladies: A Tour Round the World by D.C. Thomson's Female Journalists in 1894* (Dundee, 2012).

visited not only Europe but also the Middle and Far East, and North America, and on their return produced a series of articles over 1894 and 1895 and gave lectures. Imandt's commentary is sensitive and perceptive and betrays the influence of her father's socialism:

> No question in Dundee is at present of more vital importance than that of the condition of the jute workers. Looking at the question from a woman's point of view, I have been able to compare the lot of the Dundee mill and factory operatives with lives and ways of the Calcutta native workers, and…I am enabled to furnish data which will be of service alike to employers and wage-earners…When I declare that women are working in Calcutta for 1 rupee 8 anas (2d) a week, there will not be wanting those whose utterances of amazement will involve visions of women starving in Dundee on 8s….It is scarcely conceivable, but true, that circumstances forge a chain mighty enough to render the woman 1r. 8a. happier, more comfortable, and in some ways even the superior of the 8s.Dundee woman.[66]

Equally noteworthy was the career of the Prussian-born Hulda Friederichs who studied English Literature and was also able to earn a living from journalism. Based in London she was apparently employed as an equal with male reporters thanks to the liberal attitudes of her employer, W.T. Stead, editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Unlike many females whose contributions were limited to the more frivolous columns, Friederichs wrote on serious topics linked to women's rights and issues and was recognised as the publication's chief interviewer. Her role, however, was not constrained by gender and she visited all kinds of establishments including music halls and tattoo parlours to gather her copy. When the *Pall Mall Gazette* was taken into Tory ownership, she transferred to the new liberal *Westminster Gazette* and continued her promotion of social reform by editing the *Westminster Budget* and working on the *Saturday Westminster*.[67]

These two were at the forefront of their profession but the careers of other LLA-qualified journalists are often more obscure. For instance, Elizabeth Begg, whose father was a Paisley shawl manufacturer and who took her LLA in 1888, was described in the 1901 census as a journalist, but

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[66] 16 July 1894, cited in Keracher, *Dundee's Two Intrepid Ladies,* pp. 56-7.

[67] Linda Walker, 'Friederichs, Hulda (1856/7–1927)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/46354, accessed 23 Oct 2013; L. Brake, M. Demoor, eds, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, (London,2009), p. 234; F. Dillane, 'A fair field and no favour: Hulda Friedrichs, the Interview and the New Woman' *,* in F.E. Gray*,* ed*, Women in Journalism at the Fin de Siècle: Making a Name for Herself,* (Basingstoke, 2012).

nothing of her working life has emerged.[68] Nor has that of Isobel Mary Wilson, who later called herself Mary Isabella, and who attended Girton to take Part I Tripos after receiving her LLA in 1887.[69] Wilson was the daughter of Alexander Johnstone Wilson, himself a financial journalist, and the *Girton Register* describes her as being involved in journalistic work before becoming a clerk in the office of the Royal Commission on Labour, marrying in 1896 and ultimately living in Argentina.[70] Ada Heather-Bigg was apparently one of those women for whom journalism was a matter of choice rather than a necessary means of livelihood. She had studied at University College, London from 1875 to 1879 before taking her LLA in 1880. By 1891 Heather-Bigg was, according to the Census, 'earning money but not living by journalism'. In 1901 she was described as an 'unpaid philanthropic worker' and in 1911 as 'philanthropist and journalist'.[71] It seems that her writing was a deliberate part of her campaigning efforts in a variety of social causes like the articles she published on women's work in the nail and glove trades. This aspect of Heather-Bigg's life will be addressed in more detail below.[72]

Writers and poets

As an occupational route with even more scope for independent gratification, writing for a living was still not an easy option in the later nineteenth century, even if already well-trodden by women and popularised by the likes of Austen, the Brontes, Mary Shelley, Elizabeth Gaskell, and George Eliot. This is well demonstrated by the career of Margaret Oliphant, who after bereavement was forced to employ her talents to support her extended family. Her prolific output of novels, biographies, historical works, and short stories testifies to the difficulties she faced, and of those LLA women who

[68] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1871, 1891.

[69] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars.

[70] *Girton College Register 1869-1946* (Cambridge, 1948), p. 47.

[71] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1881-1911.

[72] CEB 1891, 1901; A. Heather-Bigg, 'Female Labour in the Nail Trade', *Fortnightly Review*, xxxix (1886), 827-32**;** A. Heather-Bigg, 'Women and the Glove Trade'; 'Introduction of Machines'; 'Effect on Handwork'; 'Former Earnings'; 'Present Rate of Wages'; 'Foreign Competition', *The Nineteenth Century*, 30 (December 1891), 939-50.

like Oliphant took up the pen, it is likely that few became self-sufficient as a result of their publications.[73]

In practice, many of those who wrote did so in addition to, or in the context of, another main career. For instance, Marie Imandt supplemented her journalistic career by producing short stories and commentaries, and Hulda Friedrichs' publications included notable political commentaries and biographies as well as works on one of her personal interests, the Salvation Army.[74] In the nature of their profession, teachers in universities and colleges issued the results of their research. Alice Werner, whose distinguished academic career has already been described, produced works on African philology and mythology as well as translating a number of works from African languages.[75] Agnes Walker, lecturer on Needlework at the United Free Church Training College, Aberdeen, wrote in 1897 a *Manual of Needlework and Cutting Out,* aimed at teachers in Scottish schools and providing a needlework curriculum, which ran to many editions.[76] Another educationalist, Hettie Millicent Hughes, who took her LLA in 1883, taught at a High School in Sheffield, before marrying John Stuart Mackenzie, Professor of Logic and Philosophy at Cardiff University.[77] The couple travelled extensively and Hughes published on the philosophy and practice of teacher

[73] Elisabeth Jay, 'Oliphant, Margaret Oliphant Wilson (1828–1897)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20712 accessed 10 April 2014.

[74] These works include: *In the Evening of His Days: A Study of Mr. Gladstone in Retirement, with Some Account of St. Deiniol's Library and Hostel* , 1896; *The future of Russia*, with Rudolf Emil Martin, 1906; *The Romance of the Salvation Army* ,1907; *The Life of Sir George Newnes*, 1911; *The Life of General Booth*, 1913.

[75] Her principal publications were: *The Natives of British Central Africa*, 1906; *The Language Families of Africa*, 1915; *A Swahili History of Pate*, 1915; *Introductory Sketch of the Bantu Languages*, 1919; *The Swahili Saga of Liongo Fumo*, 1926; *Swahili Tales*, 1929; *Structure and Relationship of African Languages*, 1930; *The Story of Miqdad and Mayasa*, 1932; and *Myths and Legends of the Bantu*, 1933; http://www.aim25.ac.uk/cats/19/113.htm accessed 25 October 2013; P. J. L. Frankl, 'Werner, Alice (1859–1935)', rev. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, May 2006 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38117 accessed 25 Oct 2013.

[76] *Manual of Needlework and Cutting Out: Specially Adapted for Teachers of Sewing, Students, and Pupil-Teachers*, London, 1897.

[77] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1881, 1891.

training in the USA as well as in the United Kingdom. When her husband died she was responsible for editing his autobiography.[78]

Writing appears to have been an activity which some married LLAs found themselves able to pursue, whether or not the generation of income was intended. Besides assisting her husband in his botanical research, Rosa Elverson Grindon established her own reputation writing on Shakespearean subjects.[79] May Barbara Brymner, daughter of a steamship owner and magistrate of Greenock, married a surgeon at the Royal Maternity Hospital in Glasgow, and as Mrs Robert Jardine edited a collection of broadside ballads, *The Chapbook of the Rottenrow* , in 1913.[80] One author who was immensely popular in her time was Helen Brodie Cowan Watson, whose father was a Free Church minister. Watson married a physician, William Burney Bannerman, who served in the Indian Medical Service until 1918, and while living there she wrote and illustrated in 1898, reputedly for her own children, the book for which she is best known, *The Story of Little Black Sambo*. With its charming illustrations, it was the first picture book for small children and was followed by *Story of Little Black Mingo*, *Little Black Quasha*, and *Story of Little Black Quibba*, all of which are based on the children of southern India.[81]

Amelia Sarah Levetus came from a prominent Birmingham Jewish family in which her mother Celia was an illustrator, designer and collector of folk tales.[82] Levetus never married and, after teaching English in a Jewish girls' school in Hove, made her home in Vienna becoming a writer on art and Viennese correspondent for *The Studio* magazine. There are indications in her critical work that she

[78] *The Training of Teachers in the United States of America*, with A. B. Bramwell, 1894; *Freedom in Education: an inquiry into its meaning, value and conditions*, 1924; J. S. Mackenzie and H. M. Hughes, *John Stuart Mackenzie: An autobiography, edited by his wife*, 1936.

[79] Amongst these were: *In Praise of Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor: An essay in exposition and appreciation*, 1902; *In Praise of Shakespeare's Henry VIII,* 1903; *Shakespeare & his Plays from a Woman's Point of View*,1930.

[80] Other works were: *Broken Lights: Sketches of life in France, Canada, and Scotland*, 1912; *White Ways*, 1917.

[81] Ewan et al, *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women,* p. 28.

[82] Michael Galchinsky, 'Levetus , Celia (*c.*1819–1873)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/59417, accessed 25 Oct 2013.

was particularly concerned with the promotion of female artists in Austria.[83] Arguably a rather more intentionally professional writer than some, Lily Dougall, the Montreal-born daughter of a publisher of religious and temperance newspapers, was an author and feminist, a prolific writer of novels, short stories, poetry and works of religious philosophy. Her LLA had included Moral Philosophy and Logic and Metaphysics, and she was intrigued by the relationship of the spiritual, psychological and physical worlds to the extent that her home near Oxford became a centre for the 'Cumnor' group, where with a number of other authors and intellectuals she engaged in philosophical discussion. From a strict Presbyterian background, her own views, both religious and ethical, were liberal and she mixed with Quakers, Unitarians and Christian Scientists. Dougall travelled frequently between Britain and North America, some of her novels being set in the USA and Canada and dealing with moral and social problems faced by contemporary women.[84]

Sexuality has been little explored in this thesis, largely because evidence on the subject for LLAs is rare and uncertain, and the issue not of central relevance in the wider context of this study. While Lily Dougall lived for many years with her female companion, Mary Sophia Earp, and other LLA women also co-habited with female friends, the only explicit writing of a lesbian nature found came from the pen of Bessie Craigmyle. Elizabeth Craigmyle belonged to the large group of girls put forward for the LLA who were educated at the High School for Girls in Aberdeen. Her encounter with the LLA was exceptional, since she not only passed the certificate in one year in History, and with Honours in English, Physiology, and Botany, but to these added Zoology, French Honours, German, Geology and Education Honours over the next few years. With a teaching certificate from the Aberdeen Church of Scotland Training College, her actual career was as assistant teacher in the Church of Scotland Practising School in Aberdeen from where she moved to the High School for Girls at Dolgelly, and by 1887 was lecturing at Bishop Otter Training College in Chichester. [85] Following a

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[83] Her full-length works include: *Imperial Vienna: An Account of Its History, Traditions and Arts*; and the translation with W. Entz, *Race and Civilization*; 'Studio Talk', *The Studio* 20 (1903), 137-41.

[84] Elisabeth Jay, 'Dougall, Lily (1858–1923)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/55574, accessed 26 October 2013; Lorraine McMullen, "DOUGALL, LILY," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 15, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/dougall_lily_15E.html accessed 26 October 2013; amongst her novels are: *Beggars All*, 1891; *The Zeit-geist*, 1895; *The Madonna of a Day,* 1896; *The Mormon Prophet*, 1899.

[85] J. Ogilvie, ed, *The Church of Scotland Training College in Aberdeen: Records of the Classes from 1874-75 to 1894-95* (Aberdeen, 1896), p, 50.

parallel career, was Margaret Glassford Dale, also an LLA in 1882 and a trainee teacher in Aberdeen, and according to McCall both had intended to become doctors practising together. Dale, however, took a post at the St Andrews Scotch School in Buenos Aires and while there, became engaged to be married, but very soon after died suddenly. Craigmyle was distraught and from this period in her life emerged her most poignant poetry.[86]

> Were I but a man! Then I should whisper
> Words to bring the flush of faint surprise
> Over brow and cheek, and set the lovelight
> Shining in those great, divine, grey eyes[87]

Craigmyle returned to spend the remainder of her life in Aberdeen and her poetic output continued, although she also translated from German and edited Faust.[88] Her intellectual friendships included the university librarian, Peter Anderson, of whom she wrote:

> Grey granite Streets I pace
> Grey is the autumn day
> And through all the weary hours
> I long for a figure in grey
>
> For the gleam of grey-blue eyes
> For the greeting challenge grey
> And the frank friend-clasp that comes
> From the hand of a figure in grey[89]

Another north-east poet, Mary Symon, was born in 1863 in Dufftown, Banffshire, and educated first at Mortlach Public School, and the Edinburgh Institute for Young Ladies. She

[86] A.T. McCall, 'The Love that Never Dared', *The Leopard* (2008 March); A.T. McCall. *There is Room for Roses in God's World: Selected poems of Bessie Craigmyle*, *1863-1933* (Aberdeen, 2008).

[87] E. Craigmyle, *A Handful of Pansies* (Aberdeen, 1888), p. 29.

[88] As well as *A Handful of Pansies*, Craigmyle published *Poems and Translations* (Aberdeen, 1886); *Faust with Prefatory Notes in the Canterbury Series*, ed. (1889); *German Ballads in the Canterbury Series*, trans. and ed. (1892).

[89] *A Handful of Pansies*, p. 98.

completed her LLA in 1884 in English Literature, Logic and Metaphysics, Education, and Political Economy, having added to her knowledge of Scottish literature by attending David Masson's classes at Edinburgh University. Her father, Provost of Dufftown in the 1880s, ran a saddlery and ironmongery business, but purchased an estate and helped to establish Pittyvaich Distillery and Symon returned to the family home where she remained until her death.[90] Her first known verses date from 1876, and her work began to appear in the 1890s in the *Scots Magazine*, the *New Century Review* and *The Aberdeen Journal*, and several poems were published by Hugh MacDiarmid in *Northern Numbers*, sometimes under pseudonyms. Like contemporary women poets of the north-east such as Violet Jacob and Marion Angus, Symon was most at home in the Scots tongue, and was throughout her life a vocal supporter of her native Doric. The First World War prompted her most original and energetic verses, amongst them her best known, 'After Neuve Chapelle', 'The Soldiers' Cairn', and 'The Glen's Muster Roll', produced in 1916 and considered one of the finest Scots war poems.[91]

> Lads in your plaidies lyin' still
> In lands we'll never see,
> This lanely cairn on a hameland hill
> Is a' that oor love can dee;
> An' fine an' braw we'll mak' it a',
> But oh, my Bairn, my Bairn,
> It's a cradle's croon that'll aye blaw doon
> To me fae the Soldiers' Cairn.[92]

In spite of her apparent insularity, her popularity was significant and her collection, *Deveron Days*, when it appeared in 1933 was an immediate sell-out.[93]

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[90] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1871-1891; *Post Office Directory, Dufftown* 1877.

[91] The last two, along with *A Recruit for the Gordons* are included *in* T. Royle, ed*, In Flanders Fields: Scottish Poetry of the First World War* (Edinburgh, 1990).

[92] From *The Soldiers' Cairn*.

[93] Susan Bennet et al, ed, *Women of Moray: A Celebration of the Women of Moray and their Contribution to History* (Edinburgh, 2012), pp. 278-83; Colin Milton, 'Symon, Mary (1863-1938)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, January 2011 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/60934, accessed 26 Oct 2013; Mary Symon, *Deveron Days* (Aberdeen, 1933).

Few LLAs were in the front rank of writers of the period but their contributions were respected and they demonstrated keen social and moral awareness and engagement with the issues of their time. Other areas of the arts, however, appear perhaps less natural environments for women with their highly academic backgrounds.

The visual arts

However many LLA women actually worked as artists, only a very few have been clearly identified. Cathleen Honoria Graham, who, as has been noted, qualified but never practised as a doctor, instead appears to have worked as a sculptor, exhibiting at the Royal Academy of Arts in London before her marriage to a Scots landowner. Afterwards as Mrs Cathleen Honoria Moncrieff Wright, she displayed in the Royal Scottish Academy Annual Exhibition over several years between 1904 and 1922.[94] Constance Hoskyns Abrahall, daughter of a Church of England vicar, was described in the 1891 Census as a lithographic artist but no further information on her work has been found.[95] Likewise Agnes McEwan, whose father was a journeyman ship's carpenter and who had been in 1891 a schoolmistress in Alva, appears in the 1901 Glasgow Census as an artist.[96] While painting and drawing were perhaps seen as appropriate activities for a gentlewoman in this period, and an unlikely occupation for a daughter of a skilled manual worker, this was also the time of the 'Glasgow

[94] Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951. University of Glasgow History of Art and HATII, online database http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib7_1284493034 accessed 20 August 2013; A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: a complete dictionary of contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904* (London, 1905), Vol. 3, p. 287; http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib1_1268131941 accessed 21 August 2013; C.B. de Laperriere, ed, *The Royal Scottish Academy Exhibitors 1826-1990: A dictionary of artists and their work in the Annual Exhibitions of the Royal Scottish Academy* (Calne, 1991), Vol. 4, p. 468.

[95] CEBs 1881-1891.

[96] CEBs 1871-1901.

Girls' and of an upsurge of female artistic talent in McEwan's native city, so the fact that art attracted the attention of an LLA is not entirely surprising.[97]

Commercial and domestic employment

> We sincerely hope that a new system may be instituted at once, and that we may no longer see women, who like men, must needs turn often to labor [sic] for their bread, condemned, unlike men, to the ranks of one miserable and hopeless calling, or left with the single alternative of becoming, according to their positions, either distressed needlewomen or distressed governesses. [98]

Thus the founders of the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women [SPEW] described their vision. Established in 1859 as a results of the efforts of Bessie Rayner Parkes, Adelaide Proctor, and Jessie Boucherett, all associated with the Langham Place Group, the society attracted prominent reform support with the Earl of Shaftesbury as its President and William Ewart Gladstone amongst its Vice-Presidents.[99] With a focus on opening up more occupations to women and intending that all women should be adequately trained for such employment, it acknowledged that many areas of skilled work required apprenticeships which were not appropriate for those women with whom it dealt. Often in the society's earlier days these were 'ladies' for whom bereavement had removed family support. Clerical work and the Civil Service were the forms of employment identified as most suitable.

Amongst LLAs there were, in fact, a substantial number who were employed as clerks, secretaries, minor officials or in other 'white collar' occupations. Whether these posts applied their academic qualifications and skills to the fullest extent was perhaps immaterial to women who may have been in need of any means of earning a livelihood. For some working in the family business was perhaps difficult to avoid. Agnes Massie Strachan passed her LLA in 1888 in Education, French, Botany and

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[97] The Glasgow Society of Lady Artists had been founded in 1882, Saturday classes were open to women at the Art School from around the same time and there were both female students and staff there. J. Burkhauser, ed, *Glasgow Girls: Women in Art and Design1880-1920* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 31, 47.

[98] *The Times*, 8 November 1859, cited in A. Bridger and E. Jordan, *Timely Assistance: The Work of the Society for Promoting the Training of Women 1859-2009* (Ashford, 2009), p. 9.

[99] Bridger and Jordan, *Timely Assistance*, pp. 15-16.

English, but her father was a master baker in Aberdeen employing twelve people and in 1901 Agnes was a clerk in the firm. Her brother worked there too, although her two sisters had no occupation, so it may be that she had made a choice to be thus employed.[100] For others, like Effie Ramsay, a clerk in Dundee, and Edith Ottywell, also a clerk, this time in a domestic agency in London, there was no apparent family context to their choice of work, although both were from 'white collar' origins.[101] Agnes Wilkie, whose father had been a general labourer in Laurencekirk, was in 1901 a clerk (First Class) in the G.P.O. in London, precisely the type of work advocated by SPEW.[102]

Other LLAs occupied commercial posts of perceived higher status. Sophia Grace Toplis, whose father was an auctioneer, was secretary to a public company in 1881, although she is later described by the Census as a schoolmistress and author.[103] Conversely, Anne Leighton, an LLA in 1887, worked as a governess in her native Perthshire before becoming a private secretary in Sheffield.[104] Frances Ramsay, daughter of an evidently wealthy coal merchant and educated privately at Edinburgh Ladies Academy, completed her LLA in 1889, but was a secretary in 1891, while her sister Margaret, also an LLA, was a teacher.[105] Relatively modern occupations may have by their nature attracted some considerable prestige. Mary Tregarthan from Dorset was in 1911 living in Chelsea and employed as chief superintendent of women typists and shorthand writers, while Frances White of St Helens, whose father was secretary of The London and Manchester Plate Glass Company, was, with a full LLA gained in 1890, a shorthand typist and stenographer in 1911.[106] Yet another was an insurance clerk at a time when this industry remained preponderantly male-dominated.

Possibly on the margins of this commercial world, because of more general assumptions about the suitability for females of certain occupations deemed to be 'caring', were the positions held by Florence Inglis Dodds and Ella Jane Bowmar, who were secretaries to women's organisations which ran hostels. Dodds, daughter of a Free Church minister, held that post in the YWCA in Dundee while

[100] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1881, 1901.

[101] CEBs 1871-1901.

[102] CEBs 1881, 1901.

[103] CEBs 1861, 1881, 1901, 1911.

[104] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1881-1901.

[105] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1861, 1881-1901.

[106] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1881, 1901-1911.

Bowmar was in 1911 secretary to Hopkinson House, a working women's hostel in Westminster, built in 1905 to accommodate 120 women in cubicles and bedrooms.[107]

Both Dorothea Maguire, her father a Church of England clergyman, whose LLA in 1884 included English, Modern Languages and History, and who was an indexer in 1911, and Eva Marion Parkinson, daughter of a landowner and educated at Cheltenham, an LLA in 1887, who had no occupation until 1911, when she was described as a translator of French and Italian, are more likely to have used their academic expertise directly. At the same time neither was likely to have been self-sufficient in these occupations and for both there is some indication in the Census information of the existence of private means.[108]

These women, of course, form a very disparate group and there is, at least based on the limited information available about their lives, little discernible pattern to their social origins, economic position or choice of occupation. How far their choices of paid work were a matter of aspiration or of necessity is equally impossible to know. What is clear, however, is that women clerical workers were unlikely to earn more than a fraction of a male income for the same post. Holcombe stresses that there was a belief at the time that wages were dragged down by the poor quality of education and experience of employees generally, but that for the highly qualified of either sex good prospects existed. In practice, it appears, however, that employers offered only routine and low-paid work to women, whom they expected to leave employment on marriage.[109] But if these were poorly paid, there were others even more badly off, and who might well have fallen under the heading of those 'distressed needlewomen' for whom SPEW had so much concern.

One such was Letitia Whiteman, who completed her LLA in one year in 1887. Daughter of a coal agent and educated at Montrose Academy, she appeared in the 1891 Census in Marylebone, described as a dressmaker, in a household where the head was also a dressmaker, and where around twenty other dressmakers lived. The area was a prestigious Georgian architectural creation, but uncertainty surrounds the reasons for a well-qualified woman finding herself in such

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[107] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1881, 1911; *Post Office Directory, Dundee* 1885-86; E. Gee, 'Where shall she live ? Housing the New Working Women in Late Victorian and Edwardian London', in *Living, Leisure and Law: Eight Building Types in England 1800-1914,* ed. G. Brandwood (Reading, 2010), pp. 99-100.

[108] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1871, 1881, 1901, 1911.

[109] L. Holcombe, *Victorian Ladies at Work: Middle Class Working Women in England and Wales, 1850-1914* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 151-2.

employment.[110] She was not alone, however, for Annie Leighton Peebles and Jane Stewart Ritchie, LLAs in 1889 and 1884 respectively, followed the same employment. In the case of Peebles, family circumstances may have played a part, as her father, a comfortably-off wood merchant, had died when she was very young, the family had moved to Dundee and she had acquired both a step-father and a lower standard of living.[111] Ritchie's position may have been similar in that her father was no longer in the family home by 1881.[112] It is therefore by no means clear that all who achieved their St Andrews certificate were able to benefit fully from it in terms of employment status and income.

Religious women

The constraints upon women's activities within churches even by the late nineteenth century have already been noted. Ordination itself remained beyond reach until well into the twentieth century even in the more liberal sects, with the first woman at Glasgow University matriculating to study theology in 1909. She was ordained into the Pentecostal Church in Scotland, the first of her sex to be so admitted.[113] The United Free Church allowed women as ministers and elders only in 1929, but it was 1969 before the Church of Scotland followed in making women eligible for ordination and 1974 when the Methodist church appointed its first female to full ministry. Nevertheless, across most branches of the Christian faith and beyond, other outlets in the church were available in the late Victorian period and were closely related yet again to the female nurturing role so commended. The Church of Scotland actively used women missionaries from an early date, the first single female having gone out to Western India in 1839.[114] Jessie Chalmers Lister (Mrs Duncan), a former schoolteacher who received her LLA in 1889, worked for many years with her Baptist minister husband as one of the earliest female teachers and missionaries in China, eventually becoming treasurer of the Taiyuan University in 1902 when her husband was appointed its first principal. On her return in 1909 she extended her church work by helping to found the Women's Auxiliary of the Scottish Baptist Union, acting as its national treasurer. She was a member of the College Committee of the Baptist Union of Scotland from 1932 to 1947, as well as of its European Committee, and thus

[110] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1881-1891.

[111] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEB 1861, 1881-1891; Sheriff Court Dundee SC16/41/26.

[112] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1861, 1881.

[113] http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH22639&type=P accessed 27 October 2013.

[114] Church of Scotland Board of World Mission. http://www.mundus.ac.uk/cats/14/1032.htm accessed 27 October 2013.

infiltrated the mainstream governance of her church.[115] Mary Agnes Molesworth, daughter of a Church of England clergyman, became a missionary in Central Africa. She is described as such in 1901 but no more is known about her working life.[116] Another LLA missionary, however, whose efforts became a subject of admiration in her adopted country, was Mary Helena Cornwall Legh whose career combined teaching, medical, and missionary work. A prolific writer of children's stories, in early 1907 she volunteered to go to Japan as a self-paid missionary and there at Kusatsu founded the St.Barnabas' Mission to Lepers. As well as establishing a church, she set up homes, a primary school, a kindergarten and a hospital. Cornwall Legh died in Japan in 1941 just after the United Kingdom had declared war without ever knowing of the hostilities and was honoured with the distinction of the 6th Order of the Sacred Treasure.[117]

Deaconesses, however, played an important role within most British churches in the nineteenth century. The Church of Scotland in the 1880s opened up this new opportunity for women to take a specific role in its ministry, and the inauguration of its Deaconess Hospital in Edinburgh provided a base where women might train to minister and care for the sick both at home and abroad. Marion Hay Mitchell, who studied in 1883 and was herself the daughter of a Church of Scotland minister, became one of its early Deaconesses**,** before marrying James Henderson, an Indian chaplain.[118]

Another way in which LLA women could participate in religious activities was in the long-standing tradition of female communities, which in both the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches became enormously successful in the later nineteenth century. The Scottish Episcopalian Church too had its sisterhoods with five houses by the end of the century.[119] Vicinus asserts that 'Victorian society assumed that religion would be the inspiration for women's work; religious belief kept the high idealism of charity strong, sanctifying both the giver and the receiver'. For the women themselves, she believes that 'If [women] had no or few home duties, an organised religious life among like-

[115] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; http://www.mundus.ac.uk/cats/10/1004.htm accessed 27 October 2013.

[116] CEBs 1881, 1901.

[117] A. H. Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The British Protestant Missionary Movement in Japan, Korea and Taiwan, 1865-1945* (Toronto, 2009), Vol. 2, pp.75, 94, 151-2, 178, 252; http://japan.anglican.org/province/nskk_pdf/nl2007_dec.pdf accessed 30 October 2013; http://homepage2.nifty.com/jmm/legh/ls1.html accessed 30 October 2013.

[118] CEB 1891.

[119] http://www.episcopalhistory.org/19th-century accessed 26 October 2013

minded women simply made for more effective service'.[120] Mumm too refers to a different understanding of the role of religious communities where 'women were attracted to sisterhoods by the opportunity they offered to translate subversive intellectual and vocational drives into the more acceptable language of religion.'[121] While there is no evidence to suggest that religion played for LLA women any different role in their lives than for Victorian females at large, the fact that only two have been found to have taken vows may serve to indicate that they were in general more comfortable in giving that service as individuals. Rosamund Miller, daughter of an accounts clerk, had become by 1901 a Sister of Mercy Nun at All Hallows Community House at Ditchingham, an Anglican religious community of sisters, who took vows to live the religious life in the community for life, while Mary Helen Murrell, whose father was a Church of England curate, was a Sister of Mercy at Toxteth in Lancashire, in what appears to have been a girls' industrial school.[122] They would appear to have been exceptions.

On the other hand, there remains a sense that some at least of those women who studied for the LLA were led to seek more freethinking approaches to religion, as had Lily Dougall, for instance. Another was Harriet Isabella Cooper-Oakley, who after studying at Girton and marrying in 1884 joined the Theosophical Society and accompanied its founder Helena Blavatsky to India. She lectured for the Society in England, Europe, Australasia and America and at the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893, as well as in 1905 organising Hungary's first Lodge for the Society and others in Italy. Her appointment as President of the International Committee for Research into Mystic Tradition was made by Annie Besant. Theosophy had a strong appeal for some women, particularly feminists, since it laid claim to the equality of the sexes.[123]

Benevolent work

Even given the long tradition of voluntary work by middle-class women among the less-advantaged and its general acceptance as an appropriate occupation for females, Kathryn Gleadle's claim that 'over half a million women were involved in philanthropy in 1893…and their effect was out of

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[120] Vicinus, *Independent Women*, pp. 46, 48.

[121] S. Mumm*, Stolen Daughters, Virgin Mothers: Anglican Sisterhoods in Victorian Britain* (London, 1999), p. xi.

[122] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; CEBs 1861, 1881, 1901.

[123] *Girton College Register,* pp. 20-1; Besant was a prominent advocate of female-controlled birth-control and a former member of the National Secular Society and the Malthusian League; S. Steinbach, *Women in England 1760-1914: A Social History* (London, 2004), pp. 122, 125, 160-1.

proportion to their numbers' is remarkable.[124] There was much overlap between benevolent work and other forms of social and political involvement and a number of LLAs were recognised for their commitment to a broad spectrum of charitable institutions. A divide such as has been made here is therefore in some sense an artificial construct, but is of necessity a matter of organisation. The academic career of Elizabeth Phillips Hughes has been examined in Chapter 4, but in her later years after her travels in Japan and America she settled in Barry in her native South Wales, where she organised, equipped and presented a VAD Hospital to the government and was its Commandant from 1915 to 1918. Other voluntary activities were undertaken as a Member of the Council of Cardiff University College, of the Court of the University of Wales and of Glamorgan County Education Committee. She also started the first British Red Cross Society Camp and for her services was awarded the MBE in 1918 and an Honorary LLD from the University of Wales in 1920.[125] Mary Lily Walker's contribution was in a different field. She was educated at Tayside House School, took LLA examinations in 1884 and briefly studied chemistry at Queen's College, Dundee. But instead of pursuing an academic vocation, she turned her attention to ameliorating the plight of Dundee's working population and especially its women and children. As one of the first members of D'Arcy Thomson's Dundee Social Union, she wrote reports on health and housing and founded the Grey Lodge Settlement in the city as part of the University Settlement movement. Her assistance enabled Emily Thomson to open a Women's Hospital and helped transform Dundee with the creation of health visitor programmes, baby clinics, school dinners, convalescent holidays for children, and clubs.[126]

Ada Heather-Bigg's activities as a journalist have already been considered, but her overall contribution to society was multi-faceted. Her concern, like that of Walker, for the health and happiness of children in urban environments led her to establish the Children's Fresh Air Mission, while also arranging evening sessions of games, singing and dancing in the board schools of inner London. Heather-Bigg campaigned for SPEW and as an official of the Women's Employment Defence

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[124] K. Gleadle, *British Women in the 19th century* (Basingstoke and London, 2001), p. 157.

[125] *Newnham College Register*, p. 69.

[126] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars; Smart, *Biographical Register*, p. 911; Ewan et al, *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women,* p. 364; M. Baillie, 'The Grey Lady: Mary Lily Walker of Dundee', in L. Miskell, C.A. Whatley, B. Harris, eds, *Victorian Dundee: image and realities* (East Linton, 2000); C. McKean and P.A. Whatley, *Lost Dundee*: *Dundee's lost architectural heritage* (Edinburgh, 2008), pp. 173-4; St Andrews University Library Special Collections ms46331/2 Cuttings from the Dundee Advertiser 2 July 1913; http://www.dundeewomenstrail.org.uk/stories.php?id=17

League also upheld women's employment rights. She promoted the appointment of female factory inspectors and was implicated in the introduction of the Married Women's Property Act.[127] Her career illustrates effectively the manner in which the interests and actions of motivated and educated women – the kind who often sought the LLA in its early years - might be spread over a range of social and quasi-political causes.

Public life and social campaigning

Until the Representation of the People and Eligibility of Women Acts of 1917 and 1918 offered female suffrage and election opportunities, albeit still limited, at national level, any woman who wished to take an active part in politics was limited to the more marginal roles of trade unionism and in some cases local government. The former seem to have been a favoured outlet for the aspirations of some LLAs and the promotion of the employment rights of their own gender a particular aim. Margaret Hardinge Irwin, daughter of a Broughty Ferry master mariner, had taken her certificate in 1880, followed by study at the School of Art and Queen Margaret College in Glasgow.[128] She worked briefly as an assistant teacher, but her work for social change began when she became Secretary to the Women's Protective and Provident League, and later Secretary of the Scottish Council for Women's Trades. As one of four Lady Assistant Commissioners of the Women's Trade Union Association 'instructed to investigate differential wages between men and women', Irwin produced reports on women's working conditions in sweatshop industries for the Royal Commission on Labour. She interested herself in the conditions of women employed in homework and investigated their situation by visiting tenement slums. Her interest too in female suffrage emerged when in 1897 she was responsible for a motion at the first Scottish Trade Union Congress. As well as campaigning and writing tirelessly, Margaret also applied her ideas personally and in her later years employed women and girl workers in model conditions at her own fruit farm in Perthshire.[129]

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[127] C. Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities 1870-1939* (London 1995), pp. 206-7; R. Livesey, *Women, Class and Social Action in Late-Victorian and Edwardian London*, (PhD Thesis, University of Warwick, Centre for the Study of Women and Gender), 1999, pp. 209, 215-6, 222.

[128] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars.

[129] Ewan et al, *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, pp. 180-1; Livesey, *Women, Class and Social Action*, p.227.

The teachers' union, the Educational Institute of Scotland, founded in 1846, seems from relatively early in its history to have taken an egalitarian attitude to the inclusion of the many women teachers in Scottish schools and its first female members appeared in 1874 just after the 1872 Education Act.[130] The names of several LLAs occur as both members and officials. Agnes Walker, previously noted as Lady Superintendent in the Aberdeen Free Church Training College, was active in the union, as was Janet Walker who taught at an Aberdeen board school.[131] Malzina Harriet Beck, daughter of a Berwickshire groom, presided over a Ladies' Meeting as part of the EIS on 21 Sept 1901 and on her retirement was described as a Fellow of the institute, having 'given 40 years of faithful service to the Board'.[132] Most prominent amongst this group was Elizabeth Fish, who emerged as the first elected woman president of the EIS. Daughter of a city missionary who then became chaplain to Sharp's Institution in Perth, Fish worked in board schools before teaching Modern languages at Glasgow's Bellahouston Academy. She acted as President of the Glasgow branch of the EIS before moving on to the same post at a national level in 1913.[133] Her attitudes to equality appear to have been ambivalent for while upholding the principle of equal pay for both genders within her profession she was aware of the potential risks and argued:

> …if we teachers ask that the salaries of all teachers be now raised to the level of what men teachers think theirs ought to be, we shall alienate the sympathies of a public not yet convinced of the justice of our demand.[134]

Her obituary nevertheless saw her as 'the champion of women teachers in Scotland' and though she considered it unwise to demand equal pay, she condemned the low pay of women teachers and warned that, as new careers opened up in medicine and the civil service, there would

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[130] J. Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education* (London, 1969), Vol. 2, p. 128.

[131] A.T. McCall, *Aberdeen School Board Female Teachers* (Aberdeen, 2007), p. 59.

[132] *Educational News*, 28 Sept 1901; *The Scotsman,* 9 Feb 1915; I am also indebted to Alison McCall for sharing information on Beck.

[133] Jane McDermid, 'Fish, Elizabeth Mary Jane (1860–1944)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/62320, accessed 29 Oct 2013; Ewan et al, *Biographical Dictionary,* p. 120; Glasgow Herald 22 March 1944; *The EIS Equality Bulletin 2009 Gude Cause: Commemorating the Women's Movement Procession, 10 October 1909* (Edinburgh, 2009).

[134] *Scottish Educational Journal*, 39 (9 Jan 1914), 30.

be a decline in the quality as well as the numbers of women entering the classrooms, paralleling the decline of male teachers in the previous half-century.[135]

Sarah Bannister, who had a distinguished career in teacher training in London, turned to local government in 1918 after her retirement from professional posts and served for almost twenty years on the Hendon Urban District Council, primarily sitting on its Education Committee. When Hendon was given borough status, she became one of the first female aldermen elected.[136] There is no indication that Bannister had any particular party affiliation and in that respect she can be compared to Isabella Burgess of Aberdeen, who after long experience in elementary teaching was elected as an Independent candidate to the Gilcomston ward in 1930. An avowed supporter of mixed gender local authorities and of the place of women especially on Health Committees to support female health requirements, Burgess also sat on Education Committees. [137] Unequivocally committed to the Labour movement, however, were Hettie Millicent Hughes, who stood unsuccessfully as candidate for the University of Wales in 1918, and Gertrude Tuckwell, an early member of the Independent Labour Party, who was active as a trade union organiser and campaigner for women's rights, researching conditions in industrial workshops.[138] Violet Markham referred to her as 'the soul of much achievement in the ranks of labour'.[139] Catherine Isabella Dodd attended the 1896 International Women's Conference in Berlin and her radical, independent outlook was also seen in her Fabianism, and in her travels in central and Eastern Europe observing educational developments there. Her professional and writing activities were deeply influenced by her commitment to

[135] *Glasgow Herald*, 22 March 1944.

[136] P. Hirsch and M. Hilton, ed, *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress 1790-1930* (London, 2000), p. 138.

[137] W.H. Fraser and C.H. Lee, eds. *Aberdeen 1800-2000: A New History* (East Linton, 2000), p. 396; *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 24 October 1930; for discussions on Isabella Burgess I am also grateful to Alison McCall.

[138] C. Hunt , 'Gertrude Tuckwell and the British Labour Movement 1891-1921: a study in motives and influences', *Women's History Review* 22.3 (2013), 478-96; http://www.unionhistory.info/timeline/Tl_Display.php?irn=104&QueryPage=..%2FAdvSearch.php accessed 29 October 2013.

[139] Violet Markham, *May Tennant: A Portrait* (London, 1949), p. 14 cited in Hunt, *Gertrude Tuckwell*, p. 479.

increased opportunities for women in all fields, although she does not appear to have been directly active in the suffrage movement itself.[140]

It is not surprising that women with the ambition and strength of purpose to engage with the LLA should be active in political movements, but for some professionals, the potentially negative consequences of being involved in particular with the suffrage movement were a risk. For doctors, as Marion Gilchrist was, this was particularly so. Like some other bold medical women, Gilchrist was nonetheless an active suffragist and founder member of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage, leaving in 1907 to join the more radical Women's Social and Political Union and the Women's Freedom League. She was never known to support militant activities, however.[141] Dorinda Neligan as a GPDST headmistress waited until her retirement before directing her energies into suffragism and becoming an active campaigner. At the age of 77 she took a prominent part in the demonstrations of 18 November 1910, 'Black Friday', with Emmeline Pankhurst, Elizabeth Garrett Anderson and others and was arrested for allegedly assaulting a police officer. No charges were brought after friends testified to the naturally peaceful disposition of this septuagenarian. Another GPDST headmistress, Sarah Allen-Olney, was a signatory of the 1885 Women's Suffrage Bill, but with her sister resigned to set up a private school the following year.[142]

Arguably the position of married women might also have been difficult but in the case of Margaret Wynne Jones (Mrs Nevinson), a journalist who did charity work for Toynbee Hall and who was an elected Poor Law Guardian in London, her views were in concert with those of her husband.[143] Marital status did not apparently hinder Kate Kennedy, Mrs Macpherson, who had been an

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[140] A. B. Robertson, 'Dodd, Catherine Isabella (1860–1932)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48579 accessed 30 October 2013].

[141] Michael S. Moss, 'Gilchrist, Marion (1864–1952)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47538, accessed 29 October 2013.

[142] Triona Adams, 'Olney, Sarah Allen (1842-1915)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52261, accessed 29 October 2013.

[143] E. Crawford, *The Women's Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide 1866-1928* (London, 1999), pp. 445-6; Angela V. John, 'Nevinson , Margaret Wynne (1858–1932)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2006 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/45464, accessed 30 Oct 2013.

elementary schoolteacher and then a Lady Superintendent, before marrying a Perth solicitor. Her role in local suffrage may be typical of many more LLAs who may never be identified. In 1913 according to a writer in *The Suffrage Annual,* 'she stated that she had always been keenly interested in the suffrage and entered into active work for the cause when the militant movement came into being'.[144] Agnes Wilkie too, whose career as a GPO clerk has already been discussed, was involved at a local level as secretary to the Muswell Hill Branch of the LSWS.[145] A former headmistress of her own school, Eliza Georgina Woods returned from living abroad to take up suffrage work and become Vice-Chairman of the Chelsea and Belgravia and later of the Hampstead branches of the CUWFA, and she joined several processions.[146] Kate Ryley, daughter of a Wigan engineer, was prominent in local suffrage as a member of the WLF and in 1915 as treasurer of the Southport Branch of the US, besides being a staunch crusader for higher education.[147]

Suffrage activity, as we can see, often combined with other forms of social activism. Only a few examples can be documented like Margaret Zoe Hadwen, daughter of a Liverpool hide broker, who in 1911 was a Poor Law Guardian in Chelsea, in addition to her membership of the WSPU. Her garden in Chelsea was planted with irises and lilies in the colours of the movement and she provided these for the 1911 Coronation Suffrage Procession.[148] Amongst those LLAs for whom no formal occupation is easily identifiable, however, it is more than likely that many more did make contributions, perhaps at local level, to school boards, charitable endeavours, suffragism and other societies. Kate Ryley, in addition to her suffrage commitment, was a member of the Birkdale School Board between 1889 and 1902. In line with her strong Liberal principles and militant tendencies, she made herself unpopular in some circles over her insistence on achieving higher educational standards and through her public criticism of teaching staff, but survived to chair the board and subsequently serve on the Lancashire LEA.[149] In Scotland, McDermid has found that, of women

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[144] L. Leneman, *A Guid Cause: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland* (Edinburgh,1995), p. 264; http://www.alternative-perth.co.uk/suffragettemovement.htm accessed 29 October 2013.

[145] A.J.R., ed, *The Suffrage Annual and Women's Who's Who 1913* (London, 1913), p. 395.

[146] *The Suffrage Annual*, p. 402.

[147] Elizabeth Crawford, *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain and Ireland: A Regional Survey* (Oxford 2006); http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2712&dat=19150312&id=OG89AAAAIBAJ&sjid=WysMAAAAIBAJ&pg=2354,17435140 accessed 30 October 2013.

[148] CEB 1911; A. V. John, *Elizabeth Robins: Staging a Life, 1862-1952* (Oxford, 1995), p. 153.

[149] P. Hollis, *Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government 1865-1914* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 171-5.

eligible to vote after 1872 and to stand for election on school boards, only seventeen were returned in 1873 compared to well over 6000 men. No LLAs have been identified in the early years as serving on the Scottish boards and Bain's detailed work on Fife similarly reveals no evidence, but it does confirm that existing elected women were predominantly married or widowed and came from landowning classes.[150]

Comparison of later occupations of the LLA sample with the 145 female undergraduates at St Andrews was, as has already been noted, complicated by the fact that the later lives of fewer of these could be traced.[151] Of those known, some married, and some 25% worked in education at some level, a substantially lower proportion than for LLAs even allowing for the missing individuals. Of the others, the figure of some ten women in all who followed medical careers can be seen as more significant than for LLAs, an indication in all likelihood of greater ease of entry and the existence of more established routes into the profession in this later period. The patterns for the remainder of matriculands and LLAs were remarkably alike, however, with small numbers of journalists and authors, a nurse, an artist, and a librarian amongst the former. There was one shop assistant and one of the first female ministers of the Unitarian Church and, in spite of the low numbers involved, some suggestion that these women too were prepared or required to step out of the mould. Of St Andrews male undergraduates from the same period as the LLAs, it has been noted that teaching, especially subject teaching in secondary schools was a frequent option, as was medicine, but otherwise, the traditional male preserves of the church, law, and the Indian Civil Service accounted for the careers of many**.** There was little or no indication that many men strayed outside the bounds of the expected, and this examination confirmed the contrasting willingness, or indeed necessity, of the LLA women in particular to adopt more radical alternatives. The detailed quantification required to make a close comparison with the early students of the women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge was not possible here, but indications are that these too embraced a broader range of careers than male graduates, and as well as teaching were highly involved in the caring professions and social and political activities. Thus early LLAs tended, not surprisingly, to have aspirations in common with other women who received higher education.[152]

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[150] J. McDermid, 'Blurring the boundaries: school board women in Scotland 1873 to 1919', *Women's History Review* 19.3 (2010), 357-73; A. Bain, *Towards Democracy in Scottish Education: The Social Composition of Popularly Elected School Boards in Fife (1873-1919)* (Linlithgow, 1998).

[151] The last available Census being in the year 1911 means that careers cannot be ascertained as readily for this later group of women.

[152] *Girton College Register*; *Somerville College Register*; *Lady Margaret Hall Register*.

The women described in this chapter represent a small percentage of the total number of LLAs under study. As has been demonstrated, they, nevertheless, punched above their weight in terms of breaking new professional ground and influencing social change. They derived mostly, but not exclusively, from middle-class backgrounds but showed willingness – even when unnecessary - to seek occupation in a wide variety of contexts. Generally they present a picture of women socially engaged either in caring predominantly for other women and children or active as protagonists in social, political and suffrage reform. In one sense it is arguable that they had not broken out of the Victorian stereotype of nurturing women; in another, they might be regarded as examples of a new breed of proto-feminist, for whom the LLA was part of a range of experiences that set them apart from most of their female contemporaries.

Chapter 6

The beginning of the end or the end of the beginning?: the LLA from 1892 onwards

Examination so far of the context of the St Andrews LLA has demonstrated its place in the wider social and educational developments of the second half of the nineteenth-century. At the same time, the backgrounds of its earliest students and the potential value of the qualification to them have been explored in some detail. At the end of the period under study the whole landscape of women's higher education, in Scotland at least, was changing around the scheme. Thus questions as to the nature of the relationship of the LLA with the degrees newly available to women began to be raised, and the viability of a continuing and sustainable role for the LLA came under scrutiny. For our own purposes, an assessment of the longer-term impact of the scheme itself - including any evidence for its direct effects on the broader evolution of women's higher education - as well as some comment on its own future in the light of other progress made in that area by the end of the century remains to be completed.

The entry of women undergraduates

The Universities (Scotland) Act of 1889 impacted on a number of areas of concern in St Andrews apart from the pressing one of female entry to higher education. Besides constitutional matters which gave greater powers to the University Court and a solution to the anomalous position of University College, Dundee, the Act addressed revisions within the Arts faculty, the creation of a separate faculty of Sciences, and reform of the Medical faculty, all of which in effect had direct implications also for the women students, who were first able to enter the university in 1892.[1] In April of that year, the Senatus at St Andrews was intimating its acceptance of women and considering arrangements for their arrival.[2] Forty-three women immediately entered classes, some at University College in Dundee, although only just over a quarter of this total eventually graduated within the university itself. Despite the campaign for entry to medical faculties having been initially a central factor in pushing the case for higher education, the curriculum for medicine within the university, ironically, had not yet been settled, but as a stop-gap measure the Court in April 1893 recognised that lectures delivered in the Edinburgh School of Medicine might be accepted for

[1] R.G. Cant, *The University of St Andrews: A Short History* (St Andrews, 1992).

[2] UYUY452/221 Minutes of the Senatus Academicus.

admission for graduation. It was not until 1897 that an appointment was made of a female lecturer, a Miss Alice Umpherston, in physiology, and that was for a fixed term of one year only. Therefore, of those women who entered the university up to 1899, some did eventually proceed to medical degrees either at St Andrews or elsewhere, and to registration with the British Medical Council, but the MA was by far the most frequent qualification with no women graduating with a BSc until as late as 1901.[3]

The struggle to reach this point had, however, begun much earlier. The Act itself had been under consideration since the early 1880s and the political campaign for admission of women to the Scottish universities went back further still. The Universities (Scotland) (Degrees to Women) Bill of 1875, brought by the Liberal MPs, Cowper-Temple, Russell Gurney, Orr Ewing, and Cameron, 'to remove doubts as to the powers of the Universities of Scotland to admit Women as Students and to grant Degrees to Women', had been unsuccessful.[4] It had, however, attracted the support of eight out of the fourteen professors of St Andrews, including the senior Principal, but had been opposed by the Senates of Edinburgh and Glasgow.[5]

The influence of the LLA on the campaign for female entry to university

Determined efforts to prompt St Andrews to take action had been made, some of which directly involved the LLAs themselves. Mrs Daniell, who had previously campaigned for the re-introduction of Local Examinations at St Andrews, was responsible for communicating with those women who had already received their certificates. In reply to her requests in 1880 for support in a campaign for female higher education, thirty-three letters, altogether representing thirty-six early entrants to the scheme, were received by the Senatus. From both England and Scotland the respondents included some of the most prominent and successful of the women involved like Ada Heather-Bigg, Margaret Hardinge Irwin, Elizabeth Phillips Hughes, and the Crookshank sisters, joint headmistresses of St Leonard's College in Stamford Hill. The last, as were Heather-Bigg and others, were content to

[3] Statistics compiled from R.N. Smart, *Biographical Register of the University of St Andrews, 1747-1897* (St Andrews, 2004) and the St Andrews University Calendars; the first female BSc at St Andrews was Catherine Kirk McPherson of Dundee; men had been receiving the award since 1889.

[4] Universities (Scotland) (Degrees to Women) Bill. *HC Deb 08 February 1875 vol 222 c142* http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1875/feb/08/universities-scotland-degrees-to-women accessed 12 May 2014.

[5] *Bristol Selected Pamphlets* (1875), 3 http://www.jstor.org/stable/60246466 accessed 12 May 2014.

provide a simple indication of support and to allow their names to be added to the proposed memorial, but Hughes, who was still teaching at Cheltenham Ladies College at the time, was anxious to make her personal views known. She clearly valued the benefits of the manner in which the LLA was organised and was adamant that non-residence and the present broad range of subjects should be preserved as options for women pursuing degrees. Only with such assurances would she consent to sign the memorial, a stance consistent with the reformist position of Newnham College which she shortly afterwards attended. Helen Smith from Montrose also expressed her wish 'that this [possibility of degrees] had been the case before so that I might have availed myself of the privilege'. Another respondent stated that while 'until the receipt of your letter, I was under the impression that the St Andrews LA degree was equal to the MA for men, but if such is not the case' she would be very glad to add her signature. All but one of the letters were warmly in favour of the proposal to admit women to degree programmes, the single exception being Matilda Haselden, a teacher in London, who asserted :

> I should not like my name appended to any memorial whose purport I did not fully comprehend. Although I highly appreciate every educational advantage offered to my own sex, I think that the education of women and men is more effectually carried on separately than together, and as I understand your memorial has for its object an endeavour to throw open to women teaching primarily intended for men only.[6]

Following this otherwise positive response, the Senatus produced a paper on 'University Education for Women at St Andrews', which was sent out accompanied by a request from Daniell for funding for a campaign. In this the Senatus expressed its willingness to 'grant separate courses of systematic University Instruction to women' if sufficient funds were raised by the petitioners.[7] These 'petitioners' were those signatories to several memorials which had been received by the Senatus by this time. Besides Mrs Daniell's LLA recruits, they represented residents in Cupar and its neighbourhood, the Ladies Educational Association of Perth, the Committee of the Association for the Higher Education of Women in Dundee, a group of 'gentlemen in Brechin interested in the Higher Education of women', one of women from the same town, and another with fifteen

[6] Papers relating to the LLA Scheme and the establishment of University Hall UYUY3778/1/B/14, 29, 30, 33.

[7] UYUY3778/1/B/48.

signatures from prominent figures in the town of Arbroath. Significantly, these signatories included parents and other relatives of LLA candidates.[8]

Amongst those who were familiar with it, there was clearly a keen appreciation of the existing benefits of the LLA and solid support for significant expansion of the sort of opportunities it afforded. The closeness of the links between the scheme and the campaign for degrees for women was in part indicated by the fact that seven women who had already studied for the LLA matriculated in the university itself almost as soon as was permitted, as did several sisters of LLAs.[9] The committee itself remained supportive, and its commitment was only likely to have been bolstered by the appointment of Arthur Stanley Butler in 1880 as Professor of Natural Philosophy. Butler was the second son of Josephine Butler, prominent philanthropist and pioneer for women's rights and education. He expressed her influence upon him thus: 'All the good there is in me I owe to you & I shall cherish your words and teaching as long as I live.'[10]

On a practical level, profits from the LLA scheme, the best part of £3,000, were diverted in 1894 to aid the foundation of University Hall as the first purpose-built accommodation for female students in Scotland and Knight was personally responsible for also obtaining finance from a trust fund and for writing to individuals to seek subscriptions to cover the costs of its foundation.[11] The LLA fund continued to pay the salary of the Hall's Warden and to contribute to the upkeep of the fabric until 1908. Later still it subsidised a building extension and supported a second such enterprise, Mackintosh Hall. From 1895 monies were set aside from the fund to award bursaries of £20, tenable for three years, to female undergraduates. Eleven women benefited from these before 1899 and the scheme ran until 1920-21. At the request of Louisa Lumsden, Warden of University Hall, an additional award of £30 was designated as being attached to residential accommodation there. On occasion, additional discretionary awards appear to have been made: in 1895 Isobel Keith Campbell and Christina Shairpe Auchterlonie, whose father had recently died, received these in cases of particular hardship. The LLA committee involved itself too with the existing Taylour Thomson bursaries which, by their conditions, were available to women pursuing medical studies. As a result

[8] UYUYY3778/1/B.

[9] LLA and University Calendars.

[10] Obituary: Arthur Stanley Butler, *Nature,* 111 (07 April 1923), 474-5; NRO, ZBU.E3/B3, Stanley Butler to Josephine Butler, n.d. cited in J. Jordan, *Josephine Butler* (London 2007), 180.

[11] UYUY3778/1/A includes some of the replies he received with offers of donations of between £25 and £100.

of negotiation, by 1896 seven of these could be awarded to female students intending to undertake medical qualifications in the future. [12]

Less direct effects of the success of the LLA must have impacted on the decision to introduce degrees for women. A decade on from its initiation, there existed a large body of articulate, intelligent and often influential holders of the diploma who moved in diverse circles, as has been seen in previous chapters. They were visible examples of what could be accomplished and of what such women had to offer society, if only they were able to attain higher education. Their inspiration even if intangible could not have been negligible.

The impact of female undergraduate entry upon the LLA

The second section of this chapter examines the impact of the opening of Scottish universities to women upon the LLA. In doing so, it considers whether there were significant differences after 1892 in the kind of women who continued to take it, by assessing what changes there were to the social composition of the intake and determining whether there was any significant alteration in the patterns of subsequent occupations. In this new context, it might be expected that the LLA was regarded in a different light, both by the University of St Andrews itself and by the students who undertook it, and their expectations, as well those of the wider contemporary academic and professional communities, will also be considered**.**

The composition of this later student body was analysed in the same way as the earlier group. Since it was the intention to estimate any overall changes, but in this case not deliberately to construct individual case histories, a sample of 10% of the entrants between 1892 and 1904 was extracted. This method produced a group of just fewer than 400 individual women, about 25% of the size of the first LLA cohort and the statistics derived were compared with those presented in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. Although predictably there were many points of similarity, some significant differences are clear.

[12] UYUY452/221; LA [LLA] *Certificate and Local Examinations Committee Minutes* UYUY377/4 1892-1896; Smart, *Biographical Register*, p. xviii; R.N. Smart, 'Literate Ladies - a Fifty Year Experiment', *The Alumnus Chronicle,* 59 (June 1968), p 26.

The distribution of ages of students from 1877, as we have seen, was an important indicator of the unusual uptake of the LLA, in comparison especially with male undergraduates. For the 1892 group again not all students' ages were found but just under 300 individuals - representing approximately 75% of the total sample - were identified. Of these, only 10% were below eighteen years of age when they entered study, compared to approximately 35% of those between 1877 and 1892, a factor perhaps to be explained by the smaller number of schools which continued to prepare pupils for the LLA, a situation which will require further comment. The large majority of these students were older and no woman was younger than eighteen when she actually completed the certificate. There was, however, an interesting trend for new candidates' ages to rise over the period, and while from 1892 until around 1898 by far the majority were in their twenties and early thirties, gradually more older women were embarking on studies through the LLA. Relatively more of these than of younger entrants were also completing the LLA. As a result in the first years of the twentieth century, a number were in their late thirties and forties, a situation which more closely mirrors the earliest years of the scheme.

The geographical origins of the post-1892 intake differed, but only in a pattern which developed over time. During this period, a higher proportion of entrants from non-Scottish addresses gradually emerged, although a few were Scots working south of border.

Table 6.1 - Geographical origins of LLA students 1892-1904[13]

	Scotland	England	Wales	Ireland	Abroad	Total
1892	11	17	1	1	2	**32**
1893	11	15	0	0	1	**27**
1894	13	25	0	0	0	**38**
1895	16	15	0	1	0	**32**
1896	18	10	0	0	0	**28**
1897	15	13	0	0	0	**28**
1898	10	15	1	0	1	**27**
1899	11	20	0	0	1	**32**
1900	6	18	2	2	4	**32**
1901	9	18	1	0	1	**29**
1902	10	18	0	0	1	**29**
1903	4	17	1	0	1	**23**
1904	2	28	1	0	1	**32**
Total	**136**	**229**	**7**	**4**	**13**	**389**

Apart from a minor peak in 1901/1902, numbers of students from Scotland appeared to tail off from the late 1890s onwards, while, although irregular from year to year, levels of English students were maintained, perhaps even increased, after a dip in the mid-1890s. Smart has commented that this trend continued and was amplified until at least 1910, when the ratio of non-Scots to Scots had reached 9 to 1.[14] While more general explanations will be sought for the relative decline of interest north of the border, minor fluctuations can easily derive from particular causes, such as the targeting

[13] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars.

[14] Smart, *Literate Ladies*, p. 24.

of Roman Catholic Training Colleges (of which there was only one in Scotland in any case) and other Training Colleges and schools by the LLA Convenor and committee. Over several summers between 1893 and 1898, Knight visited and lectured at training colleges in Bristol, Salisbury, Stockwell, Swansea, and Belfast, as well as two of the largest convent schools in England, Mount Pleasant in Liverpool and Notre Dame in Clapham, as well as the High Schools of Ilminster and Chester. In the same period for Scotland only the Normal College [Moray House] and St George's Training College in Edinburgh were mentioned. Knight declared himself confident that 'many of the students in these colleges will submit for examination'.[15]

During this period numbers at some of the larger Scottish examination centres declined markedly, with the previously substantial venue at Aberdeen in particular showing a significant fall - a factor almost entirely explained by the drop-off in numbers of pupils undertaking the LLA from its High School. Until around 1896 numbers held up, but thereafter declined dramatically, almost certainly a result of a direct, if belated, outcome of a preference for preparing pupils for places at Aberdeen University. The Edinburgh examination centre experienced a similar situation, although Glasgow continued to thrive for the time being. Simultaneously the number of individual centres increased overall with many more, smaller, examination venues being used. Instead of travelling to urban areas, students appear to have been claiming a right to be examined where they were, in an nteresting expression of the 'open university' model, and in Scotland smaller towns such as Peebles, Fort William, Dollar, Kirkwall and Lerwick operated LLA examinations over a number of years. Similarly in England outposts like Croydon, Salisbury, Devonport, Ilfracombe, and Scarborough were used, although London and the great northern cities remained popular. Centres outside the United Kingdom proliferated from the 1890s onwards too, catering largely for women learning or teaching abroad, but also in the view of Smart to allow trainee teachers of foreign nationalities to benefit from access to the scheme and tackle examinations in their native French and German.[16]

The LLA Calendars continued throughout this period to publish the institutions through which candidates had prepared for their certificates and there was both continuity in some respects and divergences in others between the early years and those after 1892. The fact that particular schools maintained a formal connection with the St Andrews scheme presented a continuing pattern, but the detail altered. For instance, the interest of Cheltenham Ladies College had died after only a few years and institutions such as the High Schools of Aberdeen and Dundee remained responsible for preparing large numbers of candidates, but gradually contributed fewer, both tailing off from about

[15] UYUY377/4 1892-1896 LLA minutes.

[16] UYUY377/3 LLA minutes; Smart*, Literate Ladies*, p. 24.

1897 onwards.[17] Dollar Institution, which featured during the 'pioneer years' as consciously promoting the LLA amongst its girl pupils also maintained a connection until the mid-1890s and hosted its own examination centre, but it too fulfilled a less important role as the last decade of the century wore on. On the other hand, the LLA convenor and committee were apparently targeting other schools and institutions, and several higher class schools, such as the Wallace Hall Academy in Dumfriesshire, Kirkcaldy High School and Elgin Academy involved themselves for a number of years. In Glasgow the Hillhead Public School was largely responsible for sustaining numbers of examinees. Otherwise, indications are that a large number of candidates prepared independently and these women declared a very broad range of educational backgrounds, including many higher grade and elementary board schools. Relatively fewer private establishments featured than earlier, with rarely more than one or two entrants from any one school. Occasionally an overseas establishment provided a group of pupils and notable amongst these was the Convent School of Notre Dame in Namur whose link lasted for a number of years.

Training colleges, including the Roman Catholic Training Colleges like Mount Pleasant in Liverpool, contributed large numbers of students after 1892. While in some cases it is apparent that certain colleges had a policy of deliberately preparing women for the LLA – several, such as the Cusack Institute in London, had their own examination centres – it is very likely that many women with a training college background, as with those directly from schools, also entered privately and while in employment. In London all of the major colleges and day training centres such as Whitelands, Southlands, Stockwell, St Katherine's, and the Home and Colonial College, were represented, with an overall majority of entrants declaring these rather than schools as preparation for their studies. In other parts of the country too, teacher training colleges feature very much more prominently than before 1892: ecclesiastical establishments such as the English diocesan colleges and convent-run colleges together with Moray House in Edinburgh and other state-supported institutions were responsible for the prior education of substantial numbers of candidates. Overall, however, there was an apparently clear-cut distinction between north and south of the border, with in England and Wales notably more women emerging from training colleges, and in Scotland more from schools. The reasons for this situation are not readily evident, but might well relate to the differences remaining, and further developing, between the national educational systems. It is likely that Scots girls had greater local access to higher class public schools and preparation up to university level in

[17] UYUY377/5 1896-1900; the LLA committee minutes note in 1898 that the High School of Aberdeen had given up training for the LLA.

the form of the unified Scottish Leaving Certificate of 1888, recognised by all the indigenous universities a year later.[18]

As in the earlier period, external and distance learning classes were used in some cases to augment previous education. The St George's Hall Correspondence Classes continued to attract some students, but their role diminished, with an LLA committee minute noting this fact in 1898. Other organisations had entered the field and competed successfully to break its virtual monopoly, like the University College, Nottingham which arranged classes from 1898.[19] The LLA Calendars carried advertisements for preparatory classes run by private individuals and institutions, and of these the Cusack Institute in Finsbury which provided 'oral classes for London students in all subjects of the LLA examination' and the London and Northern Tutorial Classes, run from Liverpool, which gave 'full postal tuition on a perfected system' became over time more popular.[20] Where students stated only that they had been educated 'privately', it is impossible to be sure what this means: it might denote anything from a governess-based education to the uptake of locally available evening classes.

As with the pre-1892 cohort, identification of religious background involves assumptions based on schooling, parental occupation (if the father was a clergyman) and on occasion on even less formal evidence.[21] As a result only a relatively small percentage of religious affiliations could be ascertained with any confidence. For the later sample the same problems arose and denomination was discovered for less than 13% of the sample. One clear difference, however, was the presence of a highly identifiable and quite substantial group, virtually absent from before 1892, of Roman Catholic students. This phenomenon might be explained as the result of a deliberate policy of the church or individual religious orders to prepare more highly qualified teachers to operate in the growing number of Roman Catholic schools. There was certainly a concurrent expansion of Roman Catholic training colleges and, as we have seen, LLA candidates came from these as well from faith schools. The LLA committee's policy of targeting training colleges had evidently borne fruit, but no doubt largely because it had been aware that the ground was already fertile. Other religious groups are more difficult to distinguish, especially because of a decline in number of daughters of clergy amongst entrants, but there is some indication that the LLA continued to attract Non-Conformists, perhaps disproportionately.

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[18] J. Scotland, *The History of Scottish Education* (London, 1969), Vol. 1, pp. 66-9.

[19] UYUY377/5 1896-1900.

[20] LLA and Local Examinations Calendars, 1901, p. 30.

[21] The religious variable was more difficult than others to determine from the information available and results cannot always be considered consistent, given the element of chance in discovery.

Analysis of occupational backgrounds for the post-1892 cohort, as for the earlier students, was also undertaken, making the same assumptions - that parental or spouse's employment was an acceptable surrogate for social class and wealth. On this occasion, because of the smaller size of the group, the top-level classes have not been sub-divided, and instead the results have been simply listed by year.

Table 6.2 - Occupational backgrounds of LLA students 1892-1901, all groups

	Class 1 Professional	Class 2 Commercial	Class 3 Agricultural	Class 4 Intermediate	Class 5 Working-class	Total
1892	8	5	0	5	0	18
1893	3	1	3	4	4	15
1894	5	1	4	10	7	27
1895	7	5	0	9	6	27
1896	2	4	3	13	1	23
1897	4	4	4	7	3	22
1898	7	5	2	6	2	22
1899	4	1	1	9	6	21
1900	4	3	3	5	2	17
1901	2	4	0	11	4	21
1902	5	1	0	8	3	17
1903	3	4	0	5	2	14
1904	5	4	0	6	4	19
Total	59	42	20	98	44	263
%	22.43	15.97	7.60	37.26	16.73	

As for the earlier group the table is based mainly on the Census Enumerators' Books, supplemented by information from Trades Directories, and data were found for 63.96% of the post-1892 entrants. The overall distribution was interesting and bore more detailed comparison with the social and occupational origins of the first LLAs.

Group 1 reduced in prominence, i.e. fewer women had fathers in the professions - 22.43% here as opposed to 30.90% in the early years. A similar proportion, however, were from clerical backgrounds, comprising 21 of those in Group 1, of whom four were missionaries. The Free Church and United Free Church together form the largest group; Methodists and Anglicans also feature, together with isolated instances of Congregationalist and Baptist, but surprisingly the Church of Scotland had only one example. There were sixteen parents who were teachers, a slightly smaller proportion than earlier, of whom a majority taught at elementary level, and although in some cases these were headmasters, it is likely that in many cases the schools were small. From the census data no parents were identifiably working in secondary schools, and only one, a college head, was in further education. Of the three doctors, one was a general practitioner, one a Professor of Anatomy, and another a psychiatrist and administrator. Five were solicitors, of whom one also functioned as a Sheriff Substitute. The remainder of this group comprised engineers and architects, both of whom were more represented than in the earlier period, a publisher, a senior policeman and a higher civil servant.

Numbers of parents engaged in commerce were only slightly down overall, but generally they were a more varied group with less emphasis on the textile manufacturing industries of the north of England and Eastern Scotland than had been the case between 1877 and 1892. Farmers and others making a living from agriculture showed a decrease from approximately 9% to 7.6% and Group 4, self-employed tradespeople and white collar workers, was only marginally higher with a similar internal composition as before. Group 5, the working class, however, displayed a more substantial and significant rise, from a little over 7% to 16.73%, and the internal composition of the group too had altered somewhat from earlier years. While there were still a number of domestic servants, butlers and coachmen and journeyman craftsmen, these had been overtaken by more industrial workers: patternmakers, a colliery worker, and a number of railway employees, from drivers and locomotive firemen to porters, perhaps indicating a greater emphasis on backgrounds of somewhat lower status.

Tentative conclusions to be drawn from this might be that the daughters of professionals were now tending more often to move directly to degree studies, perhaps to have more elevated aspirations, a desire to enter teaching at higher levels, or to access the medical profession. As yet, few other

professions were available to women. At the same time, it would appear that the LLA was becoming more attractive and more accessible to daughters of working-class families. Over the period, however, the proportion of entrants who passed sufficient examinations to achieve the full LLA certificate declined consistently from around 50% in 1892 and in the years immediately after to below 25% by around 1898. Since amongst the early LLAs almost 62% had completed, this change can be considered significant. The acquisition of the end qualification was apparently becoming less important than previously. Possibly the declining social status of the later LLAs may be part of the answer in that for some of the less well-off students the cost of several years' study might well be prohibitive and only the subjects deemed most advantageous to a prospective career were likely to be studied. At the same time, if it were the case that the value of the title of LLA was declining, then the effort would also be deemed less worthwhile.

It may be that career and other outcomes for the post-1892 students will provide useful clues here. As before, a breakdown of present or future occupations of the candidates is possible, but this group posed greater problems, because access to longer-term information was more difficult, CEB data not being openly available after 1911. Occupations, therefore, are traceable for only around 55% of the whole sample, and while this represents a disappointingly low outcome, it is known that some married early, and it is likely that more who cannot be traced also did so.

Table 6.3 - Occupations of LLA students 1892-1904

	Teachers elementary	Secondary and Head teachers	Teachers private schools	Higher/ Further/ College teachers	Governesses	Other	Total
1892	5	3	1	0	1	2	12
1893	10	0	3	0	0	0	13
1894	12	6	3	0	2	1	24
1895	11	4	2	1	2	1	21
1896	6	2	3	1	0	1	13
1897	11	4	0	0	0	1	16
1898	10	2	4	1	1	0	18
1899	11	3	1	0	0	1	16
1900	8	3	1	0	0	1	13
1901	10	2	3	0	0	0	15
1902	11	1	0	0	0	1	13
1903	8	6	1	0	0	1	16
1904	16	5	1	0	1	0	23
Total	129	41	23	3	7	10	213
%	**60.56**	**19.25**	**10.80**	**1.41**	**3.29**	**4.69**	

Altogether an impression emerges of a proportion entering teaching which was similar to the earlier cohort (over 93% of the present group were employed in education in some form; 97% between 1877 and 1892), but this later group entered predominantly into state and elementary education. A majority too of the identified head teachers ran state elementary schools with rather fewer in charge of Girls' High Schools. Fewer became governesses or taught in private schools although eight

appeared to have established their own institutions. That concurrent social and educational transformation (the Girls' Public Day School Trust, for instance, could now more readily recruit graduates) played some part in underpinning these changes can be accepted, but it must also be asked whether the internal social composition of the cohort was in some measure directly responsible.

A remarkably narrow range of other occupations was pursued. Those listed as 'others' included a medical student, who never appears on the medical register, two students at other higher institutions, an insurance clerk, one nun who does not seem also to have been a teacher, a farmer, a poet, and a newspaper proprietor. Only one medical student has later been found to be registered by the British Medical Association, in spite of the fact that in 1890 the General Medical Council had placed the LLA certificate on the list which entitled a student to exemption from preliminary medical examinations.[22] A small number only were identified as having continued into other higher education - to Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities, and the University of London but almost none to the Oxford and Cambridge ladies' colleges, one alone being a student at Newnham. As indicated above, some did matriculate at St Andrews itself.

Possibly even more significantly, only two women have been identified as activists of any sort. Eugenie Sheppard, the entrant who had also attended Newnham College, was described in *Votes for Women* in 1909 as 'carrying on an active campaign' in Marylebone.[23] Another prominent exception was Evelyn Mary Farren who moved from her post as vice-principal of Homerton Training College to join the ILP and eventually became in 1939 the first female to chair the London County Council.[24] Thus the preponderant focus of the post-1892 LLAs would seem to have been towards earning a living by teaching without necessarily possessing either the desire or the opportunity to go beyond elementary levels. Certainly, this is in strong contrast to the very earliest entrants for whom there is clear evidence of a desire to utilise the opportunities offered to their fullest.[25]

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[22] W.A. Knight, *A History of the LLA Examinations and Diploma for Women and of the University Hall* (Dundee, 1896), p. 20.

[23] *Votes for Women* (9 April 1909).

[24] http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/A2A/records.aspx?cat=106-7eml&cid=-1#-1 accessed 3 February 2014.

[25] The cohort of women who entered before 1880 included a considerable number of the highest achievers of all. See Chapters 4 and 5.

The position of the University

If the perceived aim of the later entrants was principally to enter the teaching profession, concern over the appropriateness of the LLA to underwrite this was simultaneously mirrored in the debates which began to surround the organisation and standing of the scheme itself. The draft ordinance submitted by the Senatus to the 1889 University Commissioners introduced the case of 'women who had not been taught or only partially taught within the university' and requested that for them it should 'be in the power of each University to admit women to examination on all the subjects qualifying for Degrees in Art and Science wherever they may have received their instruction, and to confer on them the Degree of L.L.A.' As Smart observes, this draft effectively muddied the waters by attempting to define the LLA as a

> title … while not equivalent to the possession of the degree of M.A. … [which] shall nevertheless be regarded as a university degree inasmuch as the standard of examination shall be precisely the same as that which Masters and Mistresses of Arts have to pass' [26]

In 1891 a deputation gave oral evidence to the Commissioners, urging that they

> …recognise the LLA title as the equivalent of an Academic Degree, or quasi-degree, for women marking in some way , the difference between it and a degree obtained after residence and teaching [27]

That despite these pleas the Commissioners omitted all reference to the LLA in their regulations of 1892 was indicative of some of the problems that were to come. Increasingly the business of the sub-committee and of the Senatus became mired in attempts to justify the status of the award. Symptomatic of the struggle was the request in 1897 of the High School in Aberdeen to have the Leaving certificates (Higher Grade) in Latin, Greek and Mathematics recognised as equivalent to passes in the LLA. Unsurprisingly, the Committee appointed to consider this threat to the status of the LLA did not approve it. By 1899, however, the committee had received letters from two LLAs complaining that their education departments, Wales and Glasgow respectively, were not adequately recognising the diploma. A letter from Middlesborough stated that if the LLA were to be accepted as a teaching qualification under the new Secondary Education Bill (1900), 'a great many

[26] UYUY3778/1/F; Smart, Literate Ladies, pp. 24-5.

[27] UYUY3778/1/A/28; Knight, *History of the LLA Examinations*, p. 23.

candidates would be attracted to the Middlesborough centre'. These events prompted a deputation to the Education Department on the subject of the certificate as a teaching qualification.[28]

The outcome was a wrangle that was to extend over several more years and provoke debates concerning the form and administration of the examinations. A sub-committee was appointed to compare these with the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations since the latter had been recognised by both English and Scottish Education Departments, and by 1901 the University Court had been asked formally to sanction the LLA scheme in order to satisfy the requirements of the English Education Department to accept it as an equivalent for teachers' examinations. In the meantime, the LLA committee appears to have been attempting to work closely and directly with some of the training colleges, notably the Salisbury Diocesan College, to fulfil the conditions required. Despite proposed alterations to the length of papers, choices of subjects and a limited introduction of practical examinations for some scientific subjects, the English Board of Education delayed acceptance of the LLA as a qualification for placement on its Register of Teachers. After appearing in 1903 to be prepared to accept conditions that would include at least two recognised subjects to be taken at Honours level, the Board dragged its heels in the dispute until November 1904 when it eventually wrote that it was not prepared to recognise the LLA Ordinary and Honours diploma on the grounds that it required a recognised course of study pursued at a recognised university. In short, a non-residential course was not acceptable.[29]

While this question lingered on unresolved, other events which struck at the foundation of the LLA were running in parallel. The Act of 1889 had considerably buttressed the powers of the Scottish University Courts, but that body in St Andrews had no formal jurisdiction over the LLA. Nor, it appeared, was the legal relationship between the university and the scheme at all clear. When it became necessary to resolve the question of the ownership of University Hall, J.M. Balfour MP, invited to arbitrate between December 1896 and January 1897, decided that this shall be vested in the University Court but that 'administration of LLA belongs to Senatus or rather to the 'individual member of the Senatus [Knight] by whom the scheme was inaugurated and by whom it is being carried out'.[30] The funding of the Hall had been a voluntary act by the professors who could not be required to 'continue it unless they think it fit to do so'. The university commissioners did not

[28] UYUY377/5 1896-1900.

[29] UYUY377/6 1900-1906.

[30] This was not strictly correct since the LLA and Local Examinations Committee had originally been convened with Professor Roberts as its chair and Knight joined it while the scheme was in process of being initiated.

consider that it fell within their remit to deal with the scheme and 'the Court while approving of the scheme did not do anything to make it their own so could not claim any surplus of the scheme'. In other words the money had been a donation and the LLA scheme had no liability regarding University Hall. Thus the LLA's anomalous position within the university had been highlighted and potentially called to account. From the minutes of this period, it is very clear that Knight was bearing all the responsibility of setting up arrangements for examinations, paying staff , advertising the scheme, developing it and 'increasing its efficiency'. However, in 1899, in the face of plans to make alterations to the scheme, a paper from Knight to the Senatus intimated his intention to retire, not apparently because he favoured no change but rather because he desired more radical revision than was proposed. He declared that the LLA scheme had, from the first, been a University one, 'created by the Senatus Academicus, in the year 1877, for the examination of women', and to give them 'a diploma and a license to teach', but he now wished that the Court should acknowledge it as a university examination and that the LLA committee should contain members of Court as well as of Senatus. He also offered changes to 'secure greater uniformity in the standard' such as two examiners for each subject to be closer to arrangements of the University of London, to re-instate the date of examinations as being the same as the MA and BSc, and to keep up the dominant aim of approximating the LLA to the MA exam. He additionally wanted to maintain the right of candidates to choose the order of subjects taken.[31]

Knight received a response which rejected his request for Court involvement and particularly dismayed him by acceding that the title should remain as LLA but that on the diploma should be printed 'L.L.A., Higher Local Examination for Women', his answer being that it was 'injurious' to call it 'a higher local examination because that placed it on a level with exams which had to be passed before it could itself begin'. Rather, for instance, than set two papers for Honours, he believed it better to 'raise the standard of honours to the very highest level'. A meeting of March 1900 voted out most of Knight's proposals, received his resignation and appointed Professor Herkless in his place. His tribute from Principal Donaldson declared an 'appreciation of indomitable energy, the unwearied zeal, and the wisdom, skill and success with which he has discharged all the duties of the office and their conviction that his services have contributed greatly to the promotion of the higher education of women'.[32]

That both the nature and the level of promotion of the LLA began to be transformed as a result of this train of events is undeniable. The lecture tours for which Knight had been responsible ceased

[31] UYUY377/5 1896-1900.

[32] UYUY377/6 1900-1906.

and there was little further attempt to assert its equivalence to a degree. Already in 1896 a proposal that an LLA candidate who had passed degree examinations at St Andrews should have these counted for the LLA diploma was accepted 'as it was no longer intimated that the standard of examination for MA and the LLA of this university was equivalent'.[33] During the prolonged dialogue with the English Board of Education, a communication from the university stated that

> …the LLA is not a degree… It was just because the title of Literate of Arts is not a degree that the University was able to throw it open. As there is still a large number of women who, though well qualified to be teachers, are unable or unwilling to go into residence at a University, we believe that the examination still serves a useful purpose…though we should not be willing to say that it is of equal value to our degree examinations in all subjects…

It did go on to claim that the LLA was of a considerably higher standard than the Oxford and Cambridge Higher Local Examinations and argue that pass degrees of Scottish universities were on a different footing, i.e. higher, from those of Oxbridge. Thus it considered that it was quite possible that a pass in the LLA should be equivalent to a pass in English universities though not in the Scottish. [34] As we have already seen this argument was not upheld by the Board.

The attitudes of the women

Such a convoluted position on the part of the University could hardly have made for confidence in the status of the LLA in the minds of those who considered undertaking it. On the other hand, whether it was or was not equivalent to a degree, its examinations could be valued in their own right as a preparation for teaching. The prevailing attitudes may well have had an effect on the numbers who enrolled and on the kind of woman for whom the experience would be beneficial, and may go some way towards explaining why there appeared to be changes in its clientele from the later 1890s onwards.

Yet there is also evidence that the LLA continued to appear interchangeable with the MA in the minds of some women and that this situation persisted long after access to degrees had become established in the Scottish universities, including at St Andrews itself. From between 1908 and 1911 there exists a set of letters relating to University Hall in which some women were requesting residence in order to study additional subjects for their diploma. One wrote:

[33] UYUY77/4 1892-1896.

[34] UYUY377/6 1900-1906.

The High School, King's Lynn, Norfolk

June 15th 1908

Dear Madam

I should be glad if you would send me full information about the University Hall for Women Students at St Andrews.

I am anxious to obtain my L.L.A. Diploma, but so far have only taken a 'Pass' in French. I find it is very difficult to get special coaching here and wondered if I should be able to obtain all that I need at the University Hall.

Could you give me the cost of board and residence for the two sessions; and also give me some idea of what the fees for the University classes would be in preparation for the L.L.A. Examination…

M.M. King [35]

The same lady in her next communication wanted to take English Literature, Latin, Political Economy, and Education for the LLA examinations in May 1909, but had been told that if she sat these exams at the MA exam in March, and achieved a 'pass', that would excuse her from the same exams in the LLA in May.[36] Even more indicative of a degree of interchangeability in the minds of candidates was the enquiry of J.W. Wilson on behalf of his daughter, who was going to reside in University Hall. He explained that she was not strong in science and should 'content herself with an L.L.A'.[37] Other opinions emerge from this correspondence. One woman asking in 1908 about a syllabus for different French exams for which she could qualify at St Andrews said she had hoped to do an MA in modern languages only by working privately, but on being told not this was not possible had opted for the LLA exams as being 'best for [her]'. She had 'previously thought an MA more valuable'.[38]

While candidates might have particular attitudes, their mentors sometimes thought otherwise. The mother and teacher of Ruth Cotton who wished to enter St Andrews and work for the LLA Diploma were among them. Ruth had passed her Senior Oxford and was taking her Higher Certificate and wanted to know if she could read for the LLA. Her headmistress intervened with the observation that she was 'a delicate girl; not a clever girl', but 'she could do something better than the L.L.A… I am

[35] UYUY37781/A/4/51.

[36] UYUY37781/A/4/51.

[37] UYUY37781/A/7/3-9.

[38] UYUY37781/A/7/14-16.

rather sorry she should take nothing but the LLA though there is a big difference between that and the MA, I am afraid'. Apparently the decision to try for an MA was made because her mother then added that she was 'glad the child herself wishes to try for the MA, but is herself still doubtful…; Ruth is not clever and if not up to the MA work after two terms must be content to do the lower work'. [39] Yet another exchange reinforces this perception. In a letter from East Bengal regarding an 'Indian lady called Miss Verulca who wishes to study at St Andrews but whose money might not last for more than two years', the writer on her behalf, a Sister Dagmar, enquired if, as a fully qualified secondary teacher who had taught for thirteen years, she could possibly manage the MA over two years. Otherwise, she suggested, 'of course, she could take the LLA but although it gives letters after her name - which counts for so much in this country - I advised her not to do that'. Miss Verulca herself then wrote to declare her desire to take the LLA but Dagmar in turn reacted to insist that she wanted to do the MA.[40]

Thus candidates displayed increasingly altered attitudes to the outcomes expected from the LLA, although in some situations individuals might continue to regard it as a close alternative, dependent upon their personal circumstances. At the same time, Boards of Education disputed the standing of the LLA, and in the end only some education authorities accepted the LLA for the full graduate supplement and some for only a part, although a majority of private schools did accept it. In 1905 a version of the certificate called a Teacher's Diploma was initiated, in which subjects regarded as useful for teaching only were included.[41] Individual educators, too, had their reservations, and there seems little doubt that Knight's original intention that it be regarded as equivalent to the MA had outgrown its usefulness. A perhaps valuable indication of its perceived status derives from the question of the University Club for Ladies. This body was under discussion on its formation from 1883 and opened at 31 New Bond Street in 1887. In 1895 information was sent out to the Scottish universities, but after a debate on the eligibility of holders of the LLA, it was eventually decided in 1905 that its holders did not qualify.[42] Yet since Knight was able in 1896 to write with apparent truth that 'the possession of the St Andrews LLA Diploma and Title is prized in India and South Africa, as

[39] UYUY37781/A/7/44-48.

[40] UYUY37781/A/7/49-51.

[41] Smart, *Literate Ladies*, p.27

[42] C. Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities, 1870-1939* (London, 1995), pp. 170-1.

well as in Canada and the United States of America', it continued to be attractive where there was perhaps less concern about the niceties of status.[43]

This chapter has established that there was direct involvement by LLAs themselves in the movement towards degrees and a real potential for the influence upon it by LLAs in high places. It is also clear that the scheme itself contributed with both finance and encouragement to the establishment of places on degree courses and accommodation for the new students. On a wider scale the existence of the qualification and its evident success certainly also had an indirect impact in effecting a softening of attitudes and an appreciation of what women might be capable of. The especial impact on the University of St Andrews itself with its disproportionately high entry of women matriculands from the very first years is also clear.[44] Familiarity with the institution as a deliverer of higher education, both on the part of the women themselves and others must have eased the transition to full-time studies. That the LLA itself should alter in character was virtually inevitable. In Scotland at least, a new route into such professions as were available to women was open after 1892 and elsewhere greater opportunities were also developing. The committee itself appears quickly to have begun to consider the qualification as relevant for teaching above all else, a situation which had in part become self-evident from the majority of occupations taken up by LLAs even in the earlier years. The composition of the LLA intake in the years after the implementation of the 1889 Act both reflected and reinforced that belief.

[43] UYUY3778/1/A/28. Knight, *History of the LLA Examinations*, p. 10.

[44] L. Moore, *Bajanellas and Semilinas: Aberdeen University and the Education of Women, 1860-1920* (Aberdeen, 1991), p. 43, Table 1 shows the proportion of female entrants in 1895-96 to be 17.5% at St Andrews compared to 9.1% at the next highest, Edinburgh; by 1907-8 St Andrews had women as 40% of its intake, Aberdeen 32%.

Conclusion

'A wise and beneficent step'

> I was a woman. This was the turf; there was the path. Only the Fellows and Scholars are allowed here; the gravel is the place for me.[1]

The effort to achieve equality of access to higher education for women, as Virginia Woolf's recollection reminds us, was a long and hard-fought struggle in the British Isles and what has been gained here is not yet taken for granted in many other parts of the world. Apathy, prejudice, control and misplaced beliefs in the frailty of the female gender all contributed in the Victorian period to the erection of barriers which are only slowly and partially being dismantled. The St Andrews LLA played its own significant part in that process. It has been shown that the scheme was, with little doubt, formative in shaping the lives of women in the period under study, and it did so by affecting not only those immediately involved with it but also many who may as a result of its influence and success have experienced indirect benefits. In examining the broader context, the educational and professional aspirations and motivations of nineteenth-century women have been explored and the extent to which the LLA opened up opportunities which satisfied these has been assessed. But these aspirations may be seen as universal and an extension of the scope of these findings has the potential to enhance understanding of the nature of the wider mechanisms operating on those who seek higher education in any age.

The focus of this study has been upon the early years of the LLA and its impact on the University of St Andrews itself and on the participants' educational and career experiences. It was a stepping stone towards full female integration into higher education and acted as an agent for attitudinal changes in society at large. Appraisal of the British context from which the LLA emerged in 1877 has established how far the backdrop of existing education and values and the groundswell of movements for improvement in the first instance influenced and supported the experiment that was the LLA. A well-established tradition had existed amongst scholars and writers, from Mary Wollstonecraft to John Stuart Mill, for change in the lot of women. More widespread concern within

[1] V. Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, ed, Michele Barrett (London, 2011), p. 5.

society was raised by the results of the mid-nineteenth-century censuses which highlighted the extent of what was perceived as the problem of a considerable 'surplus' of women in British society and the dilemma of what was to be done about employing or making them otherwise useful. The fact that these included women who themselves possessed talent and drive provided part of the solution in itself. Activists like Josephine Butler cited the practical need for her own sex to earn a living, and advocated improved working conditions and rewards for teachers as a result of offering them higher qualifications. Yet these were opposed by some who either stressed the supposed detrimental effects of academic education on girls' health or the lack of a need for girls to study the same subjects as boys. Nonetheless, certain significant changes had taken place by 1877 when the LLA took the stage - the opening of London University to women, the establishment of the first four Cambridge and Oxford women's colleges, the emergence of Ladies' Educational Associations and local classes, albeit not at degree level, in most urban centres. Progress had also been made in providing more professional training for teaching with an expansion of colleges, although many still catered for work in elementary schools only.

Enabling girls to study the academic subjects which would prepare them for higher education was another matter. In theory it was possible for them to study the classics in Scotland in parish schools, but in practice few did: girls were admitted to burgh schools along with boys but rarely pursued the same curriculum. Even greater restrictions existed elsewhere in the United Kingdom where girls either received very basic public schooling or private education in which 'accomplishments' took precedence. The Education Acts of 1870 and 1872 increased opportunities in state schools generally and the emergence of more academic private schools like Cheltenham and the Girls' Public Day School Trust group in England and St Leonard's in Scotland raised the standard of middle-class education. Access to this level was still limited to a few in the later nineteenth century but opportunities allowing some at least to aspire to higher education now existed. At the same time because openings to higher education programmes continued to be restricted the incentive often remained curtailed or frustrated.

When the University of St Andrews initiated the scheme which was to become known as the LLA, it stood in an exceptional position. The attitudes taken by the University to the widening of women's higher education and what it sought to achieve are central to an understanding of the position of the scheme within the progress of this wider movement. When early requests for entry to study medicine were made by Garrett and Jex-Blake, the University's response was overall not unsympathetic but still indicated a reluctance to provoke any confrontations or to step outside legal boundaries. Failure to resolve either of these cases in a wholly satisfactory manner, coupled with the

positive stances of individual members of academic staff, led to attempts to establish how St Andrews might address the problem. The LLA, therefore, emerged in a climate of majority goodwill towards the general concept of women having a place in higher education, although as yet without full commitment towards their inclusion as resident students.

The fact that other developments were in train within the University in attempts to modernise it and at worst preserve it from extinction eased the establishment of the new scheme. The foundation of a chair of education, discussion of the establishment of a medical teaching faculty, the re-instatement of local examinations and negotiations on a college in Dundee all appear to have contributed to a more energetic atmosphere within the university generally. The project was fortunate too in its early protagonists. Roberts, first Convenor of its Committee, was committed and his colleagues also progressive but his succession to the post by Knight ensured that the LLA would continue to be promoted at a high level during his incumbency. The latter's dedication to the cause of female higher education was unquestionable and much of the responsibility for its future organisation and success must be laid at his feet. He and his fellow committee members either already possessed knowledge of, or were astute in seeking out, like-minded institutions and individuals whom they expected to be of practical help in launching the scheme.

The structure of the LLA as a course, although in part continuing to develop in response to needs which became more evident as it progressed, was also inspired from its conception in having the capacity to deal with the constraints inherent in the lifestyles of the women who responded to it. There were in the beginning no restrictions on the number of subjects which could be studied in a session, in the length of time taken to complete the whole course, and no required subjects like, for instance, classical languages. The range of subjects was broader than that available for undergraduates and rapidly grew. Similarly, although examination centres were initially perhaps intended in only a few locations, the organisers quickly realised the need for geographical expansion and reacted swiftly and resourcefully.

Its early success certainly led to higher expectations from the scheme. All appearances were that its initiation was to some degree tentative, but as more women appeared and the benefits to them became evident, aspirations within the committee became more elevated. The relationship of the LLA certificate with degrees became a disputed issue, and the requirement for an entry qualification, increases in the numbers of compulsory subjects to be taken, and the introduction of Honours level examinations attempted to address this dichotomy. These modifications nevertheless did not appear to its clientele to decrease the openness and attraction of the LLA, a situation which begged the questions as to what exactly its catchment was and the extent to which these women's backgrounds

in the early years reflected a genuine breaking down of social, educational and professional barriers for them through the LLA.

The circumstances of the first women involved in the LLA programme were significant. Of a broad age range, occasionally quite young as well as often being much older than traditional male undergraduate age, they quickly came to be drawn from all parts of the United Kingdom and gradually also from overseas. The fact that the organisers made it possible for them to take examinations in many geographically dispersed locations allowed women from both urban and rural areas to participate. Lack of set time limits on the acquisition of the award and the ability to take time out meant that the candidates were able to mix their studies with familial and work responsibilities and in some cases to spread their course work over a number of years. The similarities with the present-day Open University are evident and important, with the exception that tuition and course material was not provided by St Andrews itself. Nevertheless, LLA examinees managed to prepare themselves in a variety of ways, from organised programmes of study offered by certain schools to the uptake of distance learning courses specifically designed for that purpose, such as those of the St George's Hall Correspondence Classes - all of which entailed a high degree of determination and dedication towards achieving a qualification which must have appeared of sufficient value to merit the effort. The women were from a diverse range of educational backgrounds, however, from elementary schools to teacher training colleges, and for many it was not apparent how they succeeded in raising the level of their knowledge to the point where they were able to cope with higher education.

Social backgrounds too were disparate, although few came from either the very highest or very lowest ranks of Victorian society. Comparison with female undergraduates of the Oxford and Cambridge colleges shows that the LLA students were generally not drawn from rungs so high on the social ladder. Nonetheless, a preponderant origin in the professional classes, especially the clergy and teaching, was held in common, as it was with both male undergraduates and the first female undergraduates at St Andrews itself. What particularly distinguished the early LLA cohort was its firm links with the commercial and skilled crafts, a situation which points to the existence of a set of women for whom the need to work and gain the means to acquire a reasonable living was complemented by a background which allowed them a sufficient degree of financial freedom to pursue this end. For them, the LLA appears to have worked especially well. The fact that very few candidates seem to have had either agricultural or industrial working class origins strengthens this hypothesis. Not surprisingly, these last were women for whom, with few exceptions, there was neither leisure to study nor funding to support it. At the other end of the scale, the wealthiest had

little or no need to take up employment for its own sake, and those more privileged women who did participate in the St Andrews scheme were often those with a robust sense of cause which became more obvious as their later lives developed. Nevertheless, there was little evidence of the 'dual market' in the late nineteenth-century women's colleges suggested by Dyhouse whereby some 'may have continued to attend their local universities in pursuit of general culture rather than through vocational aspiration'.[2] For the large group of 'middling' women it must have been at the very least problematic to gain an opportunity to acquire qualifications in any other way, and this ought to be seen as a key element in the success of the LLA.

What they did with the learning and qualifications acquired was equally significant and illustrated how far the opportunity to alter their circumstances became a practical reality for the participants, as well as demonstrating the extent of their impact on society. By far the majority of those LLAs for whom an occupation can be identified went into the teaching profession at one level or another. Most openings for women in this period existed anyway in elementary schools but the ability to run a small or single sex parish or board school was an option on which a number capitalised. As yet in the 1880s and 1890s the opportunity to break the male hegemony of secondary and subject teaching was more restricted, although some did so, and in a significant number of cases they became heads of girls' schools, both state and private. Others consciously used their title of LLA to set themselves up in their own educational businesses. At this stage too, female-run teacher training colleges, from the evidence of England in particular, appear to have been eager to offer posts to women with the St Andrews qualification. In Scotland, the church-run normal schools were as yet a masculine domain and barriers against women teaching there in other than domestic subjects remained firm for some time. A few also entered higher education teaching itself, albeit in most cases after additional study, and there certain LLAs achieved genuine distinction.

That teaching should become the profession to engage most LLA women is in no way surprising in that it had long been the principal of very few occupational outlets available to middle-class females. In 1875 Louisa Lumsden had been able to argue that

> Few people surely will deny, whatever may be said for or against a woman's entering other professions that the teaching of her own sex at least is one which seems stamped by nature as most unmistakably hers… But public opinion is at last changing and people are beginning to admit the, one would fancy, self-evident truth that woman is the proper instructor of

[2] C. Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex ? Women in British Universities, 1870-1939* (London, 1995), p. 23.

> women, and that she is capable of undertaking every branch, elementary or advanced, of education.[3]

As has been considered earlier, however, this was a time when education was expanding in extent, being made available to more children, and was improving in quality, so that not only were more teachers required but there were demands for higher standards of training too. The LLAs must have made a substantial contribution in those circumstances. It is evident from the distribution of schools and colleges with which they were connected that there existed clusters of entrants to the scheme and there is a strong indication of chain effects in its uptake: teachers were perhaps encouraging their own pupils to follow directly in their footsteps by design or by example. But beyond this, teachers with an LLA education were, with their own greater knowledge, both of subjects and of the system, in a position to deliver a better quality of teaching and to influence and encourage young female scholars to aspire to whatever higher education became available in future years, so engendering positive cumulative effects.

While most LLAs embodied the stereotype in their choice of profession, those who did not were sometimes more significant than their numbers suggested. Given the persisting constraints which would exclude women from the law and the church for years to come, alternative choices, though narrow, did not preclude LLAs from making a meaningful contribution to society as it was, and as some hoped it might become. As Abrams writes

> ... single women typically worked as carers of young, sick and elderly family members, they were active in philanthropy, ministering to poor families, and they fulfilled similar roles for the state – as foster mothers, nannies, nurses and teachers…[4]

And the cohort of St Andrews women with whom this research has been concerned was not altogether different. Arguably, however, they were in a rather stronger position to adopt more influential roles than hitherto, to persuade, and to shape futures within their society. The evidence of their careers demonstrates that some did just that - as writers, journalists, philanthropists, social workers and suffragists - and were very much at the heart of a number of movements for female emancipation from improved living and working conditions to the winning of the vote. Mary Lily Walker in Dundee, Marie Imandt in her writing from far-flung parts of the world, Ada Heather-Bigg in

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[3] L. I. Lumsden, 'Girls' Schools', *The Edinburgh Ladies Magazine*, 1 (1875), 208, cited in E. Breitenbach et al., *Scottish Women: A Documentary History, 1780-1914* (Edinburgh, 2013), pp. 148-9.

[4] L. Abrams, *The Making of Modern Woman: Europe 1789-1918* (Edinburgh and London, 2002), p. 93.

inner London and May Cornwall Legh in Japan were amongst those driven by concern for the problems of other women's existences, while others worked within trade unions, like Margaret Hardinge Irwin and Gertrude Tuckwell, or were active in the major suffragist organisations of their time.

Thus for many LLAs their own objectives, as far as these can be surmised, were realised. The possession of the certificate itself, or even of some examination passes for those who did not achieve so much, opened doors to the professions and allowed upward progression between social classes. In other words, the St Andrews scheme for providing a higher education equivalent demonstrated the ability for such programmes to promote social mobility. Beyond that, the impact on society at large was substantial, albeit in its ultimate results unquantifiable. In a practical manifestation of its success it was financially profitable to the university, and it contributed substantially to the introduction in the 1890s of support for female undergraduates in bursaries and a hall of residence. It advanced in a broader sense burgeoning perceptions of the potential scope of female employment and achieved some fulfilment of the aims of reformers from Wollstonecraft onwards. In 1887 Principal Donaldson of St Andrews was moved to say in his opening address that

> The L.L.A. examinations have been made equal to those of the M.A. They are unquestionably difficult. Many candidates are rejected. And throughout the whole length of Britain, the value alike of the pass and the honours is justly regarded as great…We allow that it is not a degree, though we believe that it may be the precursor of one - but of this we are quite sure, that the title represents to the public mind considerable intellectual power and great intellectual acquirements, and this exactly what the public wants to have guaranteed. They are indifferent whether it is a degree or not...it is a reality, if it is granted only for wide attainments and great mental energy.[5]

The main thrust of this study has been an examination of the years between 1877 and 1892 when the University of St Andrews provided a programme of studies which was at that time exceptional, as well as a detailed analysis of the pioneer group of LLA students who took it up. The question remains to be explored as to whether this particular period produced a group of women or, indeed, whether the LLA was used by a group of women, who actively sought to be in a key position to change social attitudes**.** Once full-time degree studies became available it might be regarded as self-evident that the nature of candidates for the LLA would alter in some respect, whether in their

[5] Sir J. Donaldson, *Addresses delivered in the University of St Andrews from 1886 to 1910* (Edinburgh, 1911), pp. 38-9.

intentions and motivation or more fundamentally in their social origins**.** That the University too would modify its attitudes to the scheme was a reasonable expectation. To establish whether those first years of the LLA before 1892, when admission of women to all of the Scottish universities was achieved, were markedly formative in female higher education and differed from later experience, the nature and events of the following period in terms of both institutional policy and candidate response have also been considered.

From the sample of women who studied between 1892 and 1904, it is clear that, although the general pattern observed in the 1877 cohort persisted, there were significant divergences. Over time, relatively fewer candidates were domiciled in Scotland, suggesting the greater attraction of the degree programme for many there. A social stratum, that of the working and especially the industrial classes, which had been almost totally absent between 1877 and 1892, emerged, perhaps as an outcome of the wider availability of secondary education or as the LLA itself came to appear for women of more limited means a more accessible and viable route to self-advancement than full-time higher education. While the proportion already working in the teaching profession or later entering it remained comparable, many more entrants, especially from outwith Scotland, were associated with teacher training colleges. In stark contrast to the early group where almost no women had been identifiable as Roman Catholics, schools and training colleges associated with this branch of the church also provided a substantial number of the post-1892 examinees, a reflection of a growing requirement for well-qualified staff to meet an expansion of faith schools. Two other developments at the end of the century were significant. Firstly, there was a return to an uptake by rather older women. Secondly, and perhaps even more importantly, fewer entrants were actually completing the LLA. Strikingly, of those who did not engage in teaching, the range of other occupations was narrower, with only one entrant going on to qualify in medicine. Moreover, in an age when female politicisation had become considerably more conspicuous than in earlier decades, virtually no LLAs appear to have become involved in activism of any sort. Thus the overall picture after 1892 was of a group predominantly preoccupied with earning a living in a secure manner and with either less opportunity or a decreased desire to engage in social and political campaigning. The fact that the opening out of university education had by now to some extent removed one element from the emancipation agenda does not entirely explain this development.

We have seen that at the beginning of this period, the University was itself engaged in promoting the LLA within training colleges in particular, and while its motives cannot be entirely certain, it seems plausible that to some extent a deliberate policy to create a stream of entrants distinct from those of the degree programme was being followed. During these years controversy over the

academic status of the LLA was prolonged and often tortuous, with the University's position over its equivalence to a degree oscillating and finally waning. It was unlikely that such a position would not have had some effect upon the expectations of entrants themselves and a consequent impact on their choices, but neither can the possibility be dismissed that the extent to which changes in the social composition of the candidates now coming forward may in turn have shaped the University's policy. Further close comparisons between the origins and the achievements of LLA and undergraduate students of all Scottish universities after 1892 will perhaps shed more light on this question and would certainly justify future research.

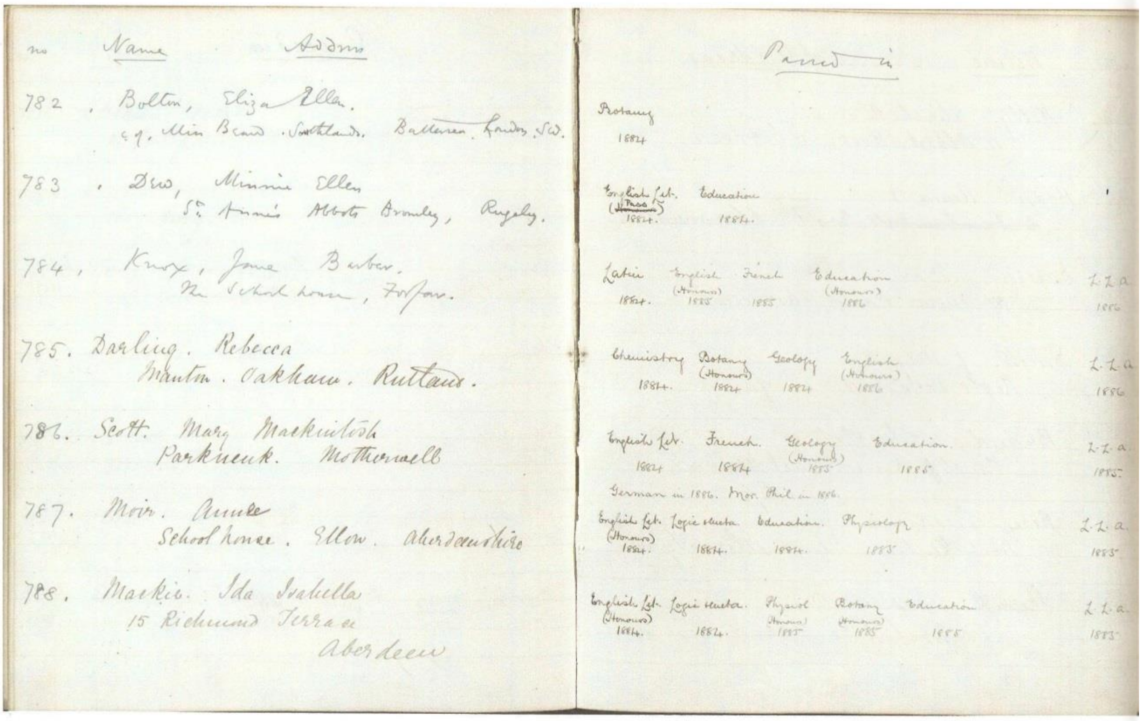
Although there is no overwhelming evidence in the years between 1877 and 1892 of the 'lass o pairts' as the term has generally been used, there is unequivocal testimony to the success of the LLA in its early incarnation in boosting opportunities across a relatively broad social spectrum. Further examples of this phenomenon appeared after 1892, but the first LLAs were certainly the more vibrant group in terms of their determination, diversity and willingness to break down social, cultural and professional barriers. Few were among the best-known names of the era, but many moved in the same circles and followed the same paths. Theirs was what Rubinstein has described as a 'contribution to the sense of expanding horizons which found an expression in the revolt of the daughters and the birth of the new woman'[6] Their successors, however, the new female graduates, rather than their own direct descendants in the LLA programme, were those who moved on to avail themselves of the solid advantages of education and equality to which these women contributed so much. The preface to one of the memorials presented to the University in St Andrews in support of the admission of women to full-time study, although somewhat under-stated, nevertheless sums up consummately the historic contribution of the LLA:

> The Memorialists are sensible that a wise and beneficent step was taken by your University when there was instituted a system of examinations for such women as are inclined to apply for certificates in proficiency in Arts. They are convinced these certificates had proved of much value to the recipients, not only in assisting them to positions where they can turn their acquisitions to account but also in giving to all of them an object and an interest which are often wanted and much called for in society in general…[7]

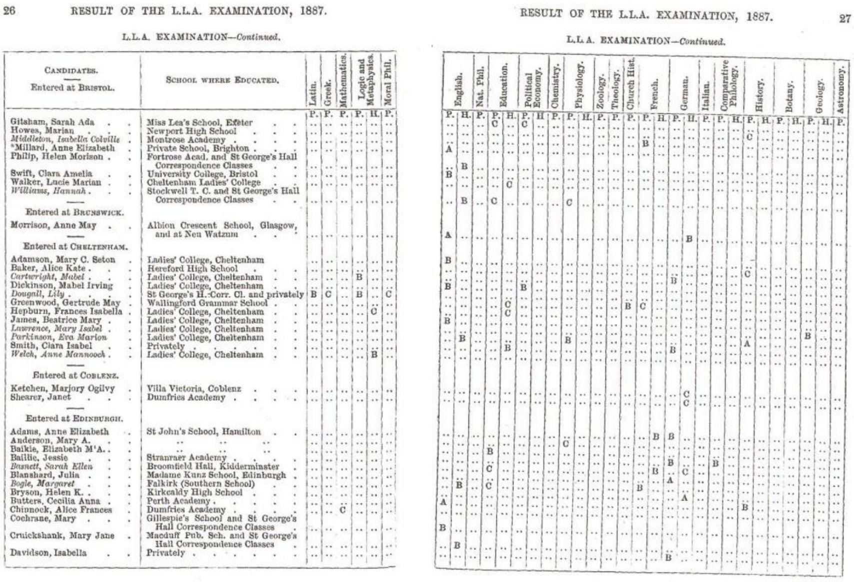
[6] D. Rubinstein, *Before the Suffragettes: Women's Emancipation in the 1890s* (Brighton, 1986), p.185.

[7] UYUY3778/1/B/42 Memorial of undersigned residents of Cupar and neighbourhood [n.d., c 1880-1881].

Appendix 1



No.	Name / Address	Passed in	
782.	Bolton, Eliza Ellen. c/o Miss Beard. Southlands. Battersea. London S.W.	Botany 1884	
783.	Dew, Minnie Ellen. St Anne's Abbots Bromley, Rugeley.	English Lit. (~~Honours~~ Pass) 1884. Education 1884.	
784.	Knox, Jane Barber. The School house, Forfar.	Latin 1884. English (Honours) 1885. French 1885. Education (Honours) 1886.	L.L.A. 1886
785.	Darling. Rebecca. Manton. Oakham. Rutland.	Chemistry 1884. Botany (Honours) 1884. Geology 1884. English (Honours) 1886.	L.L.A. 1886
786.	Scott. Mary Mackintosh. Parknenk. Motherwell	English Lit. 1884. French 1884. Geology (Honours) 1885. Education 1885. German in 1886. Mor. Phil in 1886.	L.L.A. 1885.
787.	Moir. Annie. School house. Ellon. Aberdeenshire	English Lit. (Honours) 1884. Logic & Meta. 1884. Education 1884. Physiology 1885	L.L.A. 1885.
788.	Mackie. Ida Isabella. 15 Richmond Terrace Aberdeen	English Lit. (Honours) 1884. Logic & Meta. 1884. Physiol (Honours) 1885. Botany (Honours) 1885. Education 1885	L.L.A. 1885.



26 RESULT OF THE L.L.A. EXAMINATION, 1887.

L.L.A. EXAMINATION—*Continued.*

Candidates.	School where Educated.	Latin. P.	Greek. P.	Mathematics. P.	Logic and Metaphysics. P.	Logic and Metaphysics. H.	Moral Phil. P.
Entered at Bristol.							
Gitsham, Sarah Ada	Miss Lea's School, Exeter	..	..	..	..	..	..
Howes, Marian	Newport High School	..	..	..	..	..	..
Middleton, Isabella Colville	Montrose Academy	..	..	..	..	..	..
*Millard, Anne Elizabeth	Private School, Brighton	..	..	..	..	..	..
Philip, Helen Morison	Fortrose Acad. and St George's Hall Correspondence Classes	..	..	..	..	..	..
Swift, Clara Amelia	University College, Bristol	..	..	..	..	..	..
Walker, Lucie Marian	Cheltenham Ladies' College	..	..	..	..	..	..
Williams, Hannah	Stockwell T. C. and St George's Hall Correspondence Classes	..	..	..	..	..	..
Entered at Brunswick.							
Morrison, Anne May	Albion Crescent School, Glasgow, and at Neu Watzum	..	..	..	..	..	..
Entered at Cheltenham.							
Adamson, Mary C. Seton	Ladies' College, Cheltenham	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baker, Alice Kate	Hereford High School	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cartwright, Mabel	Ladies' College, Cheltenham	..	..	..	B	..	..
Dickinson, Mabel Irving	Ladies' College, Cheltenham	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dougall, Lily	St George's H. Corr. Cl. and privately	B	C	..	B	..	C
Greenwood, Gertrude May	Wallingford Grammar School	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hepburn, Frances Isabella	Ladies' College, Cheltenham	..	..	..	..	C	..
James, Beatrice Mary	Ladies' College, Cheltenham	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lawrence, Mary Isabel	Ladies' College, Cheltenham	..	..	..	..	..	..
Parkinson, Eva Marion	Ladies' College, Cheltenham	..	..	..	..	..	..
Smith, Clara Isabel	Privately	..	..	..	..	..	..
Welch, Anne Mannooch	Ladies' College, Cheltenham	..	..	..	..	B	..
Entered at Coblenz.							
Ketchen, Marjory Ogilvy	Villa Victoria, Coblenz	..	..	..	..	..	..
Shearer, Janet	Dumfries Academy	..	..	..	..	..	..
Entered at Edinburgh.							
Adams, Anne Elizabeth	St John's School, Hamilton	..	..	..	..	..	..
Anderson, Mary A.	.. .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baikie, Elizabeth M'A.	.. .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baillie, Jessie	Stranraer Academy	..	..	..	..	..	..
Basnett, Sarah Ellen	Broomfield Hall, Kidderminster	..	..	..	..	..	..
Blanshard, Julia	Madame Kunz School, Edinburgh	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bogle, Margaret	Falkirk (Southern School)	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bryson, Helen K.	Kirkcaldy High School	..	..	..	..	..	..
Butters, Cecilia Anna	Perth Academy	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chinnock, Alice Frances	Dumfries Academy	..	..	C	..	..	..
Cochrane, Mary	Gillespie's School and St George's Hall Correspondence Classes	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cruickshank, Mary Jane	Macduff Pub. Sch. and St George's Hall Correspondence Classes	..	..	..	..	..	..
Davidson, Isabella	Privately	..	..	..	..	..	..

RESULT OF THE L.L.A. EXAMINATION, 1887. 27

L.L.A. EXAMINATION—*Continued.*

Candidates.	English. P.	English. H.	Nat. Phil. P.	Education. P.	Education. H.	Political Economy. P.	Political Economy. H.	Chemistry. P.	Physiology. P.	Physiology. H.	Zoology. P.	Theology. P.	Church Hist. P.	French. P.	French. H.	German. P.	German. H.	Italian. P.	Comparative Philology. P.	Comparative Philology. H.	History. P.	History. H.	Botany. P.	Botany. H.	Geology. P.	Geology. H.	Astronomy. P.
Gitsham, Sarah Ada	..	..	..	C	..	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Howes, Marian	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Middleton, Isabella Colville	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	C	..	..	..	..	..	..
Millard, Anne Elizabeth	A	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Philip, Helen Morison	..	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Swift, Clara Amelia	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Walker, Lucie Marian	..	..	..	..	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Williams, Hannah	..	B	..	C	..	..	..	..	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Morrison, Anne May	A	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Adamson, Mary C. Seton	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baker, Alice Kate	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cartwright, Mabel	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	B	..	..	..	..	C	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dickinson, Mabel Irving	B	..	..	..	..	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dougall, Lily	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Greenwood, Gertrude May	..	..	..	..	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	B	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hepburn, Frances Isabella	..	..	..	..	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
James, Beatrice Mary	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lawrence, Mary Isabel	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Parkinson, Eva Marion	..	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	A	..	..	..	B	..	..
Smith, Clara Isabel	..	..	..	..	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Welch, Anne Mannooch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ketchen, Marjory Ogilvy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Shearer, Janet	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Adams, Anne Elizabeth	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	B	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Anderson, Mary A.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baikie, Elizabeth M'A.	..	..	..	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baillie, Jessie	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	B	..	..	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Basnett, Sarah Ellen	..	..	..	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	B	..	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Blanshard, Julia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	A	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bogle, Margaret	..	B	..	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bryson, Helen K.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	A	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Butters, Cecilia Anna	A	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chinnock, Alice Frances	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	B	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cochrane, Mary	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cruickshank, Mary Jane	..	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Davidson, Isabella	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Appendix 2

Tables 2.1- 2.4 Examination Centres and candidate numbers, 1877-1894

Table 2.1 Centres in Scotland

	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894
Aberdeen						16	66	64	53	51	73	52	52	41	48	47	48	41
Ach-na-Cloich																2		
Biggar																		2
Closeburn																	5	
Dollar															3	5	5	5
Dumfries												10	13	13	11	19	8	8
Dunoon														1				
Glasgow																82	72	89
Edinburgh						62	102	80	92	96	85	88	68	64	72	64	59	64
Elgin																8	7	15
Inverness														18	9	6	7	10
Kirkwall / Stromness												1		4	5	2		1
Lerwick							1	2	1		2	1			2	2	2	
Oban									1								2	2
Paisley											31	33	43	61	70			
St Andrews			22	32	81	55	61	59	57	43	69	73	54	41	40	44	37	38
Thornhill															6	7		3
Thurso															3		5	3

Note 1: Centres at Campbeltown, Dunrossness, Duns, Fort William, Kilmarnock, Kirkcudbright, Peebles, Stornoway,Stranraer and Wick were also used before 1899, and Glasgow expanded to two centres, at the Franciscan Convent and the Free Church College.

Note 2: Numbers using the Aberdeen Centre dropped sharply from 1896 onwards.

Table 2.2 Centres in England

	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894
Barnstable															40	44	37	38
Bedford														3				
Birmingham								9	12	10	13	11	17	17				
Blackburn															6	7		3
Bournemouth															3		5	3
Bristol					4	11	15	11	2	9	10	11	8	9				
Cheltenham									19	17	12	16		12				
Cradock															2			
Halifax			9	12	12	14	27	13	12	13					4	8	7	2
Hull															15	19	16	16
Ilfracombe																		2
Ilminster																	5	7
Ipswich															12	15	16	16
Leeds											22	11	23	25			6	
Leicester								5	3		4		5		7			4
Liskeard											2	3	2					
Liverpool									5	12	31	26	21	24				3
London			26	36	51	58	106	73	65	66	109	93	88	96	102	108	142	180
London Burlington School																	4	8
London Cusack Institute																		2
Loughborough										4			5	8	27	25	17	24
Manchester														10				
Middlesborough															24	32	32	45
Newcastle												7	16	16	12	10	17	16
Rockhampton															5	7	9	11
Scarborough														1	10	6	7	22
Shanklin														1				1
Southport																10	17	16
Sunderland																		5
Truro														4				1

Note 3: Centres at Cambridge, Devonport, London Clapham, London University of London, Martinhoe, Norwich, Nottingham, Oxford, Penrith, Sheffield, Tewkesbury, Workington were also established between 1895 and 1899.

Table 2.3 Centres in the rest of the United Kingdom

	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894
Wales																		
Cardiff													5	6	1		7	11
Carmarthen																		2
Llanelly																	1	
Llanferres																1	1	
Monmouth																4		
Ireland																		
Belfast							5	2					1			1	1	2
Cork									2				2	1	1	3	3	
Dublin												3	2	5	2	4	1	2
Londonderry														2	1	1	1	
Isle of Man																		
Ballaugh													1					

Note 4: Between 1894 and 1899, there were also centres at Aberystwyth, Beaufort, Dolgelly and Swansea.

Table 2.4 Centres outside the United Kingdom

	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894
Arcachon, France											1							
Auxerre, France										1		1						
Barbados									1	1								
Berlin, Germany															1	1		
Bermuda															2	2		
Brunswick, Germany											1							
Brussels, Belgium												1						
Bucharest, Romania																	1	
Cape Town, South Africa																	1	
Coblentz, Germany										3	2	2	4					
Constantinople, Turkey																1		2
Dresden, Germany														4	2	2		
Graaff Reinet, South Africa																		1
Hildesheim, Germany									1									
Jassy, Moldavia																1		
Konigsberg, Germany							1											
Lausanne, Switzerland													2					
Leipzig, Germany																	1	1
Marseilles, France																2	2	2
Munich, Germany																1		
Muskau, Germany													3					
Namur, France																		3
Nurnberg, Germany																		1
Oporto, Portugal								1										
Paris, France									1	1	1	1	2				2	1
Pietermaritzburg,South Africa									4	4	4	2	5	5	8	3	8	7
Port Elizabeth, South Africa																		1
St Malo, France														1	1			
Simla, India												1	1		1		1	1
Thalfang, Germany															1			
Thildonck, Belgium																		1

	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1881	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894
Terre-Haute, USA																		1
Traunkirchen, Austria																	1	1
Vienna, Austria																		1
Washington, USA																		2
Wolfenbuttel, Germany													2	1		2		1

Note 5: By 1899 there had also been centres in Europe at Blankenburg, Bremen, Eisenach, Frankfurt Godesberg, Gorlitz, Hamburg, Hannover, Neubrandenburg, Neuenahr, Sandesneben, Trarbach, Weimar, and Memel in Germany; Cassel, Dole du Jura, Lorient, Lyons; Nancy Nimes in France; Mantua, Ravenna and Venice in Italy; Seville in Spain,Montreux in Switzerland, and Breslau in Poland. Elsewhere were Grahamstown, Uitenhage, Stellenbosch and King Williamstown in South Africa; Albany, Burlington, New Haven and Philadelphia in the United States of America; Port of Spain in Trinidad, Melbourne, Australia and Toronto, Canada.

Appendix 3

Table 2.5 Subjects offered for LLA examinations and numbers taking each

	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894
Latin			1		4	9	9	11	9	10	17	4	8	7	9	6	8	11
Greek										3	3		1	2		2	2	1
Mathematics				1	4	3	2	4	5	2	10	10	5	6		5	3	2
Logic & Metaphysics		1	2	2	5	3	8	14	10	29	27	13	14	17	14	18	9	9
Moral Philosophy			1	2	2	2	6	4	4	13	4	2	4	4	3	7	9	
English			8	29	33	68	109	114	110	115	139	131	134	135	112	144	121	167
English Literature	5	7																
Natural Philosophy							1	1	1	2	1			1	1	1	3	2
Education	4	5		17	21	48	111	64	72	66	126	129	102	129	165	146	127	118
Political Economy	1	4	6	6	12	6	15	13	30	22	35	22	23	11	16	20	23	12
French	3	9	18	31	46	79	115	82	92	74	118	121	119	109	115	140	129	204
German	3	7	11	12	28	47	44	48	51	45	65	84	67	63	85	64	98	96
Italian					1		3	1	1	5	2	1	1			2	1	3
Comparative Philology		1	6	2	7	7	14	31	35	42	29	44	36	26	33	30	37	7
History		8	11	14	23	47	47	45	51	30	35	55	39	59	74	91	90	147
Chemistry						1	1	3	5	1	2	1			5	6	7	8
Physiology	1	4	5	14	17	4	48	37	45	72	98	81	69	55	85	63	96	105
Botany		1	1	3	8	16	17	27	17	24	41	44	34	32	29	45	41	35
Zoology		1	1			3	2	2	3	9	2	4	1		1	3	2	
Geology		1	1			5	10	19	15	9	26	11	13	18	18	16	23	20
Church History			1		3		3	1	1	1		7	6	22	23	18	18	8
Hebrew								1					1				1	
Theology											5	3		1	1	5	4	4
Astronomy											1	1	4	3	7	5	4	14
Music												2	2	3	7	4	6	10
Geography							`					22	46	57	60	71	94	80
Hygiene																	4	7
Aesthetics												2		1		1		5
Fine Art												3	4	2	2	6	4	11
Comparative Religion													1	2	3	5	1	6

Appendix 4

Classification system for occupations of parents, spouses, LLA entrants [1]

1 Professional group

1. Proprietors, gentlemen
2. Ministers (including missionaries)
3. Doctors, dentists, veterinary surgeons
4. Lawyers
5. Teachers
6. Officers, officials (includes higher grade civil servants, army and Royal Navy officers, high-ranking police officers, prison governors and equivalent)
7. Other professional (includes architects, engineers, artists, publishers, journalists)

2 Commercial and industrial group

1. Bankers, accountants, etc (includes actuaries, company secretaries)
2. Manufacturers, etc
3. Large traders
4. Merchants (includes ship-owners)
5. Managers, agents (includes shipmasters)

3 Agricultural group

1. Farmers (defined as farming >100 acres)
2. Crofters, small farmers (defined as farming <100 acres)
3. Factors, gamekeepers etc

4 Intermediate group

[1] Based on Table 4.11, pp. 150-151, Anderson, *Education and Opportunity*, Parental occupations of Arts students in universities, which is drawn from Harvey and Sellar, Argyll Commission 3rd Report. See also table 4.12, p. 152.

1. Small business, master craftsmen (includes inn / hotel / lodging-house keepers)
2. Shopkeepers
3. Clerks, minor officials (includes stationmasters, bank clerks etc)

5 Working-class group

1. Artisans, skilled workers (journeymen)
2. Policemen, military, NCO and below, ordinary seamen
3. Labourers, farm servants
4. Miners, other industrial workers
5. Domestic servants, gardeners

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